HUMAN INSTINCTS, EVERYDAY LIFE, AND THE BRAIN

A paradigm for understanding behavior

Volume Six

Everyday Life on Prince Edward Island – Part One

Numbered sections and examples: #5133 – #5697

A research series by Richard H. Wills

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To everyone who participated in this research

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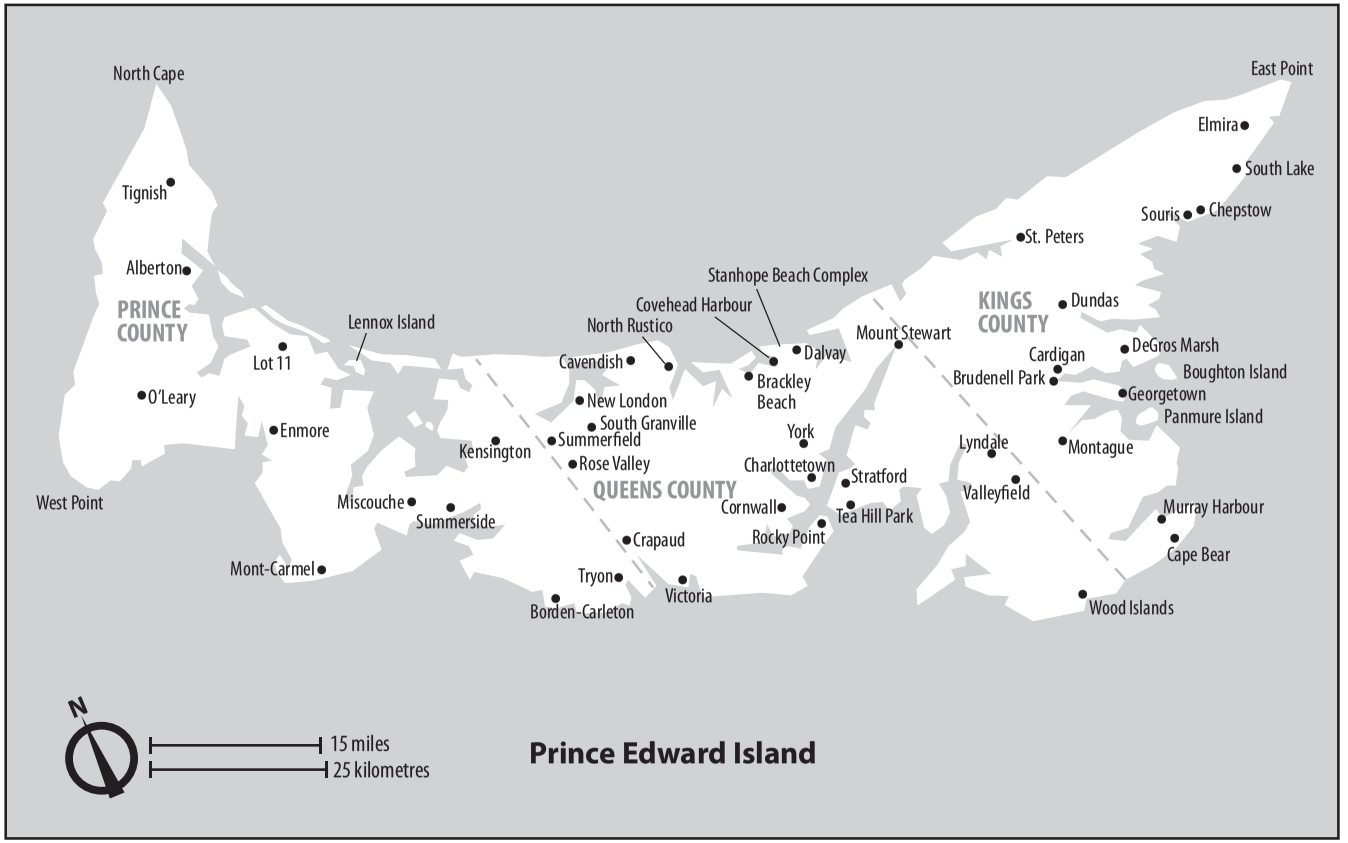
North Cape
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Boughton Island
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Rose Valley
Charlottetown
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Valleyfield
Murray Harbour
Cornwall
Tea Hill Park
Summerside
Crapaud
Rocky Point
Cape Bear
Mont-Carmel
Tryon
Victoria
Wood Islands
Borden-Carleton
N
15 miles
25 kilometres
Prince Edward Island

Prince Edward Island relative to other locations

1. INTRODUCTION TO THIS SERIES

Volume One

Volume One in this series contains a list of implications; photographs; a theoretical introduction; five chapters on specific behaviors in response to instincts, or feelings; and a discussion of a) the study of behavior, and b) human perception of nonhumans. The five chapters on specific behaviors deal with seeking positive reactions; avoiding embarrassment, criticism, and rejection; and not hurting others. A short summary of Volume One is provided in the next few paragraphs.

Feelings act as instincts in humans and other species. Feelings are designed to help us obtain and protect resources. Feelings are a more reliable means of directing our behavior than are learning, memory, culture, and conscious thought. Instead, we use learning, memory, culture, and conscious thought as means to satisfy our feelings. We seek positive feelings and avoid negative feelings. Positive feelings occur in the form of pleasure, which is provided by a variety of sources, including positive reactions from others, pleasant stimulation, the achievement of goals, and sex. Negative feelings include loneliness; anxiety; envy; anger; and hurt from criticism, rejection, embarrassment, and self-criticism. Feelings involve an increase of tension or a release of tension. Tension and the increase of tension are experienced as hurt, and the release of tension is experienced as pleasure. People engage in specific behaviors in response to positive and negative feelings. The five behaviors which are dealt with in Volume One are seeking positive reactions, avoiding embarrassment, avoiding criticism, avoiding those who reject us, and trying to help others. Each of these is considered in turn below.

People want positive reactions from others, and try to get them in a multitude of ways. People seek positive reactions in order to avoid loneliness and to experience pleasure. When people receive the kinds of positive reactions they want from the individuals they want them from, they feel pleasure and they cease to feel lonely. People establish

relationships in order to obtain a steady supply of positive reactions. Those who provide a person with positive reactions usually provide the person with resources. Resources include food, shelter, protection, help, money, stimulation, and sex. Those who do not provide a person with positive reactions usually do not provide the person with resources. Therefore, the ability to get positive reactions from a person serves as an early indicator that one is likely to get resources from the person. People provide others with positive reactions and resources in order to get both positive reactions and resources from them. When people experience pleasure they smile and laugh. Smiling and laughing are desired positive reactions, and people do things for others in order to receive smiles and laughs.

People are embarrassed when others know they have done something that is disapproved of. Embarrassment is a punishing experience because it hurts. People try to avoid embarrassment in order to avoid hurt. In order to avoid embarrassment, people a) avoid doing the things that others disapprove of, and b) try to keep others from finding out what they do that others disapprove of. When a person is disapproved of, others are less willing to give the person resources. Embarrassment acts as an early warning system. It notifies us that we are in a situation which is likely to cause others to cut off our resources. When we avoid embarrassment we avoid alienating others and losing resources.

People try to avoid criticism from others. Criticism hurts, and people avoid criticism in order to avoid hurt. When a person is criticized, other people are already reducing that person's resources or making plans to do so. Therefore the more sensitive a person is to criticism and the possibility of receiving it, the more the person tries to avoid criticism, and the better the person protects his or her resources.

People reject others because their own resources are limited. If they give their resources to everyone who wants them, they will not have them available for themselves and those they want to give them to. People usually do not experience hurt when they reject others. However, those who are rejected do experience hurt. Because of this hurt, people normally avoid those who reject them. This enables them to stop wasting time and energy continuing to try to get resources from those who are unlikely to provide them. Instead, people seek resources from those who do not reject them and are much more likely to provide them with resources.

When people hurt others, cause them to lose resources, or fail to help them, they often criticize themselves. Self-criticism, or guilt, is a punishing feeling. It hurts. Therefore people try to avoid hurting others in order to avoid feeling hurt themselves. People spend most of their time with a small number of people and receive most of their resources from them. It is very much in their interest that they do not damage these people or alienate them. When they take good care of their human resources they are likely to continue receiving resources from them. It is an expensive process to try to establish relationships with new people in order to receive the same resources that one was already receiving. When people feel hurt, they cry, cry out, or want to do so. When they cry they notify others that they are being hurt and need help. When they cry they are more likely to cause those who are hurting them, or who could help them, to feel guilty. Therefore crying helps people protect themselves from being hurt and enables them to get help.

Volume Two

Volume Two contains a list of implications; photographs; and chapters on five other specific behaviors in response to instincts, or feelings. The behaviors which are dealt with are conserving time and energy, protecting self and resources, removing physical discomfort, taking precautions, and trying to get what others have. Each of these behaviors is discussed below.

People seek to conserve time and energy. They try to expend a minimum amount of time and energy in their physical and mental activities. The feeling which encourages them to do so is hurt. People employ tension in order to exert themselves (to act), and they experience tension as hurt. Therefore, people feel hurt when they exert themselves, and they try to avoid this feeling by exerting themselves as little as possible. This hurt is intensified by fatigue. People engage in activity because the hurt or pleasure they experience from other feelings overrides the hurt they feel from exertion. When people do exert themselves, they try to spend

as little time as possible in an activity, because they feel hurt from exertion and they feel anxious about all the other things they have to do. As a result of hurt and anxiety, people employ numerous tactics to conserve time and energy. People experience hurt and anxiety when they first consider effort. This provides them with the maximum amount of time in which to conserve time and energy.

People normally go to considerable effort to protect themselves and their resources when they are actually threatened. They seek to protect themselves from attack and mistreatment, and they attempt to protect their resources from being taken by others. The resources they try to protect include food and water, time and energy, property, possessions, jobs, money, reputation, sex, positive reactions, relationships, stimulation, and self-image. People view their resources as an extension of themselves. Therefore, when people protect their resources, they protect themselves. The feeling which encourages people to protect themselves and their resources is anger. Anger enables people to act aggressively. It helps them challenge and drive away others. As a result anger often enables people to protect themselves and maintain access to their resources. People feel anger as soon as they realize others are trying to attack them or take their resources. This often allows them to respond quickly enough to protect themselves and their resources. Signs of anger enable a person to communicate the message, "Don't mess with me, because I can get violent," to others. Anger is an activator. Anger frequently produces fear in those it is directed against that they may be hurt, and it often causes them to retreat. Another feeling, anxiety, also helps people protect themselves and their resources. People feel anxiety when they think they might be harmed or lose resources, whereas they feel anger when they are in the process of being harmed or losing resources or just after it has happened. Anxiety helps people avoid future threats, whereas anger helps people protect themselves and their resources from present threats. (Anxiety is considered in Volume Two in the chapter on Taking Precautions.)

People experience a variety of types of physical discomforts at different times. These include hunger, thirst, hot, cold, itching, soreness, aches, pain, and fatigue. They also feel irritation as a result of a clogged nostril or ear, a particle between their teeth, something in their eye, or

an object which abrades or pushes into their skin. In addition, they feel discomfort when they need to breathe, urinate, or defecate. People feel bothered by physical discomforts and they seek to remove discomforts as they experience them. By removing physical discomforts, people prevent damage to their bodies.

People are very much concerned with taking precautions. They take precautions to protect themselves and their resources. People take countless precautions to better ensure that they get food, water, and shelter; conserve time and energy; protect themselves from various dangers; avoid accidents; obtain stimulation; protect possessions; avoid negative reactions from others; and keep their sources of positive reactions. People take precautions by avoiding threats, removing threats, and reducing threats. The feeling that drives people to take precautions is anxiety. Anxiety involves an increase in tension. It is a punishing feeling which often dominates a person's consciousness. People experience numerous anxieties, or worries, about threats to themselves and their resources. People take precautions in order to reduce anxiety and to prevent anxiety from occurring. As a result of anxiety and taking precautions, people better protect their bodies and their resources. A great many precautions are instituted by groups and societies to better protect their members and their interests. People experience anxiety as soon as they become aware of a potential threat. This provides them with a maximum amount of time in which to take precautions.

People frequently try to get what others have. This may be positive reactions, possessions, advantages, experiences, relationships, accomplishments, and anything else that others have but they do not. The feeling which motivates people to try to get what others have is envy. Envy motivates people to focus on resources which others have that they do not, and to endeavor to acquire these resources for themselves. They may try to take a resource from the person who has it, get the person to share the resource with them, get those who distribute the resource to give them a share, or find another way to obtain the same resource, such as buying it or making it. The feeling of envy notifies people that someone has succeeded in getting a resource that they would like to have too. Envy encourages people to obtain the same resources that others have and encourages them to exploit the resources that are available.

Volume Three

Volume Three contains a chapter on an additional specific behavior which occurs in response to instincts, or feelings. The behavior is seeking sex.

People engage in sex in order to experience pleasure. As a result of engaging in sex, people tend to procreate and maintain proximity to those they mate with. When they maintain proximity, they are likely to provide their mate and offspring with resources and receive resources from them. People seek to establish a relationship with a sexual partner in order to obtain a regular supply of resources for themselves and their offspring. These resources include food, shelter, money, help, and protection, as well as sex.

This volume examines numerous efforts that people make to obtain sex and relationships. People employ a variety of models to help them obtain sexual experiences and establish relationships. Two dominant cultural models are examined. These are *A female should not appear promiscuous* and *A male should not appear effeminate*.

Volume Four

Volume Four deals with using models. It contains photographs, a list of implications, and five exercises for the reader.

We use models in everything we do. Models structure physical and mental behavior. They enable us to act in a purposive way. Models are the vehicles people use to satisfy their feelings. Models allow us to recognize phenomena, form explanations and objectives, and specify what to do and establish priorities. People use models when they recognize phenomena, observe what is happening, develop explanations, make plans, choose between alternatives, conduct activities, communicate to

others, talk to themselves, read, hold attitudes and beliefs, and recognize and satisfy feelings. There are an infinite number of models, and new ones are constantly being developed. Without models, behavior is random. Models are based on mental images. With a language, sounds and words are associated with our mental images.

We employ one model at a time. When we employ models, we consider alternatives; select one of the alternatives; seek to employ it; recognize obstacles, difficulties, and problems; deal with these obstacles, difficulties, and problems; and monitor our progress. People have a single-focus mind and can only focus on one model at a time. When people focus on one model, they do not recognize other models.

A primary task of consciousness is to recognize, select, and apply models. People are consciously aware of one model at a time. The previous model must be discarded or dissolved in order to formulate and focus on a new model within consciousness. The primary role of consciousness is adding, dropping, and rearranging specific behaviors. Consciousness enables us to consider and decide which behaviors to add, drop, or rearrange.

Other species require models for the same reasons that humans require them. Models enable animals to structure behavior. Models make it possible to recognize specific phenomena, interpret events, make plans, choose between alternatives, set objectives, achieve goals, recognize problems, solve problems, communicate to others, recognize feelings, and satisfy feelings. Models are based on mental images of sensory experiences. Therefore it is not necessary to employ language when one uses models. If the use of models required words and language, then a species without words and language would be incapable of recognizing specific phenomena, interpreting events, making plans, choosing between alternatives, setting objectives, achieving goals, recognizing problems, solving problems, communicating with others, recognizing feelings, and satisfying feelings. However, other species operate as quickly and efficiently as humans do.

Without models behavior would be random. Animals would wander about willy-nilly without purpose. Clearly this is not what happens. When one observes an animal one sees it engage in purposive behavior. One may see the animal travel directly from one point to another, hunt for

food, hide or run to escape a predator, carry food home, eat or drink, build a home, seek a mate, get food for its young, protect its young from predators, and train its young to survive. These are intentional activities, not random ones.

Animals live in a complex, uncertain world, and must constantly make decisions to try to obtain and protect resources and to avoid threats. Consciousness is an animal's decision-making apparatus. Any species that makes decisions has consciousness. Animals require consciousness for the same reasons humans require consciousness. Consciousness enables various species to decide to add, remove, and rearrange behaviors. As a result they intentionally change their behavior. Also, consciousness operates as a focusing mechanism. It enables the members of a species to hold a subject in their minds and to consider other factors relative to it. Consciousness permits the members of different animal species to focus on, identify, consider, and understand specific phenomena; to focus on a feeling, identify it, and deal with it; to focus on an objective and keep it in mind while they pursue it; to identify submodels and keep them in mind as they use them; to focus on and identify obstacles, difficulties, and problems and decide how to deal with them; to focus on and consider alternative models and submodels and decide which ones to use; to focus on, identify, and alter priorities; and to focus on and monitor what they are doing and how successful they are. Without consciousness members of animal species would be unable to conduct these activities.

Volume Five

Volume Five deals with establishing consistency with one's models. Establishing consistency is the process by which people act. People act by changing reality – their environment, other people, and themselves – to be consistent with their personal models. When people encounter inconsistency between reality and their personal models, they experience tension. People act in order to remove this tension. They act by

changing reality to be consistent with their personal models. Thus they change their environment, other people, and themselves to correspond to their models. Establishing consistency is also the process by which people select, reject, and switch models. People select models which are consistent with their other models. They reject models which are inconsistent with their other models. People switch models by adopting those models that are more consistent with their other models, and by dropping those that are less consistent.

Consistency and inconsistency are enormously important to humans. People work very hard to establish consistency in everything they do, and when they encounter inconsistency they try to get rid of it. People seek consistency between their models and their world. Models enable people to structure their reality, act, and satisfy their feelings. People are very sensitive to inconsistency with their models. Whenever people encounter inconsistency with their models, they feel tension, or bothered. Because they feel bothered, they seek to establish consistency with their models so they will no longer feel bothered. As a consequence they constantly apply pressure on the world, other people, and themselves to conform to their models. Even though people frequently change their personal models, they believe the personal models they presently hold are best for the world around them, for other people, and for themselves.

Establishing consistency carries certain advantages. It is the mechanism that enables people to a) act in a purposive (non-random) way, b) achieve goals, and c) obtain resources. It is the mechanism by which people select, reject, and switch models. In addition, establishing consistency simplifies the individual's world, remakes the world in the individual's image, provides the brain with less work to do, permits greater communication between people, and facilitates cooperation between individuals. Establishing consistency enables people to operate more effectively and efficiently, satisfy their feelings with greater ease, and obtain more resources.

People feel bothered immediately upon encountering phenomena which are inconsistent with their models. This is advantageous, because the sooner people establish consistency, the sooner they can satisfy their feelings, and the sooner they can obtain and conserve resources.

At the same time the need for consistency is perhaps the major source of conflict between people. Individuals have numerous personal

models which differ from the personal models of others. People are bothered when they see others use models which they would not use in the same situation. People respond by trying to get others to change their models to coincide with their own. However, others seldom want to change the models that they think they have good reasons for, that they are comfortable using (familiar with), and that they employ as part of routines. Conflict occurs when people pressure others to change their models and when people resist pressure from others to change their own models.

Volume Six

Volume Six (Part One) and Volume Seven (Part Two) examine various aspects of behavior in a single region, Prince Edward Island in Canada. This behavior is discussed in detail and then subsequently analyzed in terms of the feelings and models employed in everyday life. Volume Six, this volume, focuses on behavior associated with work and social interaction. Volume Seven, the subsequent volume, focuses on behavior associated with family, religion, alcohol use, politics, community, activities, concepts, and superstitions and beliefs.

Numerous quotes are given in the volumes in this series, including this volume. These quotes were gathered from people on Prince Edward Island. A small percentage of the material deals with experiences that people on Prince Edward Island have had in other Canadian provinces and in other countries. The person quoted is not identified by age and occupation, because in most cases the person would not want this information known. Given the small size of the province, the amount of information that people know about each other, and the effort they put into learning more about others, facts such as age and occupation would confirm the identity of many of those quoted. Unimportant details in the quotes and case studies are sometimes changed to protect the identities of the subjects.

In this volume, sections and examples are numbered consecutively starting with #5133 and ending with #5697. Examples and/or sections are numbered consecutively in the volumes in this series: Volume One (#1 through #1155), Volume Two (#1156 through #2272), Volume Three (#2273 through #2890), Volume Four (#2891 through #3589), and Volume Five (#3590 through #5132). An index of these examples and sections is provided at the end of each volume.

2. IMPLICATIONS OF THIS RESEARCH

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Introduction

This is a partial list of ideas, or models, which have been produced by the research to date. These ideas result from the research reported in Volume One through Volume Six and from the research which is currently in progress which has not yet been published. This is a working list which will change as the research proceeds. There will be alterations, deletions, and additions to this list.

Feelings as instincts

1. Humans have biologically programmed feelings.

2. These feelings are present in all members of the species.

3. Feelings act as instincts.

4. Most instincts in humans and other animal species are experienced as feelings.

5. Responses to feelings in nonhuman animal species have been interpreted as instincts.

6. Feelings explain most of the behavior in humans and other animal species.

7. Feelings provide the motivational system of a species with voluntary movement.

8. Evidence that a species responds to any feeling, such as discomfort (hunger, thirst) or anxiety (running from threats, hiding from threats), indicates that the species responds to other feelings too.

9. Our behavior is directed by feelings, rather than by reason and learning. Reason and learning are used to help us satisfy our feelings. They serve as handmaidens of feelings.

10. Feelings encourage the individual to get and keep resources. Discomfort encourages us to find resources, such as food, water, and shelter, which will remove specific discomforts. Loneliness encourages us to establish relationships with friends and mates, who help us get resources, share their resources with us, and help protect us. Envy encourages us to get the same resources that others are getting. Anxiety helps us avoid threats to ourselves and our resources. Anger helps us defend ourselves and our resources. Guilt encourages us to take care of our human resources. The hurt produced by criticism, rejection, and embarrassment encourages us to avoid doing things which alienate other people, who provide us with most of our resources.

11. Feelings are activated at the first signs that resources are available or threatened.

12. Individuals act in response to feelings, or they act in advance of feelings to avoid or promote the feelings.

13. The three major types of feelings are the pleasures, the hurts, and the bothers.

14. The individual pursues pleasures while avoiding hurts and bothers.

15. Our lives are dedicated to trying to obtain pleasant feelings and avoid unpleasant feelings. Pleasant feelings are provided by the pleasures. Unpleasant feelings are provided by both the hurts and the bothers.

16. The pleasures are produced by sex, positive reactions, and positive stimulation. In addition, the removal of hurts and bothers releases tension, and this release produces pleasure.

17. The hurts are produced by physical and mental effort; negative reactions from others (criticism, rejection); loneliness; envy; threats (anxiety); self-criticism, or guilt; pain; and physical discomforts, such as hunger and not breathing.

18. The bothers are produced by phenomena which are not categorized, inconsistency, phenomena which are not oriented, and differences between models and reality. The bothers hurt also, but usually to a lesser degree than the hurts.

19. Humans can experience and act on feelings without being consciously aware of them. For example, humans take each breath in response to the feeling of increasing discomfort that they experience when they do not take a breath. Humans are not normally consciously aware of this discomfort or of their decision to act and take a breath in order to get rid of it.

20. A considerable amount of excess behavior occurs in response to specific feelings which fails to obtain and conserve resources.

21. Individuals respond to current feelings and live in the present.

22. Human feelings and responses are constant in different cultures and in different historical periods.

23. There is a common set of feelings which is shared by different animal species. For example, in many species individuals associate together in order to obtain positive reactions from each other. Their desire for positive reactions is so strong that they engage in efforts to obtain positive reactions which attract the attention of predators.

24. Various animal species employ different behaviors in response to common feelings. For example, humans smile, cats purr, and dogs wag their tails to express pleasure.

25. Specific feelings are tied to specific muscle groups. For example, humans feel anxiety in their diaphragms, hurt in their lower eye sockets, and pleasure at the raised corners of their mouths.

26. Different feelings are experienced at different locations on the body.

27. Feelings which are experienced at separate locations on the body are separate feelings.

28. Feelings which are experienced at the same locations on the body are the same feeling.

29. The same feeling can be tied to different muscle groups in different animal species. For example, humans feel pleasure where they smile, cats feel pleasure where they purr, and dogs feel pleasure where they wag their tails.

Individuals

30. An individual is designed to a) get and keep resources, b) compete with other individuals for resources, c) cooperate with other individuals to get and keep resources, and d) exchange resources with other individuals.

31. Feelings encourage individuals to get and keep resources, compete for resources with others, and cooperate and exchange resources with others. An individual is encouraged to get resources by the feelings of discomfort, loneliness, and envy. Discomforts, such

as hunger, thirst, and feeling hot or cold, encourage one to obtain resources which will remove the discomforts. Loneliness encourages one to seek the company of others, who provide protection and other resources. Envy encourages one to obtain the same resources that others are getting. An individual is encouraged to keep resources by the feelings of anxiety and anger. Anxiety encourages one to take precautions. Anger enables one to aggressively protect oneself and one's resources. Also, the hurt produced by effort encourages one to avoid exertion and conserve time and energy. Because individuals experience their own feelings rather than the feelings of others, they try to satisfy their own feelings. As a result, they compete with others to obtain resources. Individuals are encouraged to cooperate with each other and exchange resources by the desire for positive reactions and the desire to avoid both negative reactions from others (criticism, rejection, and embarrassment) and guilt (self-criticism).

32. An individual experiences his own feelings. He learns about the feelings experienced by other individuals, but he does not experience them firsthand. Therefore an individual experiences his own feelings far more vividly than he experiences the feelings of other individuals. As a result, each individual spends most of his time acting for himself, thinking about himself, and trying to communicate about himself to others.

Communication of feelings

33. The members of an animal species share a well-developed means of communicating certain of their feelings to each other.

34. Such feelings are communicated to each other through the action of the specific muscle groups associated with each feeling.

35. Simulating the actions of these specific muscle groups will enable humans to better communicate with other animal species.

36. Indicating one's feelings to others is costly in terms of a) the biological systems required to be able to do so, and b) the time and energy expended when one does so. Nevertheless, individuals frequently make their feelings known to others by various means, including sounds, facial expressions, and the movement and position of body parts. Therefore, it must be advantageous to indicate what one is feeling to others.

37. Because feelings determine behavior, it is important to let others know what you are feeling in order that they can correctly predict how you will act and coordinate their behavior with your own. When others correctly recognize what you are feeling, they are more likely to act in an appropriate way at the appropriate time. When others correctly coordinate their behavior with your own, you have to exert less time and energy trying to get them to do so.

38. Because feelings determine behavior, it is important to know what others are feeling in order that you can predict how they will act and you can coordinate your behavior with their behavior. When you correctly coordinate your behavior with the behavior of others, you expend less time and energy dealing with them. Appropriate behavior expends less time and energy than does inappropriate behavior, and is more likely to be successful.

39. Signs of specific feelings carry specific messages which provide advantages. Signs of happiness (smiling, purring, tail wagging) provide others with positive reactions and enable one to obtain positive reactions and resources from them. Signs of discomfort and unhappiness, such as crying, enable one to obtain help and resources from others. Signs of anger warn others that one will aggressively protect oneself and one's resources. Signs of fear notify those one depends on for resources and protection that there are threats present. Signs of interest notify those one depends on about the presence of threats and opportunities.

40. Individuals experience their own feelings, but not the feelings of others. Therefore it is easy for individuals to fail to take into account the feelings of other individuals. When individuals show others what they are feeling, they notify others that they have feelings, they remind others that these feelings need to be taken into account, and they reveal precisely what these feelings are. Only when individuals reveal their feelings can others take them into consideration.

41. In many species a tail is a device for communicating both visually and physically what one is feeling to others. Cats use their tails to indicate alertness, interest, enthusiasm, irritation, affection, fear, discouragement, and relaxation. Humans and apes use facial expressions instead of tails for this purpose. Tails are particularly noticeable because they are a distinct appendage, move independently of the rest of the body, make pronounced movements, are frequently banded in contrasting colors, and hit against other individuals.

42. Both tails and faces indicate the nature and degree of the tension that the individual is experiencing.

Activators

43. Individuals have *activators*, or specialized behaviors which activate specific feelings in other individuals. Crying, smiling, and anger are three examples of activators in humans.

44. Different animal species use different activators to achieve a common purpose. For example, humans smile, cats purr, and dogs wag their tails as activators to obtain positive reactions from others.

45. Activators are the first social behaviors expressed by the infants of many animal species. Mewing and purring are two examples of activators in kittens.

46. Individuals cheat, or use an activator without experiencing the feeling which produces the activator, in order to get others to respond appropriately. Cheaters employ various activators, including crying, smiling, and anger.

47. The presence of activators can be used to trace the presence and evolution of certain feelings in various animal species.

Behavior

48. The regular use of a specific social behavior by members of a species indicates that the behavior frequently evokes a specific feeling and a specific response in other members of the species.

49. The Parallel Feelings Hypothesis: If two different species a) use the same social behavior, and b) produce the same response in others, then c) the feeling which is evoked in others by the social behavior is the same in both species. For example, because infant humans and infant birds a) both "cry," and b) in both cases their parents respond by feeding them, then c) the same feeling is evoked in both sets of parents, i.e., a desire to avoid self-criticism, or guilt.

50. In accordance with The Parallel Feelings Hypothesis, when we can identify the feeling that is evoked in one of the two species, we can assume the same feeling is evoked in the other species. Therefore, when we know what the feeling is in humans when humans are one of the two species, we can assume that the same feeling is present in the other species.

Association and extension

51. An individual recognizes what he thinks, does, says, and owns as extensions of himself.

52. An individual recognizes a positive reaction by others to anything he thinks, does, says, or owns as a positive reaction to himself.

53. An individual recognizes a negative reaction by others to anything he thinks, does, says, or owns as a negative reaction to himself.

54. An individual considers the other individuals he is associated with to be extensions of himself.

55. An individual treats negative reactions to those he is associated with as negative reactions toward himself.

56. An individual views the behavior of those he is associated with as though it is his own behavior. As a result, actions which would embarrass the individual if he did them himself, embarrass him when they are done by other people he is associated with.

57. When a person is familiar with another individual's experiences, he does not experience them as the other individual experiences them. Instead, the person experiences them as he would feel if the experiences had happened to himself.

58. People "adopt" others as an extension of themselves. Thus they adopt characters in novels and films, individuals in the news, and sporting teams and players. When something happens to someone or something that a person has "adopted," the person responds as though it is happening to himself. This is the case when those who are adopted (or their resources) are threatened, or when those who are adopted succeed and receive positive reactions. People have difficulty adopting a character when the character does things

which they would not do themselves, such as things which they consider bad, incompetent, immature, self-centered, selfish, foolish, stupid, rude, inconsiderate, narrow-minded, or a result of bad judgment.

Tense and release

59. Feelings involve an increase of tension or a release of tension.

60. Tension is experienced as hurt.

61. An increase in tension produces a corresponding increase in hurt.

62. Difficulty releasing tension, or the inability to release tension, prolongs hurt.

63. We try to minimize physical and mental effort because they involve tension and hurt. When we conserve time and energy, we avoid effort, and we avoid tension and hurt.

64. The release of tension is experienced as pleasure.

65. When we complete a task or achieve a goal, we release the tension that was driving us, and we feel pleasure. Therefore we feel pleasure when we complete a paper we are writing, pay off a mortgage, complete our income tax return, win a sporting competition, or get the positive reactions we want.

66. Sources of positive stimulation, such as movies, novels, amusement park rides, and certain sports, produce entertainment by providing

tension and releasing it. People seek out these sources of stimulation in order to experience tension, its release, and the resulting pleasure. The more tension experienced and the greater its release, the more successful the entertainment.

67. The more tension released, and the more easily tension is released, the more pleasure experienced.

68. Humans and other animal species seek to a) avoid tension, b) release tension, and c) increase tension in order to release it and experience pleasure.

69. Warmth releases muscular tension, and this release of tension provides pleasure. Therefore humans like lying in the sun, hot showers and baths, hot tubs and whirlpools, saunas, hot drinks, hot food, smoking, heat lamps, hot-water bottles, and electric heating pads.

70. Many other species like lying and relaxing in the sun, which indicates that the release of tension also provides them with pleasure. This indicates that their bodies and minds operate on the same tense and release principles that human bodies and minds do.

71. Massage is pleasurable to humans and other species because it releases tension.

72. A living organism consists of an organized system of tense and release mechanisms. These tense and release mechanisms are able to perform respiration, circulation, movement, digestion, reproduction, nervous control, mental operations, and other activities, such as yawning and sneezing.

73. It may prove possible to explain all physiological phenomena and the origin of life with tense and release models.

74. The brain evolved to coordinate tense and release mechanisms.

Effort

75. People avoid physical and mental activity because activity requires tension. People experience tension as hurt. In order to minimize hurt, individuals a) tense as little as possible, and b) release tension as soon as possible. As a result they exert themselves as little as possible, and conserve as much energy as possible.

76. People engage in physical and mental activity in response to their other feelings. They act when a) the pleasure they obtain from the activity, or b) the hurt they feel from other sources when they do not engage in the activity, outweighs the hurt they feel from exerting themselves.

77. People avoid activities in which the hurt they feel from exerting themselves is greater than the pleasure they experience from the activity.

78. People avoid activities in which the hurt they feel from exerting themselves is greater than the hurt they feel from other sources when they do not engage in the activity.

79. Something is boring or tedious because one does not obtain enough stimulation from it to outweigh the hurt one feels from exerting oneself to do the activity. Thus one finds it boring to reread the same material, to continue to eat the same food, or to listen to someone say something one is already familiar with, because these things no longer provide stimulation.

Models and behavior

80. Behavior is structured by mental categories and models.

81. Without models, behavior is random.

82. Each individual uses categories and models in order to act in a non-random fashion.

83. When categories or models are changed, behavior changes.

84. Individuals develop and use their own categories and models.

85. Each individual employs models in order to deal with feelings.

86. Most behavior can be explained in terms of feelings and the models employed to satisfy them.

87. When models are inconsistent with reality, people experience tension.

88. People act in order to rid themselves of this tension. When they act they change reality to be consistent with their models. For example, there is a glass on the left side of the table, and you want the glass to be on the right side of the table. Therefore reality (the glass is on the left side) is inconsistent with your model (you want the glass on the right side). Because of this inconsistency, you experience tension. Therefore, you act to rid yourself of this tension. You change reality (by moving the glass from the left side of the table to the right side) to be consistent with your model (you want the glass on the right side). When reality (the glass is now on the right side) is consistent with your model (you want the glass on the right side), then the tension is released, you no longer experience tension, and you no longer feel pressure to act.

89. People act to remove their greatest sources of tension. The greater the tension, the higher the priority.

90. People select the model and action which produces the least inconsistency with their other models, i.e., the least tension.

91. Humans and other animal species develop models, select models, and act for the same reasons.

92. The mind evolved to a) recognize categories, b) recognize inconsistencies, c) deal with feelings, d) produce models, e) select between models, and f) execute models.

Language

93. A shared language based on sounds is a means by which individuals coordinate their use of the same sounds with similar categories and models.

94. In a shared language, specific sounds (or other phenomena) trigger the specific categories and models in the minds of other individuals that the sounds are associated with.

95. A shared language allows individuals to exchange and pool information about their individual categories and models.

96. In human language standardized sounds were associated with the individual categories and models that pre-humans were already employing as an animal species.

97. Human language enables humans to discuss their feelings, behaviors, and mental operations, which they and the other animal species have in common.

98. Humans are animals who can tell each other what it is like to be an animal. Humans are talking animals.

99. If we want to know what animals feel and think, all we have to do is listen to humans talk about themselves.

100. Humans speak because they feel tension to say something. Once they have said what they want to say, the tension, or pressure, is released and is no longer there. When person A finishes saying something, and person B asks person A to repeat or explain what he has just said, person A finds it annoying to do so, because the initial tension is no longer there and person A has to force himself to comply.

101. Certain animals make sounds to other animals or to humans a) when they want something, or b) when they are bothered by something (have something to say). They stop making the sounds when a) they get what they want, or b) they have said what they wanted to say. This indicates that animals feel the same tension to make sounds that humans feel and release it in the same way. This indicates that their minds operate in the same way that human minds operate.

102. Animal species have to form categories in order to recognize phenomena, and have to formulate models and apply them in order to act non-randomly.

103. Human categories and models are primarily sensory images. Consider buying a loaf of bread, eating an ice cream cone, or having sex with a specific person. You think about these things primarily in visual images, not in words. If I say, "A kangaroo buried a watermelon in my front yard," how do you experience this in your mind? You see your own visual images of a kangaroo, a watermelon, burying something, and a front yard, rather than collections of words in your mind which describe a kangaroo, a watermelon, burying something, and a front yard.

104. Members of a species use means such as sounds in an effort to communicate their feelings, categories, and models to each other. Thus cats use sounds for a variety of purposes, including calling, answering, indicating discomfort or pain, seeking positive reactions, trying to get others to comply with what they want (establishing consistency), criticizing, threatening, and expressing what is on their mind, such as telling about their experiences or complaining.

105. Many species use sounds in an effort to activate feelings, categories, and models in other individuals.

106. Human language enables humans to communicate in generalizations, or words, which individual humans relate to their own personal categories and models.

107. Species differ as to how specific their communications are, i.e., the degree of detail in which they can describe their categories and models. Words communicate categories and models in greater detail than basic sounds. However, human language is severely limited when it comes to communicating the full detail and complexity of categories and models. Consider how difficult it is to use words alone to describe a person's appearance to someone who has never seen the person before, and to do so well enough that he would have no difficulty recognizing the person within a crowd of people. Consider also how difficult it is to use words to describe to another person all of the details and feelings that you experienced when you watched a film, read a novel, listened to a piece of music, or took a trip. Although words enable us to easily distinguish between "a chair" and "a couch" when we talk, it is difficult to use words to accurately describe a specific chair or couch to another person. When we want to communicate something specific to others we have to provide them with a visual image by showing them the item, showing them a photograph or a drawing of it, or using gestures.

108. It is very possible that a species could evolve a language which enabled it to communicate categories and models in much

greater detail than human language. Such a species could communicate more accurately and rapidly, could achieve a much finer degree of cooperation among its members, and would be much more successful than a species that relied on human language. In fact, the gap in ability between such a species and humans might be at least as great as the present gap between humans and other animal species on earth.

109. Theoretically a shared language could be just as specific and descriptive as the personal categories and models held by individuals. Other things being equal, the closer the language of a species is to this ideal, the more successful the species.

110. One can view a potential progression taking place from sounds, to words, to increasingly specific words.

Culture

111. Because each individual uses his own categories and models, no two individuals have the identical understanding of a situation.

112. Inconsistency produces tension, and people seek to establish consistency to remove this tension.

113. In order to establish consistency, people try to get others to adopt and comply with their personal models.

114. When we see someone do something, we behave as though we are doing it ourselves. We consider others as an extension of ourselves. If they do, say, or think something we would not, we view it as a mistake on our part and act to correct it by trying to change their behavior.

115. People use a) resources, and b) negative reactions, such as criticism, to get others to adopt and comply with their personal models.

116. People adopt the personal models of those who control resources in order to get a share of their resources.

117. Culture is the net result of individual efforts to establish consistency within a specific group.

118. A society or culture is a collage of individual, group, and organizational models.

119. Many individual and group models produce more negative results than positive results.

120. The ability of humans to communicate in greater detail through words has enabled human individuals to communicate their specific likes and dislikes to each other and to establish a much more elaborate repertoire of correct and incorrect behaviors in their societies than have other species. Although other species are concerned with avoiding negative reactions, they do not communicate or understand criticism in as fine detail as do humans and therefore do not adjust their behavior to as fine a degree. Therefore other species do not a) wear clothes, b) hide their sexual activity and elimination from others, or c) stand up straight, cover their mouths when they yawn, and use napkins.

121. A species which uses a language which is more specific than human language will have rules for correct and incorrect behavior which are more detailed than the rules used in human cultures. Humans will be unable to understand these rules or act in accordance with them, just as animals do not understand or act in accordance with human rules. Therefore, human behavior will appear as crude and uncouth to such a species as the behavior of animals does to humans.

Categories and models

122. Categories are an efficient means of dealing with sensory phenomena.

123. Phenomena which are not categorized produce tension and attract notice.

124. Categories are formed by recognizing repetition. For example, when humans speak and write, they use synonyms in order to avoid repetition which will produce a second, competing, unwanted, distracting category in the mind of the listener or reader. In poetry and song, on the other hand, humans use repetition to produce additional rhythmic patterns in the mind of the listener. Music consists of repetitive sounds, sequences, and phrases which enable the listener to establish categories. It is significant that music relies heavily on numerous forms of repetition, and to a much lesser extent on symmetry, to produce categories.

125. The organization of phenomena into a category releases tension and produces pleasure.

126. The quest for positive stimulation is the search for unfamiliar phenomena to categorize.

127. People use the arts, learning, entertainment, and travel in order to organize unfamiliar phenomena into new categories and thereby experience pleasure. The arts include music, painting, sculpture, literature, poetry, photography, film, architecture, crafts, fashion, and decoration.

128. Successful art is designed a) to be different than existing categories so that it is not already categorized and therefore produces

tension and is interesting, and b) to be easily categorized so that the tension is released with little effort and pleasure is easily produced. Orientations are employed by artists to enable phenomena to be easily categorized, and orientations are violated by artists to a limited extent to produce tension and interest.

129. The fewer categories that are needed to categorize phenomena, the less effort is required, and the more attractive the phenomena. For example, lakes and lawns can be categorized with few categories and are peaceful and pleasing, and because younger faces have fewer features than older faces (with spots and wrinkles), they can be categorized with fewer categories and are more attractive.

130. Once phenomena are categorized, they are no longer stimulating. No tension remains to be released. No matter how attractive a specific phenomenon is initially, once it has been fully categorized, it is no longer interesting. This is true of art, literature, music, clothing, jewelry, other possessions, and a person's appearance.

131. The play activity of the young provides parents and other adults with stimulation, i.e., pleasure. Members of a species value, maintain, and protect their sources of pleasure.

132. Models relate categories together, and are an efficient means of dealing with categories.

133. Models are also used to explain unknowns. It is important for our survival that we be able to recognize and explain unknowns, because unknowns may constitute threats or opportunities.

134. Learning consists of the placement of phenomena into categories and models.

Orientations

135. Phenomena which are not oriented produce tension.

136. The orientation of phenomena releases tension and produces pleasure.

137. The more oriented phenomena are, the less tension is produced, and the more attractive the phenomena.

138. The less oriented phenomena are, the more tension is produced, and the less attractive the phenomena.

139. Humans employ orientations in order to reduce the effort the brain has to make to organize phenomena into categories.

140. The use of orientations enables humans to easily organize phenomena into categories. Examples of human orientations include symmetry, repetition, rectangles, circles, lines, horizontal and vertical, parallel and perpendicular, consistency, centering, equidistant placement, simplicity, perfection, thoroughness, grouping on the basis of similarity, and the use of solid colors.

141. An orientation can be approximate; it does not have to be mathematically perfect. Thus the colored designs on the individual members of a species can be approximately symmetrical, centered, or repetitive. An orientation only has to be close enough to perfect for the members of the species to be able to recognize the orientation. Humans use tools to apply their orientations with mathematical precision.

142. The presence of an orientation in the appearance of members of a species indicates that members of that species respond to that orientation. For example, if the facial or bodily designs on

members of the species are symmetrical, centered, or repetitive, then members of that species respond to that orientation.

143. The symmetrical, centered, and repetitive designs on the faces and bodies of individuals are aesthetically pleasing to the members of that species.

144. Individual differences in designs on faces and bodies result in individuals appearing more or less attractive than other individuals to members of their species.

145. Specific orientations and violations of orientations are used to draw attention to specific areas of the body.

146. Many other animal species have the same orientations as humans.

147. The orientations that are used in the colored designs on non-human species are the same orientations that humans employ in their construction and decoration of clothes, vehicles, everyday objects, architecture, and the arts, and in their behavior.

148. The extensive use of repetition and symmetry in a) the designs on nonhuman species, and b) the designs that humans use for and on their clothes, vehicles, everyday objects, and architecture indicates that nonhumans and humans form categories in the same way and therefore their minds operate the same way.

149. Symmetry is a form of repetition. In symmetry, one half of the design repeats the other half, but from the opposite direction.

150. An individual's body maintains an approximate symmetrical appearance between the right and left halves as the individual develops and ages.

151. Humans apply orientations to their objects and behavior to produce the categories they want to perceive and want others to perceive.

152. Humans violate the orientations in order to produce tension and attract attention. In order to attract attention they use contrasting colors, off-center placement, diagonals, and inconsistency.

The mind

153. The fact that the mind and the body both a) resist effort, b) experience fatigue, and c) are better able to handle difficult tasks after a period of rest indicates that they operate in a similar manner.

154. The mind seeks to a) recognize inconsistency, and b) establish consistency.

155. The human brain gets humans to expend physical effort which enables the brain to reduce mental effort.

156. Humans can only focus on one category or model at a time.

157. When we focus on one category, we do not recognize other categories.

158. When we focus on a category, we have to give up our previous category. Therefore we often forget what our previous category was.

159. Other animal species also have single-focus minds.

160. Pack hunting is so successful because prey focus on one predator, or category, at a time.

161. Our progress in science is so slow because each individual has a single-focus mind. We can only focus on one category at a time. Therefore, when we consider one category, we can not consider others. Our single-focus mind can only perform one mental operation at a time. Thus we can only make one observation, develop one category (or model), or apply one category (or model) to data at a time. Because we have a single-focus mind, we have to do science through piecemeal accumulation, and add one bit of information or analysis at a time.

162. A species whose individuals have multiple-focus minds could deal with more than one category (or model) at a time, and could perform more than one mental operation at the same time. Such a species could understand situations and behavior, respond appropriately, and develop science and technology at a much faster rate than a single-focus species. In comparison with a multiple-focus species, a single-focus species would be mentally retarded. A multiple-focus species could be produced through a) evolution in certain environments, b) genetic engineering, or c) the design of artificial intelligence.

163. A group is a collection of individuals whose single-focus minds are focused in different directions. Therefore a group operates as a multiple-focus mind, which recognizes more opportunities and more threats than an individual would recognize alone.

164. The more individuals there are in a group, the larger the number of threats and opportunities that will be recognized.

Consciousness

165. Consciousness is a focusing mechanism. Consciousness enables us to focus on a specific subject and consider other factors relative to it. Consciousness can focus on broad subjects or highly specific subjects.

166. Consciousness and vision both focus on one subject at a time.

167. The mind forms one model, or image, at a time, and must dissolve the old model to form the new one. As a result a person often forgets what their previous model was.

168. Consciousness is a decision-making apparatus. Any species that makes decisions has consciousness.

169. The primary role of consciousness is to add, remove, and rearrange behaviors.

170. Any species that makes decisions to add, remove, or rearrange behaviors has consciousness.

171. Consciousness recognizes, selects, and applies models.

172. Physical and mental activities require conscious attention when they must be learned or changed. They must be changed when it becomes clear they are inappropriate and when obstacles are encountered.

173. Conscious attention is required to examine and select alternatives. Examining and selecting alternatives requires much more conscious attention than monitoring routines.

174. Physical and mental activities which are repeated without change become routines. They can be executed very quickly because they require little conscious attention except to monitor their execution and their relevance.

175. Because conscious attention and selection involves more mental operations than does the execution of routines, it is much slower.

176. The more tension produced by a phenomenon, the more likely one is made consciously aware of the phenomenon.

177. One must apply conscious attention when a) one recognizes things, b) one tries to find something, c) one tries to understand what is happening, d) one tries to understand why something is happening, e) one chooses between alternatives, f) one decides how to deal with a situation, g) one decides how to deal with changes, h) one decides what one ought to be doing, i) one sets objectives, j) one decides how and when to carry out objectives, k) one decides what one needs to have in order to carry out objectives, l) one establishes priorities, m) one decides whether to act, n) one decides what to do next, o) one decides what to do in the future, p) one thinks about what could happen, q) one decides why one should not do things, r) one takes precautions, s) one recognizes obstacles, t) one decides how to act when one encounters obstacles, u) one solves problems, v) one decides how to make improvements, w) one checks on one's progress, x) one recognizes that one needs to find an alternative, y) one realizes that the situation is different than one thought, z) one tries to change one's behavior, aa) one tries to change the behavior of others, bb) one imagines a possible outcome, cc) one imagines a desirable outcome, dd) one dreams, ee) one considers or decides what to do if something happens, ff) one recognizes when something significant happens, gg) one considers past events, hh) one thinks about what one should have done, or ii) one evaluates things and events.

178. Any species which does one or more of the activities mentioned just above has consciousness.

The study of brain and behavior

179. Rather than view each species as having a unique evolutionary past, unique mental operations, and unique behaviors, it is more useful to view different species as sharing a common set of mental operations and behaviors which have been modified for survival in particular niches.

180. We have assumed that the behavior of each species is unique.

181. However, the behavior that is unique to a species is a thin veneer over a common set of feelings, behaviors, and mental operations which are shared with other animal species.

182. By focusing on the differences between species and the differences between cultures we have overlooked the greater significance of the similarities between species. Differences between species and between cultures are inconsistent, produce tension, and attract our attention. Similarities between species and between cultures are consistent, do not produce tension, and do not attract our attention.

183. Feelings, categories, models, consciousness, and communication did not originate with humans. They originated with animals. Humans have them too because humans are animals.

184. Language and technology did not free humans from their animal programming, or feelings, but rather gave humans more power to implement their animal programming on each other and their environment.

185. Perhaps the biggest obstacle to understanding ourselves is our pretentiousness, or the belief humans are unique, special, and important, and more so than other species. This pretentiousness has

interfered with and delayed our understanding of a) our location in space, b) our evolution, c) our mind and behavior, and d) the similarity between human nature and animal nature, and our realizing that e) other species have as much right to the environment as we do.

186. The refusal of the scientific community to recognize the role of feelings and consciousness in animal behavior is the equivalent of the scientific community's refusal in the past to recognize evolution or the rotation of the planets around the sun. This refusal is a major impediment to our progress in understanding behavior.

187. Every behavior of humans and other animal species can be understood in a scientific manner.

188. Each and every thing an individual does reflects the structure and operation of the brain.

189. An understanding of human behavior and the human mind will likely precede and produce a greater understanding of the behavior and minds of other animal species.

190. We will find simple ways to accurately describe and explain behavior, the mind, and the brain.

Humans and other species

191. Human exploitation of other species is based on superior power rather than natural right.

192. Humans act like the Nazis of the animal kingdom, and treat other species worse than Nazis treated Jews.

193. Just as the Nazis envisioned a Thousand-Year Reich for their race, humans envision a long and glorious destiny for their species on earth and in space.

194. Humans do not act any better or any worse than any other animal species would act if it had moved into the dominant position.

195. The argument that "it is acceptable for humans to harm animals provided humans are benefited" is no different than the arguments that "it is acceptable for Europeans to harm Africans provided Europeans are benefited," "it is acceptable for men to harm women provided men are benefited," and "it is acceptable for Nazis to harm Jews provided Nazis are benefited."

196. Other animal species are so similar to us, that when we do something to another species, we might as well be doing it to ourselves.

197. Humans live as though they are the only species on earth that matters. They do not consider the consequences of their actions for the members of other species.

198. Humans consider each individual human precious, but each individual member of other species insignificant.

199. The reluctance of humans to view members of other species as individuals makes it easier for humans to mistreat them.

200. Humans do not want to accept that members of other animal species have feelings and thoughts comparable to their own.

201. Humans show an almost complete lack of empathy and respect for members of other animal species, who are experiencing many of the same feelings and thoughts that humans would experience if humans were in their situations.

202. Human abuse of the members of other species far outweighs whatever good humans do.

203. The food chain is cannibalism on a large scale. Animal species are so similar to each other, that animal-eating species are effectively eating themselves.

Humans and the environment

204. Humans are in the process of converting the entire earth to human use at the expense of other species.

205. Humans find the appearance of nature chaotic and irritating. Therefore they apply human orientations to nature in order to reduce the effort of looking at it. Thus they produce lawns, gardens, and parks which conform with human orientations. Human orientations include the extensive use of rectangles, circles, lines, parallel and perpendicular, horizontal and vertical, repetition, symmetry, consistency, perfection, and grouping on the basis of similarity.

206. The better a species establishes and maintains an oriented environment which reduces the work of the brain, the more successful the species.

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Look at all the options
You learn by doing
The more time you spend at something, the better you get at it
The more times you try, the more likely you are to succeed
Do the kind of work you would appreciate yourself
If you think something should be done, don't wait for others to do it
If you undertake something, do the best you can
At a given time you can do one thing really well, another thing half well, and everything else poorly

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If it's important, take it off the top
Don't be penny wise and pound foolish
The more time you put into a task, the sooner it is finished
It's easier to continue what you are doing than to start something different
Half of the time you do something, you'll have to do it all over again
All people are basically the same
People are a mixed bag
A person is a person first, and anything else second
Past behavior is the best predictor of future behavior
If you want to understand behavior, focus on behavior that there is a lot of
Let the data tell you what is there
People perform in accordance with the way you evaluate them
If you make clear what you want, people will comply
A person can't listen to what you are saying until the person has said what is on their mind
People give you what they want to receive themselves
The more you like someone, the more they'll like you
If you are going to do something for someone, be gracious about it
Praise very good work
Criticize very bad work
Don't make work for other people
Be willing to make a small effort when doing so makes a huge difference to another individual
Good and bad outcomes occur randomly
People should not be whiners
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1. PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Prince Edward Island is Canada's smallest province. The Island was named after Prince Edward, commander-in-chief in British North America and father of Queen Victoria. Inhabitants normally refer to Prince Edward Island as "The Island" or "PEI." It is located on the eastern seaboard of Canada in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, where it is partially surrounded by the provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. At the closest point it is less than fifteen kilometers from the mainland. The Island is roughly 5,700 square kilometers in size, and is crescent shaped and narrow in places. Previously, ferry boats provided year-round service between Borden, Prince Edward Island, and Cape Tormentine, New Brunswick. This was replaced by The Confederation Bridge, which is thirteen kilometers long. There remains a ferry service during the warmer months between Wood Islands, Prince Edward Island, and Pictou, Nova Scotia. In addition, there is regular air service between Charlottetown, which is the Island capital, and other Canadian provinces.

The population of the Island is between 120,000 and 140,000. The original inhabitants were Mi'kmaq, and approximately 1000 live on Island reserves today. European settlers arrived from England, Scotland, Ireland, France, and from mainland Canadian areas. Most Island Acadians were deported by the British in 1758. More recently small numbers of immigrants have arrived whose families were originally from Lebanon, the Philippines, Holland, Belgium, Latin America, and China. People whose ancestors were born on the Island distinguish themselves from "people from away," or "PFA's." In various periods Islanders have traveled to Maine, Massachusetts, Ontario, British Columbia, and Alberta in search of work, and many have remained there.

Today Prince Edward Island's economy is based primarily on retail trade, manufacturing, agriculture, fishing, tourism, and federal government support. Fox farming and ship building were important industries in the past.

Provincial Sources of Revenue in 2007 in Millions of Dollars*

Retail Trade	1,629
Manufacturing	1,432
Agriculture	364
Tourism	354
Unemployment Insurance Benefits	222
Fishing	167

Retail trade includes the sale of automobiles, gasoline, food, household and personal items, garden supplies, and sporting goods. Manufacturing includes agricultural and fish products, wood industries, and aerospace and chemical products. Unemployment insurance benefits are paid by the federal government.

Island agriculture is aided by more than three months of frost-free weather in summer. The primary crop is potatoes, and the Island exports seed potatoes, table potatoes, and frozen and canned potatoes. Because of the isolation of the Island, potatoes are relatively free of disease, and are exported to many countries as seed potatoes. Roughly one quarter of the potatoes produced in Canada originate on the Island. Dairy products, beef, and hogs are also important. Additional crops include grain, turnips, broccoli, cauliflower, carrots, strawberries, and wild blueberries.

Lobsters provide the primary source of income from fishing. However, lobsters have been over fished and the government carefully regulates the industry as to when and where lobsters can be trapped. Blue fin tuna, cod, mackerel, herring, and other species are also taken. Irish moss, a seaweed used as a food stabilizer, is raked by hand from boats and gathered on beaches after storms. In addition, oysters, mussels, scallops, and other shellfish are both collected and cultivated.

The Island attracts more than a million tourists a year. Most of these are from Canada and the United States. Tourists arrive by private automobile, tour busses, cruise ships, and commercial airplanes. They come for a quiet vacation, to visit relatives, to attend conventions, or because

it is a scheduled stop on a tour. Most visit Charlottetown, where a conference was held in 1864 to consider a union between the Canadian provinces, and they visit Cavendish, the setting for Lucy Maud Montgomery's popular novel about an orphaned girl, *Anne of Green Gables*.

The Island itself is characterized by farms, woodlots, areas that are low and flat, gently rolling hills, villages and road communities, paved and dirt roads, red soil, bays and harbors, beaches and sand dunes, salt marshes, sandstone cliffs and shores, and the sea. There are two larger towns, Charlottetown (population: 32,000) and Summerside (population: 14,500), with a variety of residential suburbs. The great majority of the remaining larger communities have a population of less than a thousand. Most houses are constructed of wood, and many communities have at least one architecturally distinctive church. Transportation is by private vehicles, primarily automobiles and trucks. Charlottetown and Summerside have taxi services, and a public bus service was recently introduced in Charlottetown.

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2. SEASONS, WEATHER, AND ACTIVITIES

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1. Introduction

> Weather is inescapable. You can't stay inside forever. As soon as you step outside, there it is. #5133

> On PEI, weather is the most common topic of conversation, by far. #5134

> Weather is always a good topic when you can't think of anything else to say. #5135

The weather and seasons have an enormous influence on Island life. They determine work and leisure activities on a daily and a yearly basis. Island weather is constantly changing. It can be mild and sunny in the morning and cold and snowing in the evening. It is not surprising that weather is the most frequent topic of conversation between people. Not only does it provide people with a common concern; they are often curious to learn what others know about what lies ahead.

> My grandparents watch the weather updates on TV, so they are always aware of the forecast for the next day. My grandmother always knows the temperature and the direction the wind is blowing and when it is supposed to shift. #5136

> When relatives come to visit from other provinces my family always wants to know what the weather is like where they live. Sometimes my family comments, "Too bad we can't have a little bit of your weather here." #5137

In addition, people find that their attitudes and motivation are influenced by the weather.

> When it's sunny and warm, I get up feeling cheerful and energetic. #5138

> I feel good on a sunny day. When it's bright and sunny, something pretty bad has to happen for me to feel down. #5139

> Rain is the pits. I feel so blue when it rains, I just want to stay in bed. #5140

> A cold, rainy morning throws me off for the rest of the day. All I want to do is curl up on the couch in a comforter with a good book. I get so disgusted with myself, because I just can't get motivated. I usually don't accomplish anything all day. But when it is a beautiful sunny day, I work very hard and get a lot done. #5141

> When there is a windy, rainy day, I feel drowsier at work or school than I do when the sun is out. #5142

> It's awful to get wet. It messes up my hair and I hate to wear damp clothes. #5143

> I get scared when the wind is really loud because there's a big tree in my yard just outside my window which might blow down. And I don't like to drive in high winds because my car jerks all over the road and one of the big transfer trucks that passes me might be empty and blow over on me. #5144

2. Fall

In fall the skies become more overcast and the temperature becomes cooler. The days become noticeably shorter. There are fewer periods of sunny weather, and the wind is more troublesome. People often respond negatively to the changes in the weather.

> I dread the early mornings in September, because they are cold and dark. They are so different from the early sunny mornings in July and August when everything is quiet and fresh. #5145

Farmers harvest their grain, potatoes, corn, cole crops, and tobacco during the fall. In October there is frost on the ground and the leaves turn various colors. Some people take drives on the Island or take a trip to Cape Breton in Nova Scotia to see the leaves.

> The colors of fall are soothing and I like to go for walks in the woods. #5146

> One day I'll notice that the leaves have changed color. Then the next good windy day the leaves are stripped from the trees. We must have one of the shortest falls in the world. #5147

Many people busy themselves raking leaves and placing them in bags at the edge of the street to be picked up and disposed of. In fall one encounters numerous earwigs around one's home and barbecue unit, flies become trapped by screens inside one's home, and large spiders spin webs outside one's windows.

School and university classes start again in early September. Also, private courses begin for youth and adults in various activities, including gymnastics, dance, ice skating, hockey, music, painting, and using computers. There are many garage sales in the fall. Stores are decorated for Halloween, which is on October 31st. The day after Halloween stores put up their Christmas decorations.

In late fall many elderly people move from their homes in the country to spend the winter in Island towns in temporary residences in motels, hotels, and apartments. They close their homes, arrange to have someone check on them periodically, and find alternative abodes for their pets. In town, goods and services are more easily available, and the elderly do not have to clear winter snow and ice unless they wish to drive.

> At the end of fall, my grandmother moves from her old farmhouse in the country to an apartment in Charlottetown for the winter. Then she moves back to the country in late May or early June. The weather determines how early she moves to Charlottetown and how late she stays. If it's cold and rainy in the spring, you can count on her waiting around Charlottetown for better weather. #5148

People frequently discuss what the coming winter will be like. They try to predict whether it will be mild or severe. They repeat what the

Farmers' Almanac says about the approaching winter and mention observations made by others, such as "The wasps are building their nests high in the trees, so there'll be lots of snow," or "The hair on the caterpillars is very long this fall, so it's likely to be a cold one." They wait apprehensively for the first snowfall.

3. Winter

In winter the days are short. It is dark when one gets up in the morning and dark when one gets home in the evening from work. Winter is the season that people are inside. Because of indoor heating systems and the fact windows are closed, air inside houses and buildings becomes quite dry. There are a number of serious storms every winter, and January and February can be bitterly cold.

> During the short, dark days of winter, many people complain of having less energy, feeling down, putting on weight, and not wanting to get up in the morning. #5149

> Winter is evil. It pisses me off because it's cold and there's snow on the ground, and if I want to go outside I have to wear a lot of clothes. Also, I get sick because my immune system is low. #5150

> When people say, "It's dirty out," they mean the weather is awful. Dirty weather refers to dirty four-letter words. In this case the words are snow, wind, rain, and cold. #5151

> Winter is a bad time to travel to and from Prince Edward Island. Ferry crossings become difficult when the ice sets in the Northumberland Strait. Only the boats equipped as ice breakers can get through, and crossings take much longer. But when the winds reach gale force, the service stops and the ferry boats are tied up. #5152

When there is a sunny day without wind in the midst of winter, many people are quite pleased and comment on it. There are other aspects of winter that individuals enjoy.

> I love the winter, especially when it's crisp, cold, and sunny. There isn't anything like the crunch of frost under your boots. #5153

> Once or twice a winter, a freezing rain encases the trees in a layer of ice, and they appear to be made entirely of crystal. It's like walking through a fairyland. It's just beautiful. #5154

> I find it fascinating to watch the wind in winter storms. Often the wind blows the snow absolutely horizontal, and there are long streams of snow flowing past your legs. It's like standing in a shallow river. Afterwards you see snowdrifts that the wind has carved into abstract sculptures. #5155

Crows, pigeons, and seagulls are commonly seen in winter as they search for food.

For many people winter is a period of reduced activity. The tourist and fishing seasons are over, and farmers are off the land. Fishermen and others with seasonal summer employment frequently draw unemployment insurance benefits in winter.

Those who are able, try to take a short vacation off the Island in winter and go someplace warm, such as Florida, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, or Las Vegas. This helps reduce the length of the Island winter. Also, they return with an obvious tan, which attracts jealous comments from others who remained on the Island. Some retired people spend the entire winter in a warmer area, such as Florida.

Winter sports include hockey, ice skating, curling, and skiing.

> Hockey on PEI is much more than just a game. For some of my friends, the winter months revolve around hockey, and they play, practice, or watch the game as much as they can. In rural areas hockey games are important social functions, and people go to watch the games and to visit with their friends and neighbors who are there. #5156

Weather is unpredictable and this makes it difficult to engage in outdoor winter sports on a regular basis. Many communities have outdoor rinks, and children also use frozen ponds or rinks in their own backyards. However, warm periods with no snow frequently prevent people from participating in outdoor sports, and cold, wind, and snow interfere with scheduled competitions. People are often disappointed when winter gives them few opportunities to use expensive sporting equipment, such as cross-country skis and snowmobiles.

> This winter a neighbor bought a brand new snowmobile. A week later we had a mild spell and all the snow melted. Since then, for several months it hasn't been very cold and there has been very little snowfall. My neighbor is heartbroken. At the same time he has to keep making the payments on his snowmobile. #5157

There are also indoor rinks in towns and some other communities. These enable people to participate in winter sports through most of the season. It is considered important that Island children learn to ice skate, and those who can not ice skate may be sent to classes at a rink.

Snow and ice can make it difficult to drive and walk. Probably the biggest hassle of winter is removing snow and ice from one's car, driveway, steps, and walk. Ice must be constantly scraped and chipped off of car windows, and many people wish they had a garage for their car. Cars may be difficult to start because of the cold. In towns they must be parked off of streets to allow snowplows to operate. Cars frequently become dirty as a result of driving through the slush on winter roads, and because of the absence of rain. Also, salt is deposited on Island roads by the highway department to dissolve ice. This salt causes rust and shortens the life of Island vehicles. Many Islanders live in the country and commute to work or school in towns. As a result they have to drive back and forth almost every day, regardless of road and weather conditions. Driving is much more treacherous in winter. Not only might one get stuck in snow, but one can hit a patch of ice and spin, go off the road, or slide into the car or intersection ahead of you. Freezing rain can produce sheet ice on the roads. Black ice can not be seen by drivers, and ice is frequently covered by snow.

> I have a new job, and I don't know how I'm going to make it to work this winter. It's an hour's drive and the roads will be covered with ice. #5158

> When people plan to travel in winter, they always consider the weather. My mother regularly listens to weather forecasts, and if there is even the slightest hint of bad weather, she cancels any plans involving travel. #5159

> I don't like freezing rain because it makes the roads tricky to drive on. When there's freezing rain on the roads and someone I know is out driving, I get really nervous. #5160

> If it's snowing or there's freezing rain, my parents won't let me use their car, and I'm stuck home with them. #5161

People report there are more accidents after the first snowfalls, because people aren't used to driving slower. After the first snow, those who have delayed getting their tires changed have their snow tires put on. Others soldier on with all-weather tires. People who walk also encounter difficulties. In towns the streets are plowed, but sidewalks are seldom cleared. When a freezing rain deposits ice on both sidewalks and roads, cars pulverize the ice on the roads, and the roads are easier to walk on. However, when one walks on the roads there is greater risk of being hit by a car or a snowplow, and deaths are caused by both in winter.

> I slip and fall about once a winter. I'm not alone, because I see and hear about others falling, and sometimes they're injured. I have to take shorter steps when I walk on ice so I won't fall. This keeps my feet closer to my center of gravity and less likely to slip out from under me. #5162

> There's an art to walking through snow banks. If you try to walk at your normal speed, there is so much resistance from the snow you quickly get exhausted. Instead you have to walk slowly so you won't get tired. #5163

There are usually four or more serious storms each winter. Because of high winds and drifting snow, the RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police) advises drivers to stay off the roads. When the storm hits during the day, schools and day-care centers are cancelled early, and parents must leave work to pick up their children or to be home when they arrive. Often people who live in the country leave work early so they can still drive home.

> I work at an office, and normally the atmosphere is professional and at times quite hectic. But when there is a storm warning, people act like it is playtime at the day-care center. When I was a child, storm

days were always exciting. We could procrastinate with our schoolwork, particularly if we were supposed to have a test or big assignment due the next day. We would sit by the radio to hear which school districts would be closed. At work, when there is a snowstorm advisory people announce the fact to their co-workers, for example, "Get ready for another storm." In case the announcer on the radio is mistaken, people attempt to verify the information themselves on the Internet. Then they verify this again every fifteen minutes or so to make sure nothing has changed. If sources of information differ, even by one degree Celsius or one centimeter of snow, people have to verify their information again. Productivity drops right off the scale as excitement increases minute by minute, hour by hour. Even though it may be one of the sunniest days we've seen in weeks and there has been absolutely no sign of snow, some of the workers start to wonder whether they should leave work early in case it starts to storm on their way home. Those with young children wonder whether their children will be sent home from school early. People who have worked at the office for more years than others are always ready to leave early at the first warning of a storm. At ten o'clock it is time for morning break. Normally break is twenty minutes long. But on days when there is a storm warning, people stay away from the office for about an hour and fifteen minutes. They go to the bank, make stops at stores to pick up this and that, and wait in long lines at the cash registers. When they get back to the office, they turn on the radio again and continue to complain. "I hate this winter. I wish that I could just make it go away." "I don't want to be stuck in the house with my little rug rats (kids), because they get all worked up during snowstorms." By lunchtime everyone is discussing the storm. Everybody says how sick they are of the snow. "We got more this year than in the past three years combined." Others talk about their desire for spring, and the impact of yet another storm. "If the storm's bad enough, we'll get the day off. But then we'll pay for it later when our basements flood come spring. If we don't get the storm, we won't get a day off, but spring may come a little bit sooner. It's a trade-off." About two o'clock in the afternoon, people start drifting out of the office. They have to go buy their storm supplies. Actually, they make three important stops. The first is the grocery store. Eggs, milk, and bread are at the top of their list, as well as some junk food to help keep their kids quiet. The second stop is the movie rental store. Just like their children, the adults want some rest and relaxation, and look forward to becoming couch potatoes. A snowstorm is a guilt-free pass to do nothing, and lazing around is much more appealing than anything

> else. The third and last stop is the liquor store. Lineups at the liquor store on the eve of a snowstorm are something else. Apparently snowstorms are a time to celebrate. Some adults say they drink to mentally escape their kids, and some men say it's to tune out their wives. But why are they so anxious to get home if they do not want to be with their families? After the storm is over and everyone is back in the office, there is a competition over who had the most snow in their driveway, and who had to shovel the most to get out of their driveway and go to work. Snowdrifts are a perfectly good excuse for not getting back to work before lunch. People talk about car accidents and pedestrians walking in the street because the sidewalks are buried under snow. Conversations focus on how sick people are with winter and how glad they will be when spring and warm weather arrive. They are in a bad mood and grumble about everything related to the storm. The funny thing is that all this excitement occurs again at the next storm warning. Adults, like children, rejoice at having a day off. But after the storm is over, they do not want to deal with the consequences of the storm, such as a snow-filled driveway and the work piling up at the office. #5164

During snow storms snow accumulates on the roads, and the blowing snow makes it difficult to see the car ahead of you.

> I was driving a snowplow one cold, stormy night. I had been clearing roads for the past five hours when I stopped to help a man and his wife whose car was stuck in a drift. The man told me, "If you hadn't been home, sitting on your ass for the past hour, we wouldn't of got stuck!" #5165

When there is a storm, most activities are cancelled, and cancellations are announced on the radio. Air flights and ferry crossings to and from the Island are also cancelled. People stock up on groceries and rented movies, and children try to guess whether school will open the next day and if they need to do their homework. When there are high winds and drifting snow overnight, the snowplows are taken off the roads because they make little difference. When the winds abate, they return to plowing. If the storm continues the next day, everyone stays home.

> Snowstorms are fun. You can't go anywhere and do the things you usually do. We make all kinds of fun at home. We can watch TV. We play

cards and make all kinds of weird things to eat. I've seen us baking at twelve o'clock at night. My brother and I go out in the worst snowstorms to visit the neighbors down the road. I've seen people go off to the bootleggers in the middle of a storm so they'll have something to drink. Anytime of the day or night, the bootlegger's is open. Then we have a party. It's a snowstorm; what else are we going to do? #5166

It's fun to be in town on a day when everyone is storm stayed, and to walk around looking for a place that's open to have coffee or eat. Only a few people venture out, and everyone is friendly and talks easily to others they don't know. It's because you're all coping with the storm and sharing an experience. #5167

Often the electricity is off over parts of the Island, and it may take as long as a day or two to be reestablished.

We live in Charlottetown, and when there's a storm we hunt up the flashlights and candles and matches. We put them on the kitchen table so we can find them easily in the dark if we need to. But when the power goes off, they usually restore it within an hour or two. #5168

When electricity is off in the country, people lose lights, heat, and well water. Often a family draws off gallons of water beforehand to have on hand for themselves and their livestock. The woodpile supplies fuel for a wood stove and fireplace. In addition, people collect battery-operated radios, lamps, flashlights, and candles. #5169

Power outages are common in our area. I remember one night it was really storming and the power was off. Our family was seated around the living room by the light of an oil lamp. My father played the guitar, and my brother and I made shadow puppets on the wall. My sister wasn't impressed. A boy she'd wanted to go out with for a long time had called and cancelled their date because of the weather. #5170

I hate being stuck in my house during a snow storm with my parents. It causes tension and we end up fighting. #5171

When there is an unusually bad storm with record snowfall which lasts for two or more days, all kinds of problems occur. Telephone lines and power poles are down and communications and power are out for

> several days; snowplows have trouble getting roads cleared; people are stuck in cold, dark homes and some run out of food; water for livestock is scarce; and dairy farmers have to milk cows by hand and throw the milk away because milk trucks can not get through. Emergency services are provided by snowplows, skidoos, and helicopters, which deliver messages, food, insulin, and other drugs, and carry people with medical emergencies to the hospital. #5172

If the electricity is off, people worry about their water pipes freezing.

> This winter, the pipes in my apartment in town were frozen for a day on three separate occasions. They froze twice in my parents' house. #5173

When the storm is over the process begins to make all the roads passable, clear away the snow, and return things to normal. Everyone listens to the radio to learn what is cancelled or delayed. Children are jubilant when they learn schools are cancelled.

> Storms are God's gift to students. Personally, I hate storms, but it's a great way to get a holiday. #5174

If schools open, the school buses are often delayed for an hour or two. Snowplows push snow to the sides or the center of the roads, snow removal machines and dump trucks work at removing the piles of snow, and people shovel out their cars, drives, steps, and sidewalks. Snow may be removed from the roof of a building or home to prevent damage to the roof and subsequent leaking. People who live out of town arrive at work later than people who live nearby.

> I live down a long lane. If there's a storm, I can't get out the lane until the farmer next door blows away the snow. But he doesn't do so until the day after the storm. I don't like mother nature running my life and telling me where I can and can't go. #5175

Cancelled appointments with doctors, dentists, hairdressers, and others must be rescheduled, and tickets to cancelled entertainment performances must be refunded.

There are several epidemics of colds or flu each year, and people seem to notice them more in winter than in summer. Many people catch the specific cold or flu that is currently going the rounds. Each "disease" has a unique set of symptoms, and individuals commonly suffer from it for weeks or months.

> When you start feeling weird, it's important to ask others if they're experiencing the same thing. Otherwise you won't realize that what you have is simply the current type of cold or flu that is hitting everyone. One year I experienced chest cramps and went and got all the tests done at the hospital to see if I was having a heart attack. They didn't find anything wrong. Then I learned from several others that they were having the identical symptoms. This year, for the last two months people are experiencing painful sinuses and throats, headaches, and upset stomachs. This is the current bug that's going around. What is so tricky is that each cold or flu which circulates is so different from ones you've had before, that you immediately assume you have something serious, and you don't think to ask others if they are undergoing the same thing. Sometimes your family physician isn't yet aware that the same symptoms are hitting everyone. One year I got bad stomach cramps, and others I talked to were getting them too. But one friend of mine went to the doctor with the same kind of stomach cramps and the doctor had her appendix removed. After the operation she was told that the tissue was healthy, but she would probably have had to have her appendix out sooner or later anyway. It took her a half year to recover from the operation. Her doctor just didn't realize this was what was going around at the time. #5176

People often attribute colds and flu to frequent changes in the winter weather and to constantly going back and forth between a hot inside environment and a cold outside environment.

The primary activity during winter is the celebration of Christmas. The Christmas season begins with the stores putting up their Christmas decorations at the beginning of November. Christmas is the most important sales period during the year for many stores. Shopkeepers order their Christmas stock in the summer or fall, and frequently arrange a bank loan to finance this. If sales are poor, stores begin to hold discount sales before Christmas so they will be able to repay their bank loan. The businesses organize a Santa Claus parade and shopping malls have

special hours when Santa is available so small children can sit on his lap and tell him what presents they want for Christmas. Santa also reads letters over the radio that local children have written him. Christmas is the primary sales period because everyone feels they must buy one or more Christmas gifts for each person they feel close to or should feel close to, as well as for anyone who gives them a present. People know that if they fail to get a gift for someone who expects it, the person will feel disappointed and hurt. Moreover, people know that a person will also be jealous and upset if they give the person a less expensive gift than they give to others who are equally close. The amount you spend on gifts for a person indicates how important you consider your relationship with that person. Many parents are also concerned that their own children receive as much as other children do, so that their children don't feel of lesser worth. As a result, each adult commonly spends hundreds of dollars for Christmas presents. Some people even begin doing their shopping for Christmas gifts in the summer and fall.

Christmas is a very busy season. People clean their homes, buy a tree and decorate it, find and buy gifts, select and send Christmas cards, cook special cakes and cookies, wrap gifts, go to church, visit family, and prepare and hold Christmas dinner. In addition, there are Christmas parties for the children at school and in the community, Christmas performances that parents help their children prepare for and that parents attend, and Christmas parties for adults at work. People know that they will eat more than they should over the Christmas season, and some begin to diet ahead of time. Many homes put up outdoor Christmas decorations, and people take drives to see each other's decorations. There is a last minute rush getting gifts wrapped and distributed before Christmas Day. People are disappointed if there is no snow on the ground on Christmas. Everyone wants a white Christmas, and the ideal is to have large flakes of snow floating peacefully down on Christmas Eve.

> I love big fluffy snowflakes that fall straight down to the ground. But there can't be any wind. #5177

> I couldn't imagine not having winter. I'd never feel at home in a place without a white Christmas. #5178

Families try to be together on Christmas and grown children who study or work in other provinces frequently travel long distances "to be home for Christmas." As Christmas approaches people are friendlier and wish everyone they know "Merry Christmas!" They feel happy in expectation of Christmas day and seeing their family open the gifts they have for them.

People are so busy before Christmas that they frequently need the week between Christmas and New Year's Day to recover. The day after Christmas there is considerable interest in the Boxing Day sales which are held in certain stores. Post-Christmas sales are held in most stores in January and even February. In contrast with Christmas, which is for families, New Year's Eve is for couples. Most couples feel they should celebrate the end of the year and welcome the new one. There are numerous private parties on New Year's Eve, and many lounges and some hotels organize a dinner and dance and are usually sold out. People make arrangements, such as traveling by taxi or staying in a hotel, so that they do not have to drive and can drink as much as they wish on New Year's Eve. After Christmas people are concerned with paying off their Christmas bills.

As winter drags on into spring people get cabin fever and complain about how long winter is lasting. People feel upbeat when the weather improves and the snow starts to melt, but disheartened whenever snow falls again.

4. Spring

Spring gradually becomes more noticeable in April and May. Days become appreciably longer. It is light outside when one gets up in the morning, and still light well past dinner time in the evening. More and more snow melts between snowfalls, and one sees fewer and smaller piles of snow in shaded areas. Increasingly the snow on the ground disappears within a couple of days after a snowstorm. Islanders say you can always expect one more snowstorm on or after Saint Patrick's Day, or March 17th. However, snow in early May is common. As spring progresses, rain becomes more frequent. Few people carry umbrellas. They are not practical because the wind is often quite strong and frequently changes direction. As a result umbrellas pop inside out. When one walks one has

to negotiate around and through puddles of rain and melting snow. The unpaved roads thaw and become muddy and difficult to drive on. Paved roads develop undulations, which moderate as spring progresses. Many basements are flooded. There is water and slushy snow everywhere. Sometimes one is nearly hit by chunks of melting snow falling from the edges of buildings. On bodies of water the ice melts and breaks up, and the wind blows the chunks of ice to and from the shore.

People become fatigued with winter and can hardly wait for summer to begin.

> This winter is just dragging on and on. I can't wait for it to be over. #5179

> Winter is boring. A person can only handle the cold for so long. After a few months I want to get back on my fishing boat. #5180

Each snow during spring produces frustrated looks and comments, and is treated as a bad joke.

> Winter is too long. The snow is depressing me. It keeps coming and coming and just won't stop. I hate it. #5181

People start wearing spring and summer clothing. They are frequently caught unprepared for the weather and one sometimes sees them shivering in the cold and wind. Many replace their snow tires too early and are surprised by the final snows. People attend Easter services in churches, and many families take their mothers out to eat on Mother's Day. When there is a sunny day people often experience spring fever and do not want to be cooped up inside.

> I like spring because I know winter is gone and summer is coming. I can look forward to grass and flowers. I love the sound of birds and the smell of spring. If there's a bright morning, it's hard to stay in bed. #5182

> The fresh weather of spring makes me feel very alive. #5183

On pleasant days, people feel like walking outside and taking on projects.

> During the spring I do a lot of house cleaning. I can just open the windows and let all the fresh air in. Whenever I put something outside on the clothesline, it comes in smelling really fresh. #5184

> The weather has been so bad this spring, I haven't felt motivated to do my spring cleaning. #5185

> People start exercising in the spring, so they'll look better when they go to the beach in summer. #5186

People open their windows, do their spring cleaning, fix up their yards, and prepare their garden beds. One sees piles of discarded items and bags of leaves along the curb awaiting pickup. New leaves begin to grow on trees in late April and early May. Garage sales begin in May, and on Saturday mornings one frequently encounters cars crowding the street outside a sale. Potholes in the paved roads become more numerous and jarring as spring progresses, and are a constant source of irritation and complaint. When snow is off the roads one begins to see people on motorcycles and bicycles. People who moved to towns for the winter move back to their homes in the country. There is a scramble to meet the deadlines and do the paperwork on RRSP's (Registered Retirement Savings Plans) before the end of February and to file income tax forms by the end of April. When there are deaths during the winter, bodies are normally placed in storage for burial between April 15th and May 15th, when the ground thaws.

There is a strong smell as the earth thaws. People buy fertilizer and plants for flower beds. One sees and hears formations of geese crossing the sky, and a variety of species of birds appear to supplement the crows, seagulls, and pigeons which were evident during winter. Flowers begin to appear in people's yards, and occasionally one sees insects outdoors. One begins to see ants and bees in May. On a rainy day one may see many worms stranded on sidewalks and driveways. Grass grows quickly and people begin cutting their lawns in the middle of May. Sport and commercial fishing also begins in May, but they may be delayed by cold and by ice along the coasts.

5. Summer

Weather permitting, summer begins in May or June, and ends in September. However, the joke is made that the Island has ten months of winter and two months of bad sledding. The bad sledding season is from the middle of June through the middle of August. In summer plants grow quickly, and lawns always need mowing. Dandelions appear on lawns in late May. Summer may include long sunny periods or long rainy periods. When the heat climbs into the 80's, many people suffer from "the heat wave" and complain about it.

> We had a long heat wave last summer. As it continued people became more and more irritable. Those who had jobs outdoors were less willing and less able to work. #5187

> I can't sleep all night because it's too hot and humid. #5188

> I love to exercise, but not during the summer. How can I enjoy exercise when I'm sweating even before I leave the house? #5189

> I experienced long, cold winters when I was in school. They seemed to last forever. All the time I said to myself that I hated this and wished it was summer. When spring arrived, the air was still cool and the ground was wet, so I still wished for summer. Finally summer arrived, but it was so damn hot and humid that I said it sucked and I wished it was cooler. #5190

> It's kind of ironic, actually. In the winter I hate the cold. I wish I could be in Florida or California or anywhere but here. The cold is just so bitter it cuts right through me when I walk from my car to a building. But in the summer I have to wear a shirt and pants to work. I find it so hot with the humidity and the blowing dirt. I cook to death, and I just wish I was cool again. #5191

There are several thunder and lightning storms during summer. Many people find them frightening, possibly because they occur so seldom. During summer, there are ants on sidewalks everywhere.

Summer is the period of greatest employment on the Island. It is the time for growing and tending crops and harvesting hay on Island farms.

It is the season for lobster fishing, and lobster canning plants are in operation. It is the period that Island roads are repaired, and there are traffic delays and detours for road construction. It is also the primary time that tourists visit the Island, and many Islanders are employed for the summer providing services for tourists. Numerous businesses depend heavily on the tourist season to make a profit during the year.

> The more hours you put in and the more money you earn in summer, the more money you get from unemployment insurance during the winter. People tell me if we didn't have unemployment insurance, they wouldn't work so hard at their summer jobs. #5192

People are very busy during the summer, and the number of yard sales declines.

Tourists visit Prince Edward Island because a) it is a small Island, b) it is one of the Canadian maritime provinces, c) they have read the popular book for girls about the Island, *Anne of Green Gable*, by Lucy Maud Montgomery, d) they are attracted to the numerous beaches and golf courses, e) their relatives were originally from the Island, f) they used to live on the Island and still have relatives and friends there, g) they have a summer cottage on the Island which they visit regularly, and/or h) they are on a tour that makes the Island one of their stops.

> I work at a hotel registration desk and during the summer a large number of Japanese tourists spend a night or two at the hotel. The main attraction for them is to go see the play, *Anne of Green Gables*, in Charlottetown and to visit Cavendish and see *Anne's House*, or Green Gables. Most of these are females from fifteen to twenty-five years old. One who spoke fluent English told me that most of the girls from Japan have saved their money from childhood just to come here for a few days. When they get home some have to start fresh to rebuild their savings. They seem quite happy and satisfied to do so as long as their goal to see Cavendish and Green Gables is achieved. #5193

Numerous tourist attractions and facilities are only open during the summer. These include bed and breakfast accommodations (B&B's), restaurants which specialize in lobster dinners, and various theme parks and recreation areas. The tourists are quite evident on the Island during

the summer. Many beaches, restaurants, accommodations, and attractions are crowded. There are more cars, recreational vehicles, and tour busses on the highways. On rainy days there are more people and vehicles in the towns. Also, cruise ships visit Island ports during the summer and into the fall. At the ferry boats, there are long delays and lines of vehicles waiting to get to and from the Island.

> This past summer my brother worked with a roguing crew in some potato fields. They walked up and down the rows picking out the diseased plants. One day when they were quite a distance away from the road, they heard a horn blowing. The horn continued blowing and they could faintly see people standing outside a car. They walked back up the row to see what the problem was. When they reached the car they found five Japanese tourists. One spoke English and asked what my brother and the crew were doing. They explained and the person who spoke English translated for the other tourists. They asked if they could go into the field. My brother showed them what a diseased plant looked like. They were impressed and started walking up a row picking all the bad plants. They were quite excited every time they found one. After they had walked up and down two rows, which took about 45 minutes, they decided they had to continue on their journey. They took many pictures of the field and even asked to have a diseased plant. #5194

Summer is the period when people spend much more time outdoors. Many wear shorts and T-shirts. People tend their lawns and gardens, and barbecue in their yards and on their decks. They go to the beach and many go to a family cottage on weekends or for their vacation. In towns there are sidewalk sales, sidewalk musicians and entertainers, and a number of restaurants with outside eating areas. On sunny days, people often eat their bag lunch or an ice cream cone outside. People walk outdoors much more than they do during other seasons.

> I enjoy being able to walk outside and to wear a T-shirt and shorts and no shoes. #5195

> I went on a wonderful nature hike with a group this morning. We went through the woods and saw a lake with a log cabin. #5196

> One reason I like summer is that when I have to go outside to smoke a cigarette, I don't freeze my butt off. #5197

Many visit the public parks in towns and in the country. Some individuals try to develop a good tan by sunbathing at the beach, in their yard, or on their deck. At times mosquitoes and black flies are a nuisance. Summer sports are held outdoors. These include golf, sailing, camping, baseball, softball, tennis, running, and swimming. Motorcycle clubs come to the Island for summer gatherings, and motorcycles are a common sight on the roads, and occasionally a nuisance when they roar through communities. Youth are much more evident in summer. They congregate in public areas, skateboard or roller blade, play catch or Frisbee, ride their bikes, walk or drive down the main street, or sit on their cars and talk and watch others. Many young people dedicate their summer to having a good time.

> In summer I can go out whenever I want and have a good time with my friends. #5198

> The summer season starts on the long weekend in the middle of May when we celebrate Queen Victoria's birthday. That's when lots of people come over to the Island for the stock car races. The campgrounds open that weekend and there are lots of parties. #5199

> Summer is the best time of the year. Hot sun, cool water, cold beer, and lots of loud music. Yep, just sit in the sun and drink. #5200

> Young people like to head out to the beach early in the morning and spend the whole day there. Sometimes we go in a big gang and play games on the beach and in the water, or we just lie on the beach, listen to the radio, and absorb the bright rays of the sun. In the evening we go home to grab a bite to eat, put on our jeans, and get a sweater. Then we usually stop at the "government dairy" (provincial liquor store) on the way back to the beach. At night the regular crowd makes a fire on the beach, and we drink and talk and listen to music on the radio. #5201

School and private courses end in the middle of June, which provides children with a two and a half month holiday, and many families take their vacations at this time. Islanders frequently take their vacations on PEI, and say that they wouldn't want to leave the Island during the best season. It is often difficult getting government matters dealt with in July or August because the individuals who handle specific matters are on vacation.

Exhibitions and festivals take place in Island towns during the summer. The primary exhibition is called Old Home Week and is held in the provincial capital, Charlottetown, in the middle of August. Old Home Week includes fairground rides, a vaudeville show, a parade, horse races, and a provincial competition and show of livestock, crops, handicrafts, and food. Many residents, previous residents, and tourists attend Old Home Week. Local people say that the end of Old Home Week means the end of summer, and in late August the weather often becomes noticeably cooler and the skies overcast.

Different groups on the Island want different things from summer weather. Farmers want the right amount of rain for their crops, but enough sun when they harvest their hay.

> The kind of weather you want depends on what you are doing at the time. If the crops have just been planted, you want rain and hate the sun. But if the rain doesn't stop, your fields will be destroyed. And when you are harvesting, you want the sun. The last thing you want is rain. #5202

> My father grows potatoes. He gets edgy when we go for weeks with no rain. A dry summer puts his entire crop in jeopardy, and he gets moody and starts drinking. A rainy season can cause an outbreak of potato blight and cause entire fields to be wiped out if he doesn't rush and get them harvested right away. #5203

> It is either too hot and dry, or too cold and damp. It's never a middle ground. #5204

> Every evening when my son and I come in from the fields we listen to the weather report and plan our next day. When we need good weather to get the hay in, and expect a short spell of sun and a breeze, we make plans to get up extra early and stay in the fields all day and into the night. If it is going to rain I often plan to do business in town and my son stays home and may clean the barn. We get irritable and worried when the weather won't let us do what needs to be done, because we get further and further behind schedule. #5205

> The weather man is the one to blame. He forecasts sunshine, so I get the baler ready, go out in the field, and get soaked by a thunderstorm. The man should be shot. #5206

Fishermen prefer calm, sunny weather.

> When it is sunny it is great and everything looks wonderful. When it is raining we can still fish and draw traps. #5207

> Sun is best. Rain is OK; you just have to wear rubber. When it's windy and the swells are up you sit home and pray your lobster traps are not smashed. #5208

> This past summer a storm destroyed every trap we had. But what can you do? It has happened before and it will happen again. It's all part of the business. #5209

Tourists like sunny weather so they can stay outside, visit attractions, and enjoy their vacations.

> Tourists want sunny weather all summer long. On beautiful days at the tourist attractions the parking lots and streets are crowded with cars. If the weather is great, most tourists are so happy that they hate to leave the Island. But when the weather is rainy and cold there are few tourists at the attractions. Some tourists get irritable and cranky and act like it is our fault it has been raining for three days in a row. Sometimes they get so fed up they leave a few days before their vacation is over and they have a very bad feeling about the Island. #5210

Shopkeepers want enough sun to attract the tourists, and those who have stores at tourist attractions want continuous sunny weather.

> I work in a prime tourist area. When weather is excellent for weeks at a time and the tourists are plentiful, my boss is very cheerful at the end of each day and makes jokes and sings. But if the weather is bad and the tourists stay away, my boss gets upset, irritable, and worried. He may send some of the staff home early, and then we worry about our hours being cut back. #5211

In contrast, shopkeepers in the towns want frequent rainy days to get the tourists and those who work outdoors to come to town and shop in their stores.

> Sales are awful this summer, because there's nobody in town. What we need are a few rainy days to bring the tourists in. #5212

The youth want sunny days so they can get outside, play, party, and go to the beach.

> All you ever hear is these idiots asking for rain. To hell with rain; let the sun shine. It can rain when I'm in school. #5213

> When my classmates returned to school this year, many said they hadn't had much of a summer because it rained so much. #5214

As September and fall approach, the number of tourists declines markedly. Many tourist attractions and facilities close. However, bus tours and cruise ships continue to come to the Island through October. People register for fall courses, and parents buy children clothes for the new school year, which starts in early September.

In all four seasons – fall, winter, spring, and summer – weather plays a key role both in providing and limiting activities for individuals, families, and communities.

3. A ROAD COMMUNITY

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1. Introduction

East Road (a pseudonym) is a road community on Prince Edward Island composed of about 120 people living in 37 households. Most of the inhabitants of East Road live along a single paved road. In addition, a half dozen or so families live along a clay road which intersects the paved road. Almost all the families live in traditional wooden farm-houses. However, two modern houses have been built in recent years. There is no church, store, garage, or post office in the community. There is, however, a community hall and a deserted one room schoolhouse. The community hall is shared with the residents of a neighboring community. Residents of East Road travel to neighboring communities to buy things

and to go to church, and school children are bussed to schools in a nearby town. The people consider themselves residents of East Road, they view their community as separate from adjacent road communities, and there is a sign which announces "East Road" at the border of the community.

East Road is a farming community. Almost all of the families live in farmhouses on their farmland. However, there are only seven fully operational farms in the community. Most of these seven farms are specialized. There are four big dairy farms, and they grow hay and grain for their animals. Another farm grows only potatoes. One farm specializes in potatoes and hogs, and another produces potatoes, beef, and hogs. Farmland is in short supply. It is very hard come by, and buying more puts a farmer into considerable debt. In order to obtain enough land to operate a viable farm, farmers usually lease land from others.

Most of the other families in the community operate a small scale, or subsistence, farm. Many no longer fully farm their land. Instead they rent some or most of their land to those farmers who have specialized and have become land hungry in order to obtain enough land to operate a viable farm. Thus there are several older people who have retired from farming and have kept a couple of cows, because they are reluctant to totally let go. In addition, some people work in the nearby town, or at a job like carpentry or for the highway department. At the same time, they have a few cows, chickens, pigs, horses, or beef cattle. Beef cattle are the easiest thing to manage if you're working at something else. Often these families grow their own vegetables, and raise some crops to feed the animals they do have. Most of these families do not have enough land, capital, and willing sons to operate a viable farm, and have had to turn to other kinds of work. Even though they work at other jobs, they identify with farming. They are first and foremost farmers. They view themselves as working at other jobs to supplement their farm income so they can keep their farms. A working wife is considered a desirable asset, and young men are increasingly willing to help cook and take care of the children. Often families hang on to their farm for their children. Some of their children obtain university and technical educations and come back and take over the farm. Other children claim they are not interested in farming, and return too late, after the farm has been sold. Many people in the community are related, and they frequently cooperate

in renting land to each other and helping each other with farm tasks. Subdivisions of residential homes and trailers are creeping into neighboring communities, but this is not the case in East Road.

People in the community identify with farming and rural life. There is a strong pride in owning one's land, successfully farming it, being independent, and passing the land on to the younger generation within the family. Farmers receive considerable psychological gratification from their land and through farming. There is the comfort of repetition. There are set chores one carries out once or twice a day. These chores are routinely done, like the sun comes up and the sun goes down, and people do them comfortably and efficiently. There are also the pleasures of walking one's land, hearing the cows lowing before the morning milking, counting one's cows at sunset, seeing the horses and foals run free, watching the crops grow, completing the harvest, and working outdoors. There is a real sense of peace and tranquility that makes farming worthwhile. #5215

2. Yearly cycle

The year can be separated into spring, summer, fall, and winter, based on major changes in farming activity. Thus spring is the time of preparation for and actual planting of crops, summer is the period of crop growth, fall is harvest time, and winter is the period of reduced activity. These periods begin at different times on each farm and they vary from year to year. This is because of changes in the weather, the types of crops grown on each farm, how well one farm is managed relative to another, and all sorts of other factors, including the breakdown of equipment. In addition to seasonal tasks, there are regular tasks which must be performed throughout the year.

A. Spring

Spring for the farmers begins with preparing their equipment and materials so they can work the land. Farmland is in short supply and farmers often own less land than they need. Thus a farmer with a dairy herd of 50 cows, may only have 40 or so acres. This is usually too small to allow the farmer to grow enough grain to feed his animals. Therefore, he may

negotiate to rent or buy additional land from someone who is not using their land. Farmers also make sure their equipment is cleaned and properly repaired and occasionally they purchase new equipment. Some farmers buy their fertilizer, seed, and chemical sprays for weeds and insects. These can cost thousands of dollars, and a farmer may have to obtain a loan to pay for them. Many farmers use manure from their barn for their fertilizer. It is also common for farmers to use their own wheat, barley, and other seed. They frequently do germination tests to determine what percentage of the seed will sprout, which lets them decide whether or not this seed is acceptable for planting. Farmers also try to obtain the right mixture of seed. For example, a mixture of red clover, timothy, and alfalfa is planted in order to produce high quality hay. The ratio of ingredients selected for a mixture depends on soil conditions, such as the acidity of the soil, and whether the land is wet or dry, or flat or rolling. It is vital that your crops provide the necessary TDN (total dietary nutrients) for your livestock, especially for lactating dairy cows. Otherwise, you will have considerable expense buying supplements, such as grain and minerals. In addition, some farmers obtain insurance against crop failure, which can be caused by disease, insects, wind storms, and other causes.

"Getting on the land," as it is called, does not occur until the snow has gone and the land is no longer frozen. This takes place in April or May. People first burn the grass on their fields. Often relatives and neighbors help to make sure that the fire does not get out of hand, and thousands of mice try to escape the smoke and flames. The burnt material is then mixed with the soil, as farmers plow, disc, and harrow their land. "They're on the land" means that they are actively plowing and working the land. Finally the crops are planted. There is optimism about the new growing season, which may prove successful and allow one to repay previous debts and make needed improvements.

There are numerous other tasks that have to be pursued at the same time. Repairing fences and putting up new ones is a continuous chore, because cattle break through them. The farm animals give birth to their young during the spring. The cows freshen, or produce calves, which ensures another year's supply of milk, and the pigs farrow. Women prepare their vegetable gardens for kitchen use and some gardens are an acre or more in size. They also prepare flower beds and obtain plants for the beds. Many people have some apple trees and a few have pear trees.

These must be sprayed to protect them from insects. Families with maple trees on their woodlots often collect the sap for maple sugar, and a few families make dandelion or rhubarb wine. During the previous year, straw or wet seaweed was placed around the foundations of the houses to help insulate them from the winter cold. Now this must be removed. Not only does it attract many mice, but as the seaweed dries in the sun, the wind blows it everywhere and it is a pain to collect. Winter clothing is cleaned and put away, and because cupboard space is at a premium, clothing is often boxed and placed under the beds. Because of rain and melting snow as spring progresses, unpaved roads and lanes are reduced to mud and become practically impossible to negotiate. A large triangular metal implement called a dragger is pulled up and down the lanes by a tractor. It is heavy, and repeated dragging, together with the drying action of the sun, helps to smooth out the mud. This is done repeatedly during the spring.

The recreational activities of winter, such as card games, handicrafts, and Women's Institute meetings, gradually come to a halt in April or May because practically everyone's labor is needed during spring, summer, and fall. One activity that begins in April is preparation by the Women's Institute for the exhibition in Charlottetown during Old Home Week in August. Over two hundred specialized categories are established in which many women and some men compete in regard to their handicrafts, food, flowers, vegetables, photographs, art, and rugs. Examples of "handcraft" categories include a patchwork quilt, a crocheted afghan, knitted work mitts, a fancy pattern knitted sweater, an apron, a stuffed doll, and a decorative non-Christmas wreath. Examples of food categories are tea biscuits, baked squares, scotch cookies, bran muffins, blueberry pie with double crust, mustard pickles, green tomato chow, and raspberry jam. Examples of flower categories include a single African violet, one hybrid tea rose, medium-sized decorative dahlias, an arrangement of dried flowers, and a basket of wild flowers. Examples of vegetable categories are carrots, tomatoes, onions, and beans. Examples of other categories include a color photograph of pets, a hooked rug of yarn with a floral design, and an original oil painting of a scene. Cash prizes are solicited from donors, such as merchants in town or growers' cooperatives, for the exhibition. For example, depending on the category, $7 may go to a first-place winner, $5 to a second-place winner, and $4 to a third-place winner. #5216

B. Summer

Summer begins when your crop is planted and starts to grow. During summer farmers have to spray their crops for insects and disease. They also go roguing, which is looking for and destroying rogue plants, or plants which are diseased or not growing right. You also have to use the tractor to hill up, or pile soil, along the roots of your potatoes. Summer is when you fertilize and plant your vegetable garden.

In summer, time is at a premium. People work from dawn until a couple of hours after dark almost every day. Depending on how religious they are, they usually lay off on Sunday. However, they all still have to go out and milk their cows on Sundays. And if it's a sunny day after a spell of bad weather, some people, even those who go to church regularly, will come back from church and start working on their harvest. But there are some staunch Baptists who would rather let their fields rot than move a finger on a Sunday. They'll say, "Well, that's God's business."

In the early part of summer the animals are let out of the barns and taken to the pastures. This is done in stages depending on how cold it is. It is a wonderful thing to see. The cows prance and frolic in the new grass, rip and tear around, and literally kick their heels in the air. The horses act just as crazy. I recall this incredibly fat pony going flat out, flying through the air and sailing over fences. This lasts about a day, and it's comical as hell. The cows totally forget about their calves, which were born several months before. The calves, who have never seen sunlight or the outdoors, are terrified and huddle in a little group, bawling and screaming for their mothers, who could care less. It's chaos. The beef calves are too young and stupid to know what is happening and are often put into a truck and driven out to the pasture where they eventually get together with their mothers.

Cattle, which pig out on the fresh green grass, usually get diarrhea for a week or two. Farmers bring their dairy cattle in and give them special feed to try to offset this. The fresh grass can give milk a slightly weird taste in the spring. Dairy cows are milked twice a day. The first few weeks after they are let out of the barn, both morning and night, you have to go out and round them up and bring them back to be milked. After a while they come back on their own, because the need to be milked makes them feel very uncomfortable.

The cattle will eat anything in the fields, including "hardware," or nails and scraps of metal. So some farmers place a magnet in the cow's stomach to collect and prevent the metal from causing serious damage. Cows also have to be protected from flies, which really irritate them. When dairy cows leave the barn after milking each morning they are automatically sprayed on their backs with insecticide. Also a chemical tag is often stapled into their ear which acts to keep flies from their eyes and head. Farmers also check their hides for warble worms and remove them. Holes made by warble worms destroy the value of a hide when the animal is slaughtered. If there is a cold spell in summer the farmer will bring the younger and less hardy animals back to the barn. Also, this is when the young cattle, who are anywhere from six to nine months old, are dehorned and castrated. They use electric dehorners and a huge set of pliers for castrations which squish all the cords together in one quick pinch, and eventually the balls dry up and fall off. Previously they tied elastic bands around the balls. When little pigs are born, they have their tusks pulled out so they won't rip their mothers apart, and they're given shots.

Summer is when horses foal. Horses go into heat when the weather becomes warmer and the days are longer, and usually peak about the longest day of the year, in June. About eleven months later, or around May, they foal. However, some farmers breed race horses and want to get them on the track as early as possible. Therefore they want the mares to foal early, such as in January, and they use artificial insemination.

In June or July it's time to do your haying. You harvest it while it is still green, before it dries out and becomes yellow. Hay has to be cut, raked, baled, picked up, and stored. Your haying equipment has to be in working order before you go out, and it's always breaking down. Always. There's this incredibly ingenious thing that ties up your bales of hay, and of course it's always breaking too. Haying is one hell of an awful job, and lasts about two and a half weeks. You often lay on help for haying. Women have to cook up monster-sized meals for the help, and take them coffee, tea, and biscuits and stuff out to the fields in the middle of the afternoon. The same thing happens at harvest time too. Also, the hay has to be dry when it is stored so it won't catch on fire. Some years rain is a big problem, and you just hope there'll be a sunny period so you can get your hay in. The hay you don't need for your own animals, you sell. Farmers who don't have animals may harvest hay just to sell it. Some

farmers take hay samples to the Department of Agriculture to be analyzed so they can estimate the cost of the food supplements they will have to buy to feed their cattle over winter.

This is the time during which you may clean, paint, repair, and/or disinfect your stalls, barns, and houses. If you are going to build any new buildings, barns, or whatever, you do so in summer. Your lanes may need shale or to be evened off, and lanes on a farm can be as long as a quarter mile or more. There are also your little roadways into the different pastures. In the fall you will have to drive 16-ton trucks over them carrying your harvest. Your ditches and bridges over creeks may also need repair. When there's a lull you go back to repairing fences.

By now your apples, strawberries, and other fruit are probably ready for picking. Raspberries ripen a bit later. They all have to be cleaned and put up, such as bottled or frozen. And your vegetable and flower gardens have to be weeded. If you have grass around your house and barns, it must be cut. Early in the summer grass needs cutting about every four or five days, but later on you can get by with once a week. Also, the logs you collected in winter can now be cut up to be used for firewood in the coming winter.

Every day you usually do a head count of your animals in the fields. A cow may have become sick, or injured, or fallen, and not be with the herd. So you make sure they are all alive and well. You don't actually have to count them. You just cast your eyes over the group. Fifty cows might look all the same to someone who doesn't know them. But a farmer has been with them several hours every day. Each cow has its own movements, walk, and colors. One may be a wanderer, and another a leader. They're like people. So you can pretty well tell them apart and you know who's around and who isn't. If one is absent, you have to look for it. And you have to chase them too. Some of the smarter, more aggressive ones will break through fences to get at crops. They get tired of the pasture they're in, even though you move them once it's chewed out. But they like to get at a grain field. And in the fall, when you start your potato harvest there are an awful lot of potatoes around, and cows will move heaven and earth to break out of their pasture and get into that field. They love potatoes, but when they start pigging out on them they can get a big one lodged in their throat and choke. Also, cattle get bored. They would break out and go across my front lawn at night to visit the

herd across the street. One Halloween night I had all my treats ready for the little kids going door-to-door, but no one came to my house. Then about 11:00 PM, a friend dropped in and said there was a bull standing outside. I looked, and sure enough, there was Big Billy, the black bull, standing in the moonlight guarding my front door. That's why there were no little kiddies. Big Billy is a real pussycat, and very nice and passive. You just kind of rub his back and he comes along. So I took him back where he belonged.

In August everyone attends Old Home Week in Charlottetown. This is the yearly provincial exhibition. Many people enter animals, crops, food, and handicrafts, which are judged and awarded prizes. For example, farmers enter examples of their hay, grain, potatoes, and other crops, as well as specific breeds of livestock. They start preparing the young people in the 4-H Club to handle animals, care for and groom them, bring them up to show standards, and present them before judges. In August in the local newspaper you see page after page of pictures and articles about the shows and who won awards. Farmers also enter their crops and livestock in regional and national competitions and win prizes. People place the ribbons and trophies they win in the kitchen and on the mantle where everyone is sure to see them. They are damned proud of themselves when they win an award. A great many people submit entries to the provincial exhibition, but only some of them win. It is very much an honor. There is a great deal of excitement and talk about who submits what, who wins an award, and how they won it.

I think their livestock is the most important thing in their lives. If you are successful at breeding and cross-breeding, you can get ahead of your neighbors, and start winning awards. Not only can a superior cow win ribbons for configuration and production, but prize-winning cattle are good breeding stock and their calves can be sold for higher prices. The price you sell your calves for indicates how good a farmer you are. The animal industry goes through changes. The configuration of features that is wanted for each kind of animal shifts, and people breed them differently. The new configuration might call for longer loin, or longer ribs, or something else. They crossbreed and completely change the configuration. At this time, because people are concerned about cholesterol, they are breeding lean hogs and lean beef cattle. Dairy cattle are

valued for the amount of milk they produce and the percentage of butterfat in their milk. Women seem more likely to show smaller livestock, such as sheep and goats.

The yearly provincial exhibition, or Old Home Week, is scheduled during the second week of August, so that it will not interfere with harvesting crops in the fall. Summer ends with the beginning of harvest. #5217

C. Fall

In the fall you harvest your crops. You start your harvest in September and may continue right through November. If you have a vegetable garden you may start bringing in some things as early as late August. When you harvest depends on the type of crop, when you got that crop in the ground, how the crop is coming along, and the weather. Grain includes wheat, barley, and oats. When you harvest your grain, you separate the grain seeds from the straw. A combine pulls the seeds from the stalks and deposits them in a bin. The leaves and stalks, or the straw, are left behind the combine in the fields. This is another time when the cattle will kill to get out of their pasture, because they know there is a lot of grain left on the ground when the fields are newly threshed. Then you rake your straw with a special device pulled by a tractor and leave the straw spread out in the sun to dry a bit, just as you did earlier with your hay. You don't want to bale it when it's wet, because you could get a fire in your barn. Next you tie the straw up in bales and store it in the loft. Lugging bales of straw into the loft is one of the hardest, most miserable jobs there is. The bales are carried by a conveyor belt up to the loft, where a couple of poor buggers lift and stack them. The loft is about 130 degrees because the sun beats right down on the roof and there's minimal ventilation. You use the straw for bedding for the animals. If you don't have enough space to store your grain and straw, you rent the space from someone else. If you have surplus grain and straw that you won't need yourself, you sell it to others. The potatoes should be harvested in early October, but I've been out harvesting potatoes in the middle of a blizzard in November. Corn is also harvested at this time. Very late in fall you harvest your cole crops, such as cabbage, Brussels sprouts, broccoli, and rutabagas.

Traditionally, you have to prepare large meals for the harvest crews. Sometimes the women from four or five or six households get

together and lay on a meal for all the men working on their farms. Families who are related are more likely to provide each other with extra labor, exchange equipment, and make meals together. Preparing large meals for farm workers is dying out now because the farms are more mechanized and they don't need as much help as they used to. Before they had automatic planting machines, they hired crews to plant by hand. And before they had potato harvesting machines, they had to hire fleets of people to go down on their hands and knees and dig out potatoes. Also, today many women aren't available to cook meals for the hired help, because they have regular jobs away from the farm and their income is needed to help keep the farm afloat. Increasingly today, farm laborers are expected to bring their own sandwiches and stuff.

In the fall you harvest your vegetable garden. This is when you put up your vegetables, your pickles, and your applesauce. It is very time consuming and you work over a hot stove. This is usually done by the women. But if it's a rainy day and their husbands have no outside work to do, their wives may be able to get them to help chop up vegetables, or sterilize bottles, or something else.

Fall is when you prepare your silage. Silage consists of a mixture of legumes and various grasses which is all munched up in a big machine, then stored and allowed to ferment, and finally given to the animals to eat. We don't have suitable subsoil conditions to construct tall silos here. The soil is very sandy and weak and provides little support for buildings. Instead they use a large pit lined with plastic. Later the silage is taken to the animals in buckets. It's mushy and looks awful, but they love it. It has all the right requirements; all that good healthy stuff. But animals can't eat a constant diet of any one thing, whether it's silage, hay, or grain. They have to have quite a variety to get the right TDN, or total dietary nutrients.

Fall is when you cull your livestock, and sell off the cattle you've raised for sale. You haul them down to the auction barn and sell them to Canada Packers or someone else. If you specialize in raising animals for a certain growth period, say from the time cattle are calves until they are heifers, which are young virgin cows that haven't produced calves yet, you may sell them to another farmer who raises them through a different period of development. Similarly, some farmers buy weaners, or little pigs which have been weaned and are about a foot and a half long, and

then "grow them" for another five or six months until they have the right weight and the right percentage of back fat. Pigs are one of the most difficult animals to raise, because they're highly intelligent and they're subject to all kinds of things, like stress, drafts, and pneumonia. You name it, they get it. A couple of weeks before you sell your beef cattle for slaughter, you may put them on a really good diet, and supplement their food with corn and other things, because it gives them a better quality meat than the ordinary stuff they've been eating in the fields.

You get ready for winter in the fall. You bank the bottom of the outside walls of your house with wet seaweed, bales of straw, or clay to help insulate them. You put double panes of glass on your windows. You also have fall house cleaning. You clean and wash, just as you did during spring cleaning, and you put away all the summer clothes and get out the winter clothes. If you can find the time, you insulate your water pipes in the barn. A lot of farmers don't, but later wish they had.

When you finish harvesting your crops, a good farmer plows the fields under to prepare them for spring. While they do this, the first snow is often starting to fall. Winter for the farmers begins when they are off the land. #5218

D. Winter

Winter is the period when people and animals are no longer on the land, or roughly from November through April. Through the winter they grade, bag, and sell potatoes, if they produce potatoes, and they sell wheat if they produce wheat. Their warehouses are filled to the ceilings. They may transport some of their pigs and cattle to the auction barn where there is a weekly sale. They don't just sell everything they produce, Smacko! The only people who sell their product all at once are tobacco farmers and fox producers at their yearly auction.

During winter the animals need to be fed twice a day, and the dairy cows milked twice a day. Feeding is not just slugging a few bales of hay at them from time to time. Instead you have to watch their diets very carefully. You have a green grinder, which is usually upstairs in your dairy barn. Every day or two you'll shovel in their daily requirement of greens, throw in some molasses and a few other good nutrients, and grind it all up. It comes out in a bucket and you feed it to the animals.

You give them a combination of hay, grain, ground up greens, silage, molasses, and other things, as well as special additives of minerals and proteins. You vary food mixtures according to the condition of the animals, the time of year, and how close they are to giving birth. The potatoes you cull are used for animal feed. Some people chop up the potatoes, turnips, and stuff so that the cows won't choke on them. If you're dealing with pigs, you not only chop the food up, you boil it into a mash. You also have to provide the animals with blocks of salt from time to time. During winter the barns are quite warm and humid. You have to have really good ventilation systems or the cows will get pneumonia and other diseases. In addition, you have your early calving and farrowing to deal with. A sow is placed in a farrowing crate which is only slightly bigger than the sow herself, so she won't trample her newborn pigs.

In winter you have to clear your lanes and yards of snow. You've got to get back and forth to your barn, regardless of the weather. Farmers attach a snow blower to their tractor which chomps up the snow and blows it to the side. In winter, water pipes can freeze and burst. Then you'll be in the barn in the dead of winter with blowtorches and flashlights and God knows what. Cows dehydrate very fast and have to have water. They'll haul it in by the bucket all through the night if need be.

If you are going to cut down any trees in your woodlot, you cut them in the winter because you have more time. You do this if there isn't much snow and while the land is still hard, before it begins to thaw and get mushy in the spring. You fell the trees, drag them out to the side of the road, pile them up, and then haul them elsewhere with a tractor and sleigh. Wood is either cut up into firewood or hauled down to the mill to be sold for lumber.

During winter people attempt to repay their loans, even though they may have had a less than perfect crop. They need money in the spring to put their crop in the ground. In the summer they don't make any money because they are waiting for things to come up, or grow, or get fat. Therefore after harvest comes in the fall they are presumably in the money. Dairy farmers are an exception to this, because they receive the money for their milk on a regular basis. During winter farmers organize their account books and receipts and file their income tax. They may try to refinance their loans. They also plan any construction work, such as

a new barn or an addition to the house, that they want to do the next summer.

About November you reenter community social life. The church groups, Women's Institute, and card games all start going again with a vengeance. Between January and March, many people attend courses in community schools. Community schools are held in junior high and high schools all over the Island. One pays a registration fee, teachers volunteer their services, and the class buys the teacher a gift at the end of the course. Most courses run for six to ten weeks and meet for about two and a half hours one evening a week. The courses cover a very wide variety of topics, such as art, photography, upholstery, ballroom dancing, farm management, forestry management, and computer skills. These courses are incredibly popular and a real hodgepodge of people of all ages and backgrounds attend. Most adult residents of East Road have taken at least one course in a community school.

The Department of Agriculture and the two major farm organizations, the National Farmers Union and the Federation of Agriculture, provide courses and seminars on agriculture. These programs approach farming as a business, and focus on using current management techniques to operate a farm. In addition, there are probably a hundred or more different livestock and commodity associations, such as the Hereford Breeders Association or the Strawberry Growers Association, and each has its own newsletter and meetings. There are also barn meetings where a farmer shows others an innovation he's introduced. It may be a new pump system, a new green grinder, or a new silage mixture. Individuals submit applications describing a project they think will improve their productivity, and the government partially funds hundreds of these projects and provides technical support. They are called PEP, or Product Enhancement Projects. If a project is a success the individual is expected to demonstrate it to others and write up the results. A monthly calendar of various events is published in local farm publications, such as *Island Farmer*.

During winter farmers have much more time on their hands. They worry about high expenses, loans to be repaid, and low commodity prices. There is always the possibility of bankruptcy. The more specialized a farm, the more easily it is threatened if there are problems producing or selling their specific product. Even a dairy farm, which generates steady

income, may have a poor crop year. They may not grow enough food for their animals and have to buy extra feed. There is also the possibility of disease. There has been a bad problem with potato disease elsewhere on the Island for a number of years now, and this can really wipe you out. The bacteria continue to live in the soil and aren't killed over winter. One can also lose dairy cows or even an entire herd to a disease. As a result of financial difficulties, a farmer can be sitting there with land and equipment worth a couple of million dollars and not be able to raise the money to put another crop in the ground. At the same time, a farm has to continue to grow in size to be large enough to be cost efficient. One competes with farmers elsewhere, and over time a farmer needs more and more acreage and equipment to do so. However, given the limited supply of land in the community, this means that as time passes the community can support fewer and fewer viable farms. On top of this, there are the recurrent problems of winter. In winter farmers have to work in the dark and cold. Sometimes they have to deal with their potatoes rotting in their warehouse or their pipes bursting. As a result of all this, they can get morbid. In other seasons they are much more physically active, and too busy to worry about things as much. I believe drinking and suicides are more common in winter. Winter ends as the farmers move back on the land to prepare it for the new crop. #5219

E. Regular tasks

Although many tasks are tied to specific seasons, there are other tasks which must be performed year round. These include numerous cleaning and maintenance chores. You do some cleaning in your barns every day, and there are various devices to help you do so. For example, one system uses gutters along each side of a central aisle in the barn. Your animal stalls are on both sides, lined up perpendicular to the aisle. The rumps of your animals are above the gutter, and the idea is that they will urinate and defecate into the gutter. There is a type of conveyer belt in the gutter. You push a button and the wastes are carried out toward the other end and through a chute where they are blown into a pile. That is, if everything is working, which it does about 40 percent of the time. The mechanism always has to be repaired, because links break, or an animal sticks its foot in it. The gutter frequently gets blocked up with

straw and hay kicked in by the animals. Also the animals usually miss the gutter, so you have to fork the stuff out of the stalls into the gutter yourself. A sophisticated device is also used to try to make sure the animals crap in the gutter. This is an electric wire which looks like a coat hanger and is located just above each animal's rump. So when the animal stretches its rump up to crap, it gets a very minor electric shock. It's not cruel or inhuman, but it's supposed to make the animal back off a little bit and drop it in the gutter rather than underneath its feet. About once a week you clean the barn more thoroughly.

When you have dairy cows, the vacuum pumps for milking have to be constantly cleaned and repaired. The milking equipment and pipe lines have to be cleaned and sterilized twice a day. Milking attachments, such as teat cups, have to be taken apart to be cleaned. And your tank has to be scrubbed out and sterilized at least three times a week. It has to be completely emptied, and you use a special detergent to prevent calcium buildup. Often women clean the milking equipment.

You always have to keep your equipment up and working properly. Always. Take a simple thing like the water bowls in the barns, for example. There's an automatic water bowl in every stall. The cow leans down to drink out of the water bowl, and the pressure of the cow on the edge of the bowl triggers a pump which runs fresh water into the bowl. Sooner or later the bowls get rusty or the cows knock them down, kick them in, or shit on them, and you have to replace the bowls or clean them. Water bowls are just one small item, but like the other equipment, they must be constantly cleaned, repaired, and replaced. #5220

3. Community life

A. Social activities and organizations

Social activity in the community revolves around the Anglican church and the community hall. The Anglican church is located in a neighboring community, and all but two families from East Road belong to "the English church," as it is called. The remaining two families are Baptist. There are no Catholics or members of minority ethnic groups living in the community. Social activities organized by the church include suppers and picnics. Activities held at the community hall include card

games, Girl Guides, and "a time" for someone. "A time" involves honoring a specific person or couple, such as a young bride and groom, or the mailman and his wife on their retirement. Most members of the community believe that social activities and community spirit have deteriorated greatly as a result of consolidated schools, television, and paved roads, which enable the youth to spend their time in the nearby town on the weekends.

One finds the same people running the various influential organizations in the community. These organizations include the church vestry; the Anglican Church Women, or A.C.W.; the Women's Institute; the Community Improvement Committee, or C.I.C.; and the Orangemen's Lodge. The Women's Institute has a chapter in the community, and most of its members are older women. They hold a special meeting at Christmas and a yearly auction of handicrafts and baked goods, which all the women of the community attend. The Community Improvement Committee oversees the planning act to decide where people can or can not build houses and new business operations. Business proposals might involve a brewery or a large-scale piggery with a huge liquid manure pit. Meetings of the Orangemen's Lodge, which is composed of older men, are held upstairs in the community hall. At meetings of organizations, some influential individuals do not speak up but have someone else do so for them, such as a friend or a son or daughter. People say, "John makes the snowballs, and John junior throws them." Women tend to be quite influential, because they are often educated, literate, and vocal. The close ties between individuals and organizations allow people to look out for each other's interests. For example, the Anglican Church Women received a communiqué from the diocese in Halifax stating that the Anglican church is in fact not Protestant. I think the Anglicans are kind of hoping to realign themselves with the Catholics. Anyway, East Road is a community where people have always prided themselves on being staunch Protestants. The men's secret society, the Orangemen's Lodge, is rabidly Protestant. So the Anglican Church Women decided they had better keep this hot news to themselves, and not spread it around to the menfolk and the rest of the community, because it would cause untold trouble.

Politically the community is closely divided between Liberals and Conservatives. Liberals tend to hang out with Liberals, and Conservatives

with Conservatives. Families usually belong to the same political party for generations, and continue to vote the way their ancestors did. The poll captains of the two political parties are very influential members of the community.

Outsiders consider the community of East Road quite conservative. There is no dancing, no smoking in public, and no gambling such as bingo. Also, when social activities are held, men and women remain segregated. #5221

B. Education

The traditional one room schoolhouse in the community is now deserted, and children are bussed between 15 and 20 miles to attend consolidated schools in a nearby town. There is considerable bitterness felt toward the consolidated school system by community members, and a general feeling that the academic advantages of consolidated education do not compensate for its disadvantages. They view the consolidated school system as responsible for a loss of community control, as well as a diminished role for the Women's Institute, and for educating the children to be dissatisfied with rural life. It is blamed for causing a breakup of the community.

Most of the men in their forties and older did not study beyond grade four, five, or six when they went to school. Consequently, a number of men can not read or write well, if at all. Nevertheless, all of the men of the community show a remarkable ability to deal with arithmetic problems of day-to-day life in their heads. This is true even if they can not read letters and numbers. They can calculate the size of a field, negotiate over the price per pound of a cow, determine the trade-in value of a tractor, and figure out interest rates to the penny, and do so instantly and accurately. When I play cards with men who can not read and write, they often shove a pencil and paper in my direction. However, when it is time to add up the score, they are able to give me the correct sums before I can figure them out. None of the men in the community can be bested in financial transactions or business arrangements, and their word is their bond.

Women, in contrast with men, frequently continued their education, and often became teachers or nurses. As a consequence, most women are

viewed as educated and administer the financial books of the farm, as well as the business of the church and community. Also, women are often used as a source of information and interpret legal and government documents for the men. Men who can not read, have their wives or children read correspondence aloud and look up numbers in the phone book for them. This service as "interpreters" is performed in deference to the male as head of the household, rather than as open acknowledgement that the male can not properly understand written material. When these men take trips off Island they frequently take a wife or friend along to read unfamiliar road signs for them. They have already memorized the signs they encounter on the Island. When I deal with an administrative matter with a man who has difficulty reading, I am delicately guided through the discussion in such a way that the man becomes well enough informed to make a decision and take action, and does not experience the embarrassment of admitting he can not read the material at hand. I suspect women and children have been managing in this fashion for years. Men frequently request and act upon women's opinions. Nevertheless, for the most part men are the spokespersons for the family and the community, and wives defer to their husband's comments and decision making in the presence of others. In addition, many women play the piano and can read music. Harlequin romances and Reader's Digest book condensations are popular reading material. #5222

C. Requesting help from others

People require the help and cooperation of others in the community. They may need to borrow equipment, get help finishing a particular kind of farm work, arrange a discount on a purchase, have a neighbor agree to have a stream dammed, make sure that their neighbor won't remove fish from the pond they are stocking, get the government to dump shale or sand in their lane way, have their road or driveway paved, or get a job for themselves, a relative, or a friend. Such requests for favors are normally made by adult males. However, occasionally a wife or even a child will convey the request. Sometimes communication proceeds through a series of people. For example, one Saturday I mentioned casually to the neighbor's child that I wouldn't mind talking to our M.L.A. (Member of the Legislative Assembly). The child told this to his mother, she told

her husband, and he told the M.L.A. at a Saturday night dance. The next afternoon, the M.L.A. and his wife appeared for a visit.

Requests are rarely stated outright. Instead, a request is dropped into the conversation after some minutes, or even hours, of conversation. Ranked from most likely to least likely, favors are requested from a close relative; a distant relative, such as a cousin; a politically sympathetic neighbor; another neighbor; and the community at large, as in the case of a fire. It is a matter of pride to be self-sufficient, and others are not supposed to think you need anything. Therefore one employs verbal hints to get others to volunteer their help. It also seems to be a point of honor to let as few people as possible know that one needs help or a favor. #5223

D. Community discord

Among the major areas of discord within the community are rivalry between the eastern and western portions of East Road; land disputes between neighbors, which often continue for generations; political differences between members of the Liberal and Conservative parties; and ill feelings toward residents who are perceived as being successful, especially when they do something which illustrates their success, such as building a new house or barn, painting a house or building, or getting a new farm vehicle or other piece of equipment. Animosities within the community wax and wane, depending on the current issues of the day, such as an impending political election or the relative success of a farmer's crop and its impact on his income.

Often conflicts occur over issues which do not appear critical to outsiders. For example, a new minister decided the church should have a new altar table. The younger members of the congregation went along with him, but the older members opposed him, and the community split over the issue. In another instance, the local chapter of the Women's Institute received a communiqué from the head office that they could send in ten cents for each deceased member whose name would be inscribed in a book. They fought and argued and bitched about whose name should or should not be sent in. A big issue was made over whether each deceased member had kept her membership active right up until the time of death. Only then would they be worth recognizing and paying ten cents for.

People employ a variety of methods to get back at each other. Talk, gossip, and backbiting are participated in with varying degrees of intensity. A shared telephone system, or party line, is currently in use in the community, and this provides a source of discord, because people listen to each other's conversations. It also provides a means of getting back at others, because people can make it difficult for a person or family to use the phone. For example, a farmer interrupted a female neighbor who was monopolizing the phone and asked if he could make an emergency call to the veterinarian. The woman promptly stopped talking, hung up the phone, and then picked up the receiver again and placed it on a table. This effectively tied up the phone so that her neighbor was unable to make his call. In addition, those whose political party is currently in power can cause problems for members of the other party. They can be instrumental in having them lose patronage jobs, fail to get new jobs with the government, and lose their snow-clearing privileges. People also hide the location of the community dragger from each other. This is a heavy iron implement which is dragged behind a tractor in the spring over the clay roads and lanes as they are drying out. It produces a smooth surface and speeds the drying process, which makes it possible to drive over the lanes. Most communities have a dragger for the general use of the inhabitants. It is usually at the farm of whoever used it last, and normally everyone in the immediate area knows its whereabouts. However if someone from some other area of the community, or someone who is out of favor at the moment, comes looking for it, he is often told it is somewhere else. Many people will pretend not to know its location and send the individual on a wild goose chase. He can not use his lane to move things to and from his farm until he drags it, and may lose a whole day's work on his farm while he looks for the dragger.

People normally disguise their feelings in face-to-face dealings with those they resent and feel animosity toward. For example, I listened to one woman criticize her neighbor for over an hour. She talked about how the neighbor would do cute deals and gyp others and was mentally unstable and could easily be pushed over the edge. Shortly thereafter I watched the woman who had told me all this acting like the best of friends with this same neighbor. A second instance involved a family who worked hard and were successful farmers. One spring day they decided to burn their field, which is commonly done to promote good

crop growth. They asked their cousins who live in the neighborhood to be present, so that they could help control the fire and prevent it from getting out of hand. I was there too, and as the cousins joined us, one said to me bitterly that she hoped the fire would get out of control and burn the family's new house down. She added that the family had had good luck all their lives and never had to struggle. Immediately thereafter she grabbed a broom and made a great deal of fuss beating out the fire and taking other precautions. Then she chatted very amicably with the woman of the family. #5224

E. Drinking and gambling

Most people in the community are publicly opposed to alcohol. Nevertheless many of the men drink together occasionally, but they are secretive about it. For example, at social gatherings in a home you may find the women seated in the living room drinking small glasses of nonalcoholic punch, while the men all stand in the kitchen leaning against the counters. Their bottles of liquor are in paper bags in the cabinets behind them. They lean back occasionally, remove the bag and take a swig, and then put the bag back in the cabinet. At gatherings at the community hall, even though the weather is nice, men will occasionally wander outside "to check the weather" or "roll up the car windows in case of rain." These are just excuses to allow them to have a drink in the back of a car and smoke a cigarette. There is no drinking in the community hall. The younger generation often do their drinking while driving around or sitting parked somewhere in a car.

Most people are also opposed to gambling and gambling for money. When they have card games, the prizes are items of food, such as a box of groceries. There are no bingo games in the community. Money is raised for the church or the community hall through a bake sale or strawberry social. They would not consider having a casino night to raise money. #5225

F. Cleaning

Homes are kept spotless. They are so clean you could eat off the floors or walls. They are just gorgeous. At a meeting of the local Women's Institute one evening, women were asked to answer the roll call by naming

their favorite chore. A good 80 percent said, "Scrubbing." My mother says scrubbing is a wonderful way to get rid of frustrations and anxieties, and she's right.

When there is a local function like a regular card party at the community hall, women don't make any special efforts to clean the hall. Maybe they'll sweep the floor. But occasionally an activity is organized for people from outside the community. For example, the Women's Institute will cater a wedding at the community hall and prepare the food and serve it to make money for the Institute. When outsiders are expected, the women just go bananas. They go in for two days beforehand, scrub all the chairs, wash them down, chip off the chewing gum, and wash all the dishes and silver. In other words they turn the place inside out. All the women in the community are expected to show up and do their bit. None of this is done before a local card party. When outsiders are present, the community's reputation is on the line. #5226

G. Community competition and outsiders

People within East Road make a distinction between the eastern and western parts of the community. They note that the land in the eastern portion is higher and more rolling than it is in the west, and that it can be raining in the eastern portion but not in the western. There is rivalry between inhabitants of the two sections in regard to one-upmanship and who gets a job. Nevertheless, both halves of the community join together with a strong sense of "us versus them" when they deal with members of other communities. Residents of East Road compete with residents of neighboring communities in regard to who gets the most members for their organizations, such as the Girl Guides and the Women's Institute.

Practically all members of the community have a deep suspicion of city people; doctors and lawyers; people who are educated and successful; Catholics, Jews, and members of different racial and ethnic groups; Canadians from other provinces; Americans; people from communities outside the immediate area; and government representatives, especially those who enter the community to give advice on agricultural matters or community administration.

There is the feeling that relatives who leave East Road and establish successful lives elsewhere have rejected the life and the people of the

community. They are characterized as thinking East Road is no longer good enough for them, burying their rural background and denying their roots, and raising their children to hold different values. There is a sense of sadness that these relatives are no longer present and are not committed to perpetuating local practices and values. #5227

Analysis

A number of models are considered important and are implemented by members of the community. These include "Continue to farm," "Keep the farm for the family," "Maintain rural ties," "Men should be recognized as the head of the family," "Women should be educated," "Be wary of outsiders," "Women should not drink alcohol," "Men should not drink alcohol in public," "One should not gamble for money," and "The community should have a good image." The realization of each model requires the implementation of many submodels. For example, the model that one should "Continue to farm" encompasses countless submodels to ensure that crops are successfully planted, grown, and harvested; that livestock are taken care of; and that equipment is kept in proper working order. At the same time there are numerous outside forces which have considerable impact on one's ability to implement one's models. In the case of farming, these include the weather, commodity prices, and the availability of land.

There is a great deal of competition for recognition, or positive reactions. This is revealed by participation in the yearly exhibition in Charlottetown, and by the desire to win prizes. A multitude of categories are made available in which people compete, and this enables many people to win prizes. People also compete for prizes for their livestock and for the price they can sell animals for.

There is a great deal of envy regarding the success of others. People hate to see any signs that others are more successful than they are. At the same time, this envy is normally kept under wraps. People can think and say privately what they like, but it is in their interest to maintain good relations with their relatives and other community members.

There are other feelings present. For example, there are anxieties over things that can go wrong and numerous measures are taken to try to prevent this. Thus one repairs fences, makes sure the livestock have

enough water, milks the cows on Sundays, and dries the hay and grain before one stores them. There is also a desire for positive stimulation, as revealed by involvement in playing cards, attending community school courses, and joining organizations, such as Girl Guides and the Women's Institute.

4. TOBACCO FARMING

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My family lives in a tobacco growing area of Prince Edward Island. Most of the tobacco farmers here are originally from Europe, usually Holland or Belgium. This is true of my parents, who immigrated with their parents to Canada. My parents lived in the tobacco belt in Ontario, until about ten years ago when they moved from Ontario to the Island. There are three of us children. I am eighteen years old and my brother and sister are slightly younger.

Many people on the Island believe if you grow tobacco, your money problems are over. But this is not the case. For one thing, there is a very large overhead. There are expensive facilities to build and machinery to buy, large fuel costs, and high wages to pay. The weather, cutworms, and fungi are serious threats and can damage or destroy your crop. Growing tobacco is a challenge, and there is a real sense of achievement if you can plant your tobacco and have every leaf cured before the frost strikes in October.

1. The growing season

The growing season begins in March when my father sets his seeds. There are different varieties of seeds – the most common being Delhi 34 and Virginia 115. These seeds are sold at about $30 an ounce, and one ounce provides enough seeds for 30 or 40 acres. One sets the seeds by placing them on towels in glass pans and keeping the towels moist at all times. The glass pans are kept in a warm place, out of harm's way. Dad sets enough seeds for 100 acres, even though we only plant 70, because he likes to have a wide choice of tobacco plants to select from. Dad and Mom are happy at this time because they are able to start another crop. My brother, sister, and I, however, get a bit depressed at the thought of all the work ahead of us.

While the seeds are setting, the greenhouses are prepared. Dad uses two greenhouses. Some tobacco farmers use three and some only one. Before a greenhouse is seeded, it must be steamed. The steamer looks like an old-fashioned steam engine. Water is pumped in one end, converted into steam, and the steam is released through a hose underneath the steam pan. The steam pan is about five by seven feet in size and is placed within the beds in the greenhouse. There are two beds in every greenhouse, separated by a walkway through the middle of the structure. The steam hose is left under the steam pan for about a half hour and then both pan and hose are moved to another spot in a bed. Through steaming, the greenhouse is sterilized of any bacteria and fungi that have grown in the beds over the year. Each greenhouse is steamed once. Not every tobacco grower owns a steamer. Those who own one will loan it to those who assist them in some other way on the farm. The entire greenhouse must be steamed at the same time. Therefore one usually sees another farmer helping out so the work will be done that much faster. After steaming, additional organic and inorganic fertilizers are put on the beds.

When the seeds sprout in the glass pans, they are gently mixed in a dissolved solution of fertilizer and water and sprayed over the beds. They are very tiny, and this process distributes them evenly. The actual seeding in the greenhouse is done by Dad, and Dad only. However, he only does so after he has shown his sprouted seeds to the other tobacco growers in the area and received their opinions. Tobacco farmers are always asking for each other's opinion. The risk of a mistake is too great for the farmers to rely exclusively on their own judgment. Tobacco farmers are quite interested in each other's farms and visit and look at each other's crops at various stages of growth.

It is now mid to late April and the weather is beginning to warm up. The tiny seedlings in the greenhouses are given constant attention. They are watered every day and properly ventilated. At one end of each greenhouse is a fan which controls the movement of air in the structure. Dad and Mom watch the greenhouses, and my brother and Dad prepare the land, which is plowed, disced, and harrowed. They also seed grain crops in a rotating cycle. Ideally one plants tobacco one year, and some kind of grain, such as rye, the next. However, not everyone has enough land which they can free from the production of tobacco. Therefore, some

will use a field for tobacco two years running followed by a winter grain crop. During April the land is fumigated against worms which would attack the tobacco roots. This is a very dangerous job and must be done carefully with a mask and special clothing to protect one's mouth and lungs from the chemical. Most farmers fumigate their land, but there are always some who think they can get away without it. When my sister and I are not in school, we clean up the farm. This involves tasks such as picking up rocks on the harrowed land and tidying up the barn.

By mid-May work on the land is completed, and the tobacco seedlings are nearing six inches, the height at which they will be transplanted. Dad is usually quite anxious at this time, because he believes he can see something wrong in our plants but not in any other farmer's plants, and because the weather often isn't right for planting. At this time we hire three extra people to help with planting. Although we would like to hire experienced people who have worked for us before, they are usually unavailable. Therefore we often have to hire inexperienced students from another part of the Island or another province, such as Quebec. They are usually willing to plant for a season, but most have no desire to return a second year. We frequently hire them through Canada Manpower and they live in our basement in a crude apartment consisting of a kitchen and a bedroom. During planting my sister and I sometimes go to school only half a day. Occasionally we receive our assignments and pass them in through our friends. Dad keeps us on the farm because we are experienced tobacco workers and know what he expects. Toward the end of May and the first part of June, when the fear of frost is gone, the plants are pulled and transplanted.

The planting season consists of two parts – pulling the plants in the greenhouse, and planting them in the fields. Pulling plants is one of the two most undesirable jobs of the year for me. You have to sit in the hot greenhouse all day pulling out the tallest, healthiest plants and placing them very neatly in wooden boxes. Above all you have to be fast. The heat in the greenhouses is torture. However, Mom likes the heat and this is her favorite job. But try teaching this job to three inexperienced, uncoordinated girls! It's difficult, and one needs lots of patience, particularly with girls who aren't used to getting their hands dirty. More often than not it is the women of the family who get the task of teaching the trainees what to do. Most of the time we do fine, but there is the

occasional stubborn trainee who doesn't listen. Then Dad must be called in, and he manages to get her trained quickly and patiently. This is because Dad is able to stay calmer than Mom, and because Dad is "The Boss," or "The Big Man." Workers tend to pay more attention to him than to anyone else.

While people are busy pulling plants in the greenhouse, four people go to the field to plant seedlings. The plants are transferred from the greenhouses to the fields in small shallow boxes. They are planted by means of a special machine which is pulled along by a tractor. Dad usually takes two of us kids together with two of the rookies. This way each one of us teaches an inexperienced person. Planting involves coordination, because you have to be very quick and capable with your hands. You sit on the planter and you pick up a plant with one hand, take it with the other hand, and place it in every second rubber cup attached to a rotating wheel. The wheel moves the plants to the soil below. After the plant is dropped into an opening in the ground, water and fertilizer are dribbled around it, and the furrow is closed by the rotating wheel. Two people work on a row, placing plants in alternate rubber cups. One person plants right handed and the other plants left handed. While we are placing plants in the rubber cups, Dad drives the tractor that pulls us along. Most planters do two rows at a time.

Once you get into it, planting tobacco is a very relaxing job. You can sing or talk as much as you want, until you find a lot of the plants in your row are missing. Then you shut up and concentrate. When Dad sees that too many plants are missing, he begins playing little games. He gives prizes for the two people who have the most perfect rows, i.e., the smallest number of missing plants. The prize might be a dollar at the end of the day, or if they are old enough, a case of beer (or some other beverage) at the end of the week. These little games do a good job of motivating us.

We grow about 70 acres of tobacco on our farm, and our planting season lasts from two and a half to three and a half weeks. During this time we also work on Sunday. Three people pull plants all day and four people plant them. Working from six in the morning until six in the evening we are able to plant from five to six acres a day at a moderate speed. Sometimes, if an extra large number of plants have been pulled during the day, we plant the remainder after supper. Of course, the

weather has a lot to do with the length of the planting season. Planting can not be carried out during extremely rainy weather, because the plants would get locked into the ground, no air would reach the roots, and the roots would rot. If there is continuous rain and we can not plant, we still have to pull the plants in the greenhouses. If they aren't pulled, they grow too big and are useless. When the weather is bad, Dad and Mom get very tense, because many boxes of plants must be thrown out.

Our family's attitude is dependent on the mood of the workers. If they are miserable, we won't enjoy doing our work, and if they are happy and relaxed, we can have a good time. The workers' moods can be affected by a variety of things. They may not be used to work, getting up at six o'clock, or continuing at a job for long hours. The jobs are tedious, and there are the inevitable personality clashes. Also, some workers feel they shouldn't have to work when it is too hot or too cold. But things have to be done no matter what the weather. The situation has to be pretty extreme, such as a rain storm, before the farmer stops. But I feel sure workers would stop any time conditions aren't ideal. In many of the tobacco farms in our area, the feelings of the hired workers are considered before those of the immediate family. When workers aren't doing their jobs correctly, after repeatedly being told what to do, they need to be put down or yelled at. But rather than yell directly at the workers, some farmers make sure the offending workers are in the vicinity and then corner one of their family members and start ranting and raving at them. Dad used to do this. However, he's gotten better now and goes right to the source, which is good. Sometimes farmers get tense because of something they can't change, such as the weather, and tend to take it out on others.

Some people have an allergy to tobacco. Usually it is just a mild sensitivity, and they go to the doctor and get a shot to deal with it. But if their reaction is bad enough, they just have to quit working in tobacco. Accidents are rare. A person might be cut and require stitches, or else have a piece of equipment fall on him.

When planting is completed, the work force for the next month and a half consists only of family members. During this time we replant the crop, and double, hoe, hill, and top it. Replanting consists of walking through the rows of tobacco and replacing a missing or sickly plant with a fresh one. The only tools one needs for this are a bucket containing

plants and a small spade, which is used to make a hole in the soil for the new plant. On our farm, fields are replanted two or three times, depending on how bad they are. Some years replanting is quite extensive. This is not just caused by missing plants. Instead, it can be made necessary by a fungus which causes the roots to rot, or an attack of cutworms, which eat the stem of the plant and kill it. Cutworms are the grower's enemy, and the only way to stop them is to spray the fields with an insecticide. Sometimes the fungi and/or cutworms are so bad an entire field of tobacco has to be disced under, sprayed, and planted all over again. However, this can't be done if the growing season is too far advanced and there isn't time for the new plants to grow. Dad usually plants from six to eight fields, and there is nothing worse than to see him faced with announcing that a field must be done over. It makes him sick to have to announce it. In fact he can't do the field over himself, and has my brother do it for him. Replanting can be done in all kinds of weather. One year a freak snowstorm struck while we were replanting, and we still kept going. Given the inability of tobacco to survive in low temperatures, it is amazing the tobacco did not freeze and die. After a crop is replanted, the primary thing that can go wrong is the weather. At this point in time, what is required is dry weather with an occasional light rain. With dry weather, the tobacco plants grow roots to reach the moisture they need. As they grow roots, the plants become stronger and sturdier and better able to take what is dished out by "the powers above."

Replanting is usually completed about the time that summer vacation from school begins. My whole summer is spent helping out at home, tending the tobacco, and cleaning up the farm. A messy farm is something my parents can not abide, and now we kids all feel the same way. We got this from Dad. He used to be a real perfectionist, but now is becoming more normal. I suppose Dad likes us all to take pride in the life we lead, since it took so much hard work for my parents to achieve what they have. We do get a break from tobacco on Sundays, when we can do as we please. Dad and many of the other tobacco growers race pigeons to relax and take their minds off their problems with the tobacco.

During the summer the crop is doubled and hoed to remove weeds. Tobacco cannot be sprayed for weeds because the spray would kill the tobacco. Hoeing is accomplished both by a tractor attachment and by

hand. The attachment is called a doubler, or wiggly-hoe. One person drives the tractor while two people sit on the doubler and move the hoes. This is a dusty job, but it does allow us girls to get a good tan. Not all farmers double their crop, because some consider it useless. Dad disagrees, because if nothing else the doubler opens up the dirt packed around the plants and gives them air. After using the doubler, hoeing is completed using ordinary garden hoes. Hoeing on our farm is all done by females. My father and brother think up numerous important jobs that have to be done during this time. Maybe they just don't like walking in the soft dirt, because it is kind of hard on your legs. But we females like it because it's good exercise. A crop must be hoed every few days, because weeds grow quickly during the summer. Dad only lets experienced people do the hoeing, because he is concerned others would accidentally damage tobacco plants.

By mid-July the tobacco is about a foot and a half high and is ready to be hilled up. An attachment is hooked onto the tractor which moves dirt up around the lower stem of the plants. This gives additional support to the growing tobacco. From here on in the plants grow rapidly and soon they are five feet high and produce a flower. The flower is called a top.

By now it is the end of July or the beginning of August and we are ready to begin topping. Topping consists of breaking off, or "cracking off," the flower with a couple of the top leaves of the plant. Each tobacco farmer has his own idea how high or low a plant should be topped. Dad likes to leave about 16 or 18 leaves, if possible, on every plant. The goal of topping is to get the plant to grow outwards instead of upwards. When a plant is topped its leaves grow heavier and fill out. If it isn't topped the energies of the plant are directed into the production of new leaves. Topping is not a difficult job and again it is done mainly by the females of the family. When topping, your hands get sticky and stained from the nicotine and tar in the stems. A few days after plants are topped they undergo a noticeable change in color. The plants change from dark green to lighter green, and are then considered "ripe," or ready for harvest. Topping the whole crop takes just a week of steady work, but sometimes we have to wait a day because no tops are out. On the days we don't top, we start preparing for harvest. As topping is finished, harvest is ready to begin.

There is a considerable amount of preparation for harvest, which starts in the middle part of August. Prime machines have to be in working condition, kilns must all be checked, racks must be tightened, and baskets must be fixed. Also, we must prepare the bunkhouse, buy food, and hire workers. Although Dad "knows" when the tobacco is ready for harvest, he prefers to consult with the other tobacco growers in the area to get their opinions. He likes to hear others say, "Yeah, yeah, you're right. It is time to start." But even if they disagree with him, he'll go ahead when he feels the crop is ready.

We hire seven people to supplement the five members of our immediate family. Workers hired by the farmer usually fall into two categories, those who are regulars from year to year and those who are present for only one season or part of a season. When we can, we hire workers who are already experienced and have received this experience on our farm. This way Dad already knows the guys and their personalities and they in turn know what Dad is like and what he expects. The regulars tend to be quite loyal to the farmer and see to it that everything is done correctly and runs smoothly. They keep the newcomers working properly and efficiently and do not permit them to do poor work, which many of them have a tendency to do. However, we are lucky if we get a few workers who have worked for us before. Tobacco farmers find it difficult to hire local people, because they find the work dirty and unpleasant and the hours too long. It is a real pain to find good help for just six weeks and often people must be hired from other provinces or distant parts of the Island. The biggest worry with the new workers is whether they will come back to work the next Monday morning. Many tobacco workers feel they do not receive enough money for their efforts. This causes arguments and occasionally ends with some of the workers quitting or being fired. Alcohol is also a problem. It is not uncommon for a crew to receive their pay on Friday night, go to the Legion, and show up for work the next day either half drunk or hung over. The resulting poor day's work can be a real source of anger and frustration for the growers, who sometimes compensate by spending Saturday night drinking at the Legion. The best workers are those who have the desire and ability to work hard and readily cooperate with others. These workers are really the backbone of tobacco farming. Without them the job would not be done properly.

A day begins at seven o'clock and finishes sometime in the afternoon, depending on what stage of harvest we are at. One day's work involves picking enough tobacco to fill one kiln. A kiln is the building where the tobacco is baked, or cured. One picks the bottom leaves of the plant, because leaves ripen from the bottom up. Once you've gone through every field and taken the bottom leaves, the next higher leaves have ripened and are ready to be picked. There are five pickings, or pullings, in a season. These are called sands, seconds, thirds, fourths, and tips. Sands are the three leaves closest to the ground, seconds are the three leaves above these, and so on. Tips are the remaining leaves at the top of the plant.

During harvest we require six primers in the field, one boat driver, three people at the kilns, a cure man, and a cook. Those who pick the tobacco in the fields are called primers. Primers ride on the seats of a harvester which is called a priming machine. These seats are very close to the ground. The machine moves forward at a snail's pace while each primer picks the bottom three leaves from each plant and places them neatly in a large metal basket in front of him. Positioning them neatly allows the leaves to be placed properly on the racks that go into the kilns, and produces a minimum amount of leaf damage. The less damage that occurs at this point, the better the leaves look at the end of the cycle when they have been cured, and the more the buyers like them. We use one machine with six primers, which is the maximum number a machine can carry, but some farms use more than one machine. Six primers can do six rows at a time. There is a long attachment which hooks under the front of the tractor which looks like a bug's feelers and is called "a feeler." As it knocks against the plants the feeler keeps the tires centered, and enables the tractor to steer itself. When we were little, Dad would tell us the Ghost Rider was driving the tractor and we believed a ghost was actually doing it. Tobacco rows are such a length that a primer fills a basket per row. Therefore, the end result of picking six rows is six baskets of leaves. The baskets which have been filled at the end of each passage through the rows are called a load. A load is placed in a long skinny structure called "a boat," which is hauled to the kilns. Full baskets are replaced by empty baskets, and the primers start towards the other end of the field. Priming is an easy job as long as you are coordinated, strong, and have a great sense of humor. Primers are usually male as it

is hard work which requires heavy lifting. When full, the baskets weigh from 100 to 150 pounds or more. Humor is required because the tobacco plants are very wet with dew in the mornings and slap you in the face. Many practical jokes are played in the field and this produces a lot of fun.

The load is hauled from the fields to the kiln by the boat driver. At the kiln the load is removed and placed in racks by two people and shoved into the kiln by a third. Life at the kilns is not much fun because of the pressure on you. It is very important that one rack not have more tobacco in it than the next so that all the tobacco in the kiln will be cured with an even color. If this isn't done correctly, the wrath of Dad falls on your head. Dad puts one of us girls at the kiln because we know how it should be done. If anything goes wrong, we, not the hired help, are yelled at. If the hired help get mad enough they could quit just when we need them most. In my career at the kilns, Dad has taken a near fit three times when the racks were not evenly filled. It is terrifying to be the recipient of this.

The harvest is highly integrated, with each group of workers dependent upon the other. Workers at the kiln depend upon the primers to keep a steady flow of tobacco coming to them from the field. Likewise the primers depend on the kiln workers to keep the tobacco moving into the kiln and to supply them with empty baskets. A breakdown in the process can be caused anywhere along the line. On some farms there is much complaining among workers when such interruptions occur. Kiln workers accuse the primers of being lazy if they don't receive a steady supply of tobacco, and the primers do likewise if they don't get a steady supply of baskets. In many instances the real problem is with the machinery, but both parties seem to overlook this and blame one another.

It is to everyone's advantage to get the kiln filled quickly. One kiln is filled per day, regardless of the length of time required; and the help is paid so much per kiln, not so much per hour. Thus the sooner the kiln is filled, the sooner everyone can go home. Primers and kiln workers are paid $40 a kiln and receive room and board. The boat driver gets a little less because the job is not considered as strenuous.

In the case of sands and seconds, the kiln is filled around two or three o'clock in the afternoon. With thirds, fourths, and tips, it is filled between five-thirty and six o'clock. When the kiln is full, Dad puts it on to

begin curing. Propane or gas burners are used to cure the tobacco. It takes about one week to cure sands and seconds, and about ten days to cure the later pullings. During this time the tobacco is baked until it turns golden yellow and crackly, like cornflakes. Then moisture is let in so that the leaves become tender and touchable. When this is achieved, the tobacco is cured and ready to be removed. The operation of curing is watched day and night. Dad is our cure man and he stays awake nearly all night long with only occasional naps during the six weeks of harvest in order to check the kilns to see that nothing is burning. Kilns are emptied by the primers and Dad. Dad plays a lot of little games with the employees to get them more motivated and involved. They split into two groups and see who can take out the most tobacco. A kiln can be emptied in half an hour and is ready to use again. We have ten kilns to work with so that we never have to stop work for a day because of the lack of a kiln. The cured tobacco is placed in the pack barn.

After work at the kiln is finished for the day, my sister and I usually go to the fields and remove suckers for a couple of hours. Suckers are small, spindly leaves, which grow on the stems of the plants. These are unwanted plant parts which use up plant sap and thus ultimately lead to smaller leaves, which are definitely not what a grower wants. Some years suckers are really numerous and must be removed by both a chemical spray and manual labor. The sucker spray is not always effective and suckers therefore have to be removed by hand. This is done simply by snapping them off at their stems. Suckers are not a problem every year.

Another important job during harvest is cooking. Mom is the cook on our farm during harvest, but on some farms a cook is hired. Mom makes three large meals a day – breakfast, dinner, and supper. She is always nervous that the food won't be good enough, but in fact it is practically gourmet in quality.

One thing we are scared of during harvest is frost. Frost ruins the leaves completely, and turns them into a useless bluish-pinkish color. Frost is a dirty word around tobacco farmers because it can bankrupt them. A very early frost can cost a farmer one hundred thousand dollars in lost revenue. Very rarely is the entire crop lost to frost. As you work up the plant, with each layer of leaves you are paying off your debts. Most of your profit is in the top of the plant, which has the heaviest and best quality leaves. These ripen and are pulled later in the season. So when

you lose the top, you lose a lot. Ideally a farm produces about a ton of tobacco per acre, but it is common to produce considerably less. Last harvest Dad, my brother, and I stayed up several nights spraying water on the leaves in an attempt to stop the effects of cold weather. However, nothing can save tobacco when frost hits, but Dad is always trying something. Windstorms can also cause a lot of leaf loss, but they are not nearly as serious as frost. Insurance only covers partial loss and is expensive, so some farmers gamble and do not carry it.

If frost doesn't strike first, the harvest is completed about six weeks after it begins. By this time everyone lacks pep and life, especially Dad because he has had the least amount of sleep. On the last day of harvest we have one great big party with Dad supplying all the food and drink. It is a celebration, and everyone looks forward to this day. During the party we show our home movies of past harvests. Mom takes a film every year, and this helps us remember all the crazy things that happened. However, if frost finishes the season for us, there is no party. During our first seven years on the Island, we lost part of every crop to frost. Dad was going to give it one more try, and luckily that year we got the crop off.

Getting a crop completely harvested is a source of considerable relief for the tobacco grower. He has had to carry responsibility for the entire operation on himself. He has to depend on the willingness of the bank to loan him money to launch another season, had to borrow heavily, and is entirely subject to the vagaries of the weather. In addition, he has to rely on workers who are much less motivated than himself. Moreover, he has to face the possibility the crop will fail and he will be in a great deal of debt. Dad doesn't look forward to harvest and finds it a tense and anxious period. However, the rest of us welcome harvest. Most of the time we find harvest fairly relaxed. However, when things aren't going well and machinery breaks down, it gets tense. Our general feeling is we've got to get busy and get it done. It's the end of the season, and our attitude is "let's just finish this thing up."

Once harvest is completed, we no longer need the hired crew. However, the work is not yet finished. We still have to do the grading. My sister and I consider grading as hateful as pulling plants in the greenhouse. We have to stand all day long sifting through every leaf and classifying it as bright, dark, double dark, red, or green. This is not fun.

However, Mom, Dad, and my brother enjoy it because the rush is over and everyone can relax. After grading, the tobacco is pressed into a bale of a particular color which weighs about 50 pounds. The process of grading the tobacco lasts at least a couple of months and is usually finished after Christmas. During this period the bare tobacco stalks are disced in, and winter grain crops are sown to prepare the land for the next season.

Buyers from the major tobacco companies usually come to inspect each grower's crop during harvest. They give no warning they are coming and no preparations are made for their visit. After harvest all the tobacco growers get together in Charlottetown to meet with buyers from the four tobacco companies. The buyers offer the growers a price per pound for their crop, and each grower accepts an offer. The crop is shipped off between December and February to the company that buys it. Occasionally a farmer accompanies part of his crop to Ontario to make sure it arrives safely. When the last bale is graded and shipped away, the tobacco season is considered over. The one income cheque of the year arrives in January or February, and is distributed in proper amounts to the right places. Now there is time for a vacation. The average tobacco farmer has two months off to putter around and do what he wants. Some tobacco growers travel to the sunny south for a couple of weeks. Tobacco farmers also seem to participate in many more winter activities than the average Island family. These include snowmobiling, skiing, hockey, and playing cards. #5228

2. Practical jokes

During the harvest season the workers play a variety of practical jokes on each other. These jokes help us get the hostilities and frustrations we are feeling out of our systems. As a consequence we are able to work together more cooperatively. Because workers are paid by the kiln it is in our interest to work well together and finish each day's work quickly.

The main instigators of the practical jokes tend to be the leading hired workers on the farm. There have been three, Michael, Joey, and Bill, over the last ten years who stand out in my mind. These three have been excellent workers who have worked for Dad off and on for a period of years, and Dad has depended on them. They have recruited other

workers, taken some responsibility for them, and have helped Dad with any extra work he has. Because these men worked out so well, Dad has also hired a number of their brothers over the years; five in the case of Michael, and three in the case of Joey. A number of years after they last worked for us, they sometimes drop by to talk "harvest history."

I remember a season which started off the same as usual – boring. Then one day my brother, who was twelve years old at the time, came home extremely vexed. Michael and Joey had attacked him at the end of a row and tied him to his seat on the primer. Then they bombarded him with berries and apples and left the field without untying him. Somehow he managed to wiggle his way out on his own. The main topic at the supper table that evening was how ridiculous my brother had looked. This incident relaxed the whole crew and set the mood for the rest of the season. My brother had the hardest time that year. He couldn't walk alone outside without being attacked and thrown to the ground by Joey. If he was riding on the tobacco "boat" coming home from the field and they saw a mud puddle, he was put in it.

We were all subject to the jokes played by Michael and Joey. Early one morning two of their brothers were sleeping off a drunk. They were in the bunkhouse, which is in the garage. Michael and Joey opened the garage door and dragged the beds with the men in them out into the pouring rain. Another time they put a whole bottle of blue ink in the outside shower tank. The person who used the shower was a left-handed primer who was very much a loner and a sophisticate. He was quite angry about his blue skin.

We started looking for ways to retaliate. My sister and I wanted to get back at the primers for all the water they threw at us in water fights. So we hid the washing materials they needed to rid their hands of the tobacco tar. They had to try to take it off by rubbing their hands together in cold water, while swearing revenge. Also, my brother would set buckets of water over the door and call Michael or Joey to the telephone.

As the harvest seasons progressed, we became quite experienced in playing practical jokes. Often we would find a weak spot in a person and take advantage of it. One guy who worked for us was very nervous. If you walked up from behind and touched him, he would jump and let out a roar. One evening my brother put an alarm clock under his mattress. When it went off during the night under his ear, he nearly had a heart

attack. Sometimes the guys would wait in the middle of his row, and when the priming machine went by, make a grab for him. He soon resigned himself to these surprise attacks, which he received at least once a day. Another person, one of Michael's brothers, had a lot of jokes played on him. He was always bragging about his conquests with women, and because no one believed him, he fabricated bigger and bigger stories. Finally one day we could take it no longer, and two primers attacked him with orange florescent paint. They covered him completely and got most of it on his favorite hat. Because of this, he threatened to quit. This was one of the very few instances in which a recipient was a bad sport.

Last year the mysterious Night Primers arrived. This was the name Bill and Michael adopted for themselves. One night they went all out. While the rest of the guys were asleep in the bunkhouse, they covered the sleeping bodies with stove black and black shoe polish, wrapped toilet paper around the beds, sprinkled crackers and cookies underneath the blankets, and to top it off pretended in the middle of the night it was time to start work. The Night Primers struck every night for the remainder of the harvest. They put pebbles in boots, shaving cream in rain suits, and water balloons under pillows.

While practical jokes are going on, the feeling on the farm is not one of hatred. It is one of fun and a friendly desire for revenge. We are like any bunch of kids working together, and we make games out of everything. The jokes are a tension reliever; they help us relax and enjoy ourselves. As a result we work better as a team and cooperate more. #5229

3. Sales day

As they finish harvest, the tobacco farmers become increasingly concerned because Sales Day is approaching. They wonder what kind of offer they will receive for their crop, and attempt to predict what each of the four tobacco companies will offer them on Sales Day. Most farmers tell their guesses to other farmers in order to learn how much the others are expecting to get. They raise or lower their own expectations based on their knowledge of the other farmers' crops. They try to guess how much other farmers will receive, the average price that will be paid to all

the farmers, and the top price that will be paid for a single crop. Guesses are often written down on whatever happens to be lying around, even chocolate bar wrappers, and then stuffed into somebody's wallet. By the time "The Day" rolls around, some of the growers can barely shut their wallets they are so full of guesses. When bets of a couple of dollars are placed, the one who comes closest can win a sizable bit of money.

A system has been instituted which allows Sales Day to proceed in an orderly fashion. At a meeting about ten years ago all the tobacco farmers divided themselves by lot into three groups – A, B, and C. This order is rotated each year. Thus the members of group A will meet with the buyers first in year one, second in year two, third in year three, and again first in year four. In addition, the members in each group draw lots each year for the specific order in which they will meet with the buyers. These assignments are made about a month before Sales Day. Some believe it is better and luckier to draw a position at the front of your group. However, the buyers have already recorded in their large black ledgers what they plan to offer each farmer for his crop.

As Sales Day approaches the men keep predicting the prices that will be offered and which farmer will get the highest offer. They discuss among themselves the guesses made by the farmers who aren't present. The evening before Sales Day some farmers get very nervous. Sales Day is a critical time because it tells you whether all the hard work of the year is going to pay off. A farmer can go bankrupt on Sales Day. One farmer I know gets very quiet and edgy. He keeps thinking what will happen to his family and his farm if he doesn't get an offer for his crop. Farmers do different things before the day itself. A lot get their hair cut. When one farmer was asked why he had his shoulder-length hair cut off, he replied, "All the farmers who get the best prices seem to get their hair cut just before Sales Day. I've noticed this. I'm not stupid. This year I'm doing the same thing." Some go look at their tobacco or go visit other people. Many go to bed early.

Sales Day is held in early December in Charlottetown. On some farms Sales Day is a big event. The whole family goes to town, and the children miss school. In most families the husband and the wife go together with children who are old enough to understand what is going on. When we were younger, Sales Day was a great event for my brother,

sister, and me. It meant that Dad and Mom wouldn't be home when we got back from school. This gave us a free afternoon, because we couldn't grade tobacco without our parents present to check what we were doing. It also meant that we could finally have our favorite foods for supper. Since we knew no better, to us Sales Day was a holiday.

Sales Day is held at one of the hotels in Charlottetown. The four companies represented are Benson and Hedges, Simcoe Leaf, MacDonalds, and the Imperial Company. These companies rent separate rooms to use in buying crops. The Tobacco Board also takes a room, called the waiting room, and CN (Canadian National) Railway rents a room in which it operates a bar. The actual sale of tobacco begins around eight o'clock in the morning and lasts until midnight. During this time the crops of 68 tobacco farms are bought by the four companies.

When farmers draw lots within their own group, four farmers are assigned the same time slot. This way each of the four buyers can meet with a farmer at the same time and no time is wasted. When it is your turn, you go to a company room and walk in. Usually the owner and his spouse go in to hear the verdict together. The company "rep" greets them with everyday platitudes, such as "Good morning. How are you today? How's the grading coming along?" Then he gets down to business and either makes an offer in so many cents per pound, or else says, "I'm sorry, but we just can't use your crop." Sometimes the farmer is disappointed with the offer, and other times pleasantly surprised.

The farmer hears every offer before he makes up his mind who to sell to. One farmer I heard about went a little crazy when he heard his last offer. He had already received two rejections and one offer. The offer had been what he expected. However, his final offer was better than he'd hoped for. He looked at the buyer, let out a "Whoopee!" and proceeded to roll around on the carpet. His wife was suitably embarrassed, and when he calmed down he signed the contract. Usually a grower sells to the highest bidder, but some stick with a specific company, even if the offer is a little less than that of another company. When the farmer decides which company to sell to, he goes back to the company's room and signs a contract. He leaves the room relieved and usually satisfied. The range between the top price and the bottom price per pound can be a half dozen cents or so. A small amount per pound can make a difference. If two farmers each produced 100 thousand

pounds of tobacco, but one farmer received $1.41 a pound while the other received $1.40 a pound, the first farmer would make a thousand dollars more.

Sometimes one or two farmers reject all of their offers. In such cases the farmer waits until every other farmer has had a turn and then goes through a second time. He hopes that he will receive one of the offers originally intended for another farmer, and be able to get a cent or two more a pound than he was offered at first. It is a rule of the Prince Edward Island Tobacco Marketing Board that every crop must be bought that day, or else none of the signed contracts are valid. The companies need the Island tobacco, so they buy all the crops.

There is considerable concern among practically all the farmers as to how they stand in comparison to the other farmers. When a farmer comes out of one of the rooms, all the other farmers present want to know what offer he received. A farmer may be embarrassed if he receives a lower offer than the others. Some go so far as to lie about their offer in order to look better. Others tell their friends because they feel bad and need consolation. Some farmers don't tell their offers to anyone. They feel it is no one's business except their own. One clique sticks together and will only tell members of their clique what their offers were. One year three members of the clique sold their crops for really good prices. One of the other farmers in the clique received an offer that was half a cent below that of the other three. He became angry and wanted to reject it. His wife was upset over the lower offer too and cried for a long time. Some farmers hang around the waiting room after selling their crops because they are interested in the prices received by others. Afterwards at home families talk about the different offers received by the farmers. Those who are pleased with their own standing, pat themselves on the back. Some feel that the more you are offered, the better a farmer you must be. Others voice their jealousy and resentment of farmers who have been more successful. Relatives in Ontario are also quite anxious to learn what the selling prices are. These relatives are engaged in the same business and some feel a sense of competition with their relatives on Prince Edward Island.

Results of the sale are tabulated in the waiting room. Both the average selling price and the highest selling price up to that time are posted. A television set is present for people to watch while waiting their turn

with the buyers. When the soap operas are on TV in the afternoon, they are well attended. In the bar room free liquor is provided by the CN shipping service for anyone involved in Sales Day. It is intended for the growers and their families, and is used to create good will toward CN. Tobacco must be shipped some way, so why not use the CN Railway? This room is used by practically everyone, either to celebrate a good offer or to forget about disappointments, and some of the growers get quite drunk. Sales Day leaves everyone quite exhausted, but generally satisfied.

Tobacco growers are a special type of people. They have stamina, will power, and patience. There are many more downs than ups in growing tobacco, but seeing that final bale of graded tobacco leave the farm makes it all worthwhile. It is quite an achievement to get a crop off. I would not trade my years of working for my father for anything. I have learned responsibility and a love of the land. #5230

Analysis

Many submodels are executed in order to achieve the model of "Successfully getting a crop off." These submodels include buying seeds, setting the seeds, preparing greenhouses, seeding the greenhouses, fumigating the land, hiring workers, training workers, motivating workers, cooking for workers, pulling plants in the greenhouses, planting seedlings in the fields, replanting the crop, doubling, hoeing, hilling, topping, keeping equipment in good working order, picking leaves, filling kilns, curing, removing suckers, grading leaves, accepting a bid from a buyer, shipping the crop, preparing the land for the next season, and rotating crops.

A farmer may take many precautions in order to successfully get a crop off. These include setting more seeds than necessary in the greenhouses, doing the seeding himself, asking the opinions of other tobacco farmers, sterilizing the greenhouses before seeding, paying constant attention to the seedlings, fumigating the land against worms, wearing protective clothing while fumigating, hiring workers, using family members and other experienced workers whenever possible, yelling at family members instead of at workers who make mistakes so the workers won't quit, working in bad weather, replacing sickly plants, removing weeds, letting only experienced people hoe, handling leaves in such a way that they will look good to the buyers, making sure the racks in

the kilns are evenly filled, checking on the curing both day and night, having enough kilns so work will not be interrupted, trying to find ways to save tobacco plants during cold weather, getting one's hair cut before Sales Day, accompanying a crop to Ontario to ensure it arrives safely, and buying insurance. The Tobacco Marketing Board takes the precaution to ensure that every crop will be bought by nullifying all contracts if this is not the case.

The farmer uses various measures to establish consistency with his model of successfully getting a crop off. This includes paying workers to help him plant and harvest his crop quickly; paying workers during harvest for each kiln filled, rather than by the hour; playing games with prizes to get workers to do a better job; and getting upset and yelling when workers don't do the jobs properly.

There are many sources of tension during the farming season. These include fear of windstorms, frost, cutworms, and fungi; worry that something is wrong with one's seedlings; concern over too much rain and the necessity of discarding seedlings; anxiety over bank loans; worry that workers are not doing their jobs properly; frustration with machinery that breaks down; concern that one will not get one's crop completely harvested; worry that the food prepared for workers is not good enough; and anxiety over Sales Day and what one will be paid for one's crop. Relatives in the same business in Ontario want to know about crop prices on the Island because they share the same worries. The farmer is disheartened when there is a setback which makes it difficult to achieve his model, such as when an entire field of tobacco plants has to be plowed under and replanted. Most of this tension is released when the farmer successfully executes submodels and when he finally achieves his model and gets his crop off. This was illustrated by the farmer who yelled "Whoopee!" and rolled on the floor because of the pleasure he felt when he received a higher bid for his crop on Sales Day.

There are additional factors involved. Farmers are very concerned about how they compare with other farmers. The amount of money they are offered by buyers is concrete evidence of their relative success. Farmers are upset if they are offered less money for their crop than other farmers, because this is inconsistent with their self-image, and they are jealous of those who are offered more. When they are happy with what they are offered, they give themselves positive reactions. If the

farmer is pleased with a worker he has hired, he is willing to hire the worker's brothers to work for him too. This illustrates the significance of family reputation, and that a person's good reputation produces resources for the person's relatives. Workers pay more attention to the boss than to the boss's relatives, because the boss has more control over their resources. During the year people seek positive stimulation through pigeon racing, snowmobiling, skiing, hockey, playing cards, liquor, soap operas on television, travel, and practical jokes. People employ orientations when they clean up a "messy" farm.

5. ISLAND FARMS

There are three types of farms in my community. One is the small family farm. This is usually operated by a single person, or perhaps by a couple of brothers. Often they are elderly, and the last members of their family who farm. Then there are middle-class farmers, who have been forced to expand because of the pressures of low market prices and competition from larger, more efficient industrial farms. The third type of farm is the large farm. Often these are potato farmers or hog farmers. Twenty years ago 200 hogs on a farm was considered a large number. Today a large number is at least 5,000. Animals in a factory farm are penned in barns and fed grain or hay for their entire lives until they are ready for slaughter.

Family farms are inherited by the farmer's sons or daughters. Often they have been in the family for generations. It would be much too expensive for a person to simply go out and buy a farm. The average farm costs over a million dollars, because of the high cost of land and equipment. A small dairy farmer up the road told me, "Nobody in their right mind would buy a farm nowadays."

Over time the small family farms have grown into bigger and bigger operations. "It's because the big guys pushed out the little guys, or forced them to expand," says a big potato farmer who was once a small dairy farmer. One sees the extremes to which this has occurred with one of the largest farms in my community. Forty years ago the farm grew less than 200 acres of potatoes. Now it grows over 2000 acres of potatoes, almost 2000 acres of rotation crops, and has over 250 cows. The farmer works with several sons and grandsons and hires many members of the community during planting and harvesting. As one farmer states, "Today it's either get big, or get out."

A cousin of mine grew up on a fourth-generation family farm. Just this past year his father was forced to either expand the farm or sell it. Expanding would have meant borrowing millions of additional dollars for land and equipment. He was unable to do this and was forced to sell his farm. I asked my cousin if he had any interest in the farm. He said he loved to farm, he loved the field work and the tractors, but the one thing

he didn't love was having the bank call his house every week looking for money that wasn't there. His family was able to keep some old tractors, and a few animals, but not enough to make any money from. My cousin now works at a neighbor's dairy farm making $9 an hour and his father works at another farm down the road making $11 an hour, which are close to minimum wages. This kind of situation is becoming common.

When people ask me how much money I make farming and I tell them, most people say something like "Why the hell do you farm if you don't make any money? Are you stupid?" People think farmers must be insane to keep farming if they make no income. But as a friend of mine says, "If you know you'll never make a profit, then it's hard to say that you should keep going. But if you love to farm, and you feel there is a chance down the road that prices will go up or you'll expand and you'll make a bit of profit, then you should keep at it." People who love farming try to stick with it until they are forced out. This is why we still have many farmers on the Island. Also, in many cases farmers simply don't have the education that they need to get a decent job if they stop farming. Many farmers are over forty years old and have only a high school education or less. Therefore they are trapped and have to keep farming. A young farmer said, "My parents tell me not to farm, and watching Dad work all day for nothing pisses me off. But I hate university and I hardly pass, so what else am I going to do?" When I ask a good friend of mine if he wants to keep farming, I always get a confused, "I don't know, man." Many support their farm with an additional part-time or full-time job. A good friend of mine says, "If my parents didn't have two good additional incomes coming in to pay bills with, we wouldn't be farming today." A retired potato farmer once told my father, "Farming is like a roller coaster. You go up, you go down. The only ones who get hurt are the ones who jump off." Although farmers go through good and bad times, they don't feel true stress and pain until they go bankrupt or sell out their farms.

Many people have a false idea about family farming. When they drive by a farm they see many huge new tractors, trucks, combines, and other pieces of equipment in their yards. Therefore people think they must be making a lot of money. What they don't realize is that farmers have expanded their farm to such a size that they are forced to buy this

equipment in order to cope with the amount they are planting. This equipment requires taking on a great amount of debt.

There is much rivalry between farmers. When a farmer builds a barn or buys a new tractor, it is immediately noticed. Within days every farmer knows about it. Neighbors compete with each other regarding who has the nicest lawn or the best car. Farmers do this too in terms of who has the biggest and best tractors, the neatest farm, and the best cattle. This summer the biggest farm in our community bought new tractors and trucks and they parked them right in front by the highway where everyone could see them. I asked a farmer and his brother why they had just bought four brand new 180-thousand-dollar tractors. Their response was "Well, if you're gonna go bankrupt, you might as well go in style, right?"

When my father and I go to sell our beef calves to a farmer down the road, we expect to get the lowest price possible, regardless of friendship or family connection. "Farmers do these shitty deals because they have no money. How can they afford to give you a good price?" Many farmers see what is happening. But they don't challenge each other because they have the same problems and do the same things. "A farmer never has enough money. It comes in; then it goes right back out." Farmers in the community will bale hay or straw and cut grain for any farmer who needs it done, regardless of what their opinion is of the farmer. What they are doing is simply taking the other farmer's money, which they badly need for their own farm. One farmer in my community owns a machine that wraps round bales of hay in white plastic. This farmer offers the service of his wrapper, for a reasonable price, to any farmer who needs it. He says, "It's getting harder and harder to find business. Most of my old customers have either gone bankrupt or have purchased their own wrappers."

Today there are many more environmentalists, who watch every move that farmers make. One potato farmer stated, "Because of all this shit about us screwing the environment, the government comes out with these pointless regulations that only kill us more." Another told me, "One year our neighbors complained about our spraying. A neighbor came over and told Dad that his kids were sick and had to go to the hospital because of pesticides. So Dad told him the truth, that all Dad was spraying was water."

Some believe that the large farms on the Island will self-destruct. Their size and debt increases every year, but not their income. The money that comes in goes out for bills, debt servicing, and insurance. One of the larger farmers in my area reports that his sales last year were a little under three million dollars, and his income was minus four hundred thousand. There are large corporations that buy out farms that are in poor financial shape. Some farmers fear that all of the traditional family farms that exist today will be bought up by huge corporate farms. "Pretty soon there will be no farmers left. That's when people will realize they should have treated us better." (Amounts in year 2002 dollars.) #5231

Analysis

The model that farmers are pursuing is that they want to make a living and support their family. Because they are not able to achieve this with a small family farm, they are forced to either expand or sell out. They do not want to face embarrassment, criticism, and guilt (self-criticism) if they fail, go bankrupt, and have to sell their farm. However, if they try to expand, they have to buy expensive land and equipment, which requires taking on very sizable debt. Debt is very risky, and is therefore threatening. Even if one expands, there are no guarantees that one will succeed.

6. A FISHING VILLAGE

Sea Harbor (a pseudonym) is a fishing village on the north shore of Prince Edward Island with a population of approximately 650 people. Within the community are two grocery stores; a liquor store; a (Royal Canadian) Legion and a Lion's Club; a post office, fire department, and school; a Catholic church and convent; a rink, a garage, and a credit union; a wildlife park; and three restaurants, two of which close during the winter. These facilities are utilized by people of nearby communities as well as by the inhabitants of Sea Harbor.

Most of the residents of the village are of French descent, and have last names such as Buote, Doiron, Doucette, Gallant, Gauthier, LeClair, and Pineau. Few young people are fluent in French, however. Many people in the community are related to each other through one or more ties. People generally know each other and each other's business, and the spread of news in the community is almost instantaneous. The vast majority attend the local Catholic church, and most village social activities are held in the parish center.

Sea Harbor is a very quiet community during the winter months. Most people are without work at this time of the year and draw "pogey," or unemployment insurance benefits, from the government. The women like to have their homes clean, and have often fallen behind while working at their summer jobs. Practically every house is cleaned thoroughly at least once in the months before Christmas. This includes washing or painting the walls and ceilings. Women have their regular chores of preparing meals, baking, washing, dusting, sweeping, mopping, and vacuuming. Many women also pursue an outside interest, such as bingo or a course at the community school. Bingo games are held throughout the year and are quite popular among the women of the community, who attend to see who is there, pick up the latest news, and try to win some money. Most women also like to watch and talk about TV soap operas, such as *Another World*. In addition, there are clubs and organizations and an occasional concert.

A large number of the men of the village are fishermen. When the season ends in the fall they begin to prepare their equipment for the

spring. After the boats are hauled out of the water and covered for the winter, traps and nets have to be mended, and new traps have to be made. Otherwise there is very little for the men to do during the winter. Most spend quiet evenings at home, and some hang out at the Legion. Card games are a popular activity, and couples get together to play in each other's homes.

During fall, winter, and spring, the children attend school. Grades one through nine are taught in the local school. Grades ten through twelve were once taught in this community, but now the older children are bussed elsewhere to a consolidated high school. The local convent contributes teachers to the school, but now that high school grades are no longer taught in the community, only a few nuns remain.

The primary activity center during winter is the rink. However, because the rink does not have artificial ice, use of the rink depends upon whether or not it is cold enough for water to freeze. Hockey is very important in the community, and there are hockey leagues for various age groups. Community people help manage the canteen and organize time on the ice. The ice is scraped by volunteers from among those who use the rink. Young people also hang out at the pool hall, and there are good turnouts at the Saturday night dances for those eighteen and older at the Legion. With the exception of an occasional broken window or break and enter, winter is the quiet part of the year.

As spring approaches, people become more serious and the pace of life speeds up. The fishermen repair their fishing boats and recheck their traps. They anxiously wait for spring to come and the ice to move out of the harbor. Women do their spring cleaning before the busy summer season begins. When the two restaurants reopen in preparation for the tourists, many community women begin work as waitresses, cooks, and dishwashers. Young people often take jobs in the restaurants and at the tourist attractions in the vicinity of Sea Harbor.

Sea Harbor is popular among tourists in the summer, and hundreds stop daily to see the boats, shanties, and lobster traps at the wharves. There are two harbors in the community. One is located in the village and has about 50 boats and 30 shanties. The other is located a mile down the road and includes approximately 25 boats and 15 shanties. Most tourists who come to Prince Edward Island travel through Sea Harbor on their

way to see the major tourist attractions located nearby. Numerous tourists in cars and buses stop at the restaurants in the community for seafood and other dishes. Residents are proud that the tourists frequently say that they find the people warm and friendly and the village quiet and beautiful.

During the summer, most men are engaged in fishing. Various boats are used for lobster fishing (during May and June), deep sea fishing (from the second week in July until the end of summer), tuna fishing (from mid-August to mid-October), and mackerel and cod fishing when these fish are available. The deep sea fishing boats make three trips daily, and tuna boats one trip of approximately nine hours. The parties who go deep sea fishing always catch something. Trips for tuna, on the other hand, are less often successful, but quite thrilling for those who hook a fish that weighs 800 pounds or more. There are often large numbers of people waiting at the wharves to see the catch when the boats return. Irish moss is collected when there is a storm at sea and the moss washes ashore.

In the summer, most adults are at work and spend much less time at home. There is a concerted effort to work enough weeks and earn as much as possible to qualify for sizable unemployment insurance benefits during the winter. Some people travel to other communities to work in fish factories or at construction work during the summer. Still others hold year-round jobs in Charlottetown or Sea Harbor as businessmen, secretaries, or factory workers. There are also some farmers in the area. During the summer there are a larger number of activities available for people. These include sunbathing and swimming at the beach, going to clubs which are open for the tourist season in nearby communities, and attending outdoor drive-in movies. The restaurants become hangouts for the young people once the pool hall and the rink have closed.

Villagers feel particularly close to each other at times of weddings, births, sickness, and death. Community cooperation and support is at its greatest when a person is lost in the water. In the 1950's a man was dragged overboard when his foot was caught in the ropes while he was hauling traps from a fishing boat. His second in command could not find him and came in to notify the community. Everyone available went out to search for the man both at sea and along the shores. When his body

was found there was a procession of all the boats up the bay. People knew the news was bad when they saw all the boats return together. In the 1960's a five-year-old boy fell into the water while jumping from boat to boat. His parents missed him that evening and every available person went out to search the land and water for him. He was found late that night when they dragged the bottom of the bay. In the 1970's a man left the wharf at six o'clock in the evening to collect Irish moss. He had agreed to meet another young man at seven o'clock. When he did not appear by midnight, his friend reported him missing and the fire siren was blown to alert the village. Fishing boats went out to search the waters and other people carried search lights along the shore. The boats were out all night and through the next day. People in the village worried, prayed, and sought to comfort his wife and child. Late in the afternoon a search and rescue helicopter from the military base in Summerside found the man standing in his boat waving. The pilot flew him directly to his home where his wife and child and about one hundred and fifty people were awaiting his arrival. People were overjoyed. Many cried and some were speechless at the fact he was actually alive. #5232

Analysis

People in the village seek to obtain resources by working, fishing, obtaining unemployment insurance benefits, and going to school. They seek positive stimulation from hockey, bingo, television, playing cards, going to clubs and the beach, and hanging out. People clean their houses to obtain approval, avoid criticism, and apply orientations. People help others when there is a tragedy, such as a missing person.

7. LOBSTER FISHING

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1. Remembering the past

A few generations ago, lobster was considered a poor man's food and lobster fishing was a poor man's job. The government issued anyone a lobster license for 25 cents. #5233

When I bought my first lobster boat, all I could afford was a small dory, but that was all any fisherman had. The traps at that time were three-bowed traps and very small in comparison with the large wire traps that are used today. There were no limits on the number of traps you could set, and I set as many as I could haul in one day. All the traps had to be hauled by hand. The day would start at four thirty in the morning and continue until every evening, six days a week. The fishing season lasted from when the ice melted in May until the water froze in December. The first year I fished was a good year for me. After I paid all of my bills I had ten dollars in my pocket. Ten dollars was considered a good season's haul. #5234

They started building more canning factories and just about every port had its own factory right at the wharf. We all had shares in the company. The men went to the shore and slept in their shanties from April until fishing was over. Sometimes they'd go home on the weekend and sometimes they wouldn't. We had to head for the harbor early in April before the frost left the ground. Let me tell you, it was no fun dragging horses and wagons full of gear through the mud after the

frost was gone. There was no pavement back then. You pretty well said goodbye for months when you went fishing lobsters. You would never be lonely though. Everyone ate at the company cookhouse. Cooks were hired on by the packing company to feed all the men. I'll always remember having beans for breakfast, every morning, and the biscuits were as big as saucers. None of that store-bought food that you fill your lunch can with today. There was always a good big dinner waiting for us when we came ashore. We never suffered for food, that's for sure. There was lots of evening fun too. There was more fun at shore than anywhere else. We'd push the tables aside in the cookhouse and have a dance. It was a great place to hang out and socialize. All the factory workers lived upstairs in the cookhouse and slept on straw bunks, so there never was a shortage of young girls to add more fun to the job of lobster fishing. One of my favorite memories was watching a big fight set up by a couple of young men from the area to get the factory workers all upset. The two of them plastered themselves in mackerel blood and faked a fight to the death. The screaming and squealing of the factory girls provided quite the show. There was lots of fun back in those days. #5235

I remember my father-in-law saying he got paid three cents a pound for fishing someone else's gear for the season, and when I had my own gear the pay wasn't much higher. Back in 1939 my wife worked in the factory and got paid $7 for the first month of fishing and $8 for June. Of course, things didn't cost too much back then, but lobsters were dirt cheap compared to the big prices you get today. We'd have some poor catches, but we'd always get by. #5236

We would wake up around three or four o'clock in the morning, always before the sun came up. We had to pull the boat down off the beach into the harbor. You knew it was going to be a rough day when you got rope burns first thing in the morning. It was a long day, pulling all the traps by hand. By the time we got all the traps pulled, it was near time for supper. You would have time for a bite to eat, time to fix up the damaged gear, and then it was off to bed. #5237

Show me your hands and they'll tell me how hard you worked this season. The women used to knit us mitts out of coarse white wool that we'd use to protect our hands. The mitts had to have big holes in the bottom to let the salt water drain out. Those mitts got so stiff from all the salt, they were as stiff as boards, but nothing worked better. Today fellas hardly even use their hands to haul the traps. #5238

I can remember those days we would haul all day long, and every trap seemed empty. There were days when you would catch enough for your family to eat, and that was it. #5239

You could work as hard as you wanted back then. There was no limit on the number of traps you could set, and there was no limit on the size of lobsters either. We usually fished 700 or 800 traps. That was all a person could handle. You could take whatever you wanted, and let me tell you, not much got thrown back. We each had our own grounds, so we might try putting back some females. But who's to say the guy next to me didn't catch the very same lobster the next day? We always had some fools cutting lines and hauling someone else's traps when they weren't nearby, but basically we were all from the same community and we got along pretty well. Whatever damage was done was likely because of greed or jealousy. It's the same today. Some fools have no respect for anyone else's property or rights. #5240

There were weeks after weeks when our total catch would be about 150 to 200 pounds. That was for the whole week. Today, if they caught this much in just one day, they would be very disappointed. But if we had caught this much in one day, it would be the greatest, but no one would have believed us. #5241

Fishing was all we ever knew. My father before me and all my family loved the sea. We were year-round fishermen, not like those fellas on unemployment benefits today. We fished everything we could. Cod, mackerel, hake, lobster, oysters, smelts. You name it, we fished it. You had to in those days. We never got the prices you fellas get today. We were lucky to keep our families fed. We'd always trade with the farmers nearby for vegetables or meat. They were glad to get fish any time of the year. Some years it would be the smelts we caught in the winter that gave us the most money. I did a lot of shoveling snow for the railways to make ends meet. You haven't seen snow in your lifetime like we had. We were busy year round. We'd build our own traps. We'd have to cut our own bows, so we'd go to the woods, find small alders, and then have a day of bending the bows. With three bows per trap, we'd have the steamer going steady shaping the bows just right. We even made our own hinges out of leather for the doors on the traps. I was pretty good at knitting my own heads, or nets, for the traps. I'd sit with a nail in the kitchen windowsill and knit away while my family went about their business around me. Of course with 700 or 800 traps,

> I couldn't find time to knit that many heads, but there were lots of good knitters nearby happy to get paid for knitting you some heads. Our traps were always left outside for the winter, so the heads rotted away even faster than today. #5242

2. Community

There are two lobster-fishing seasons on the Island. Each is two months long, and is applied to a different region of the Island. The spring season begins May 1st and continues until the end of June. This period is applied on the north shore, the eastern shore, and the eastern half of the southern shore. Each fisherman in this area is allowed to use 300 traps. The fall season begins August 10th and ends October 10th, and is applied to the western shore and the western half of the southern shore of the Island. In this area each fisherman is allowed to use 250 traps. Most fishermen do not fish on Sundays. There are no formal regulations against fishing on Sunday. However, it is the Sabbath, and working on the Sabbath is not thought well of. Many fishermen fish for something other than lobster during the remainder of the summer. This may be herring, mackerel, tuna, mussels, scallops, or crabs. "I have a rock crab license which I use in the fall. This enables me to pay for my fuel and bait bills when I'm fishing for lobster in the spring." After the fishing season is over, the primary source of income for fishermen is unemployment insurance benefits. "Today I see fewer people in my community choosing fishing as a career. This is because of the instability of fishing incomes. There are more restrictions regarding the size of lobsters that can be fished, and unemployment benefits are being reduced, so fishing is less attractive."

There can be considerable variation in the number and size of the lobsters caught in a season. "In 1973 the lobsters were so bad on the west coast of the Island I had to quit in the middle of the season. We were taking in only forty pounds a day. I brought my gear back in to shore and went to work in a warehouse to make a living. But during the 1992 season I landed over twelve thousand pounds of lobster." "In the early 1980's fishermen on the south shore were bringing in catches of one thousand pounds or more a day. We got more large lobsters and sometimes the traps would be full to the brim. Now what are we getting?

Two or three hundred pounds, and four hundred on a real good day. Catches are so low today, it is hard to pay for gas and bait." "My father constantly hopes the next lobster season will be better than the last season. He frequently mentions the best years. In 1991 he made enough money to finish paying off his boat and buy a new truck."

"In my community fishing is a way of life. For most, fishing is the only job they have ever done. Some become fishermen because they take over 'the family business,' while others do not have a choice of other careers. In most cases the fathers and grandfathers were fishermen also. I also think people choose fishing because of a love of the sea, rather than a love of money." Sons usually start fishing with their fathers, and eventually each person has their own boat. Lobster fishing is a family tradition. "I've been fishing for over 50 years. I started fishing with my father and grandfather when I was only 11 years old. It wasn't a choice as to whether or not I wanted to fish, but a question of how early I started. Fishing is what men did, and had to do to support their families. All of my children fish too, for lobsters or mussels." A big advantage of getting a family member to work on one's boat is that one can avoid the large expense of hiring a helper, and what money one pays to the family member remains within the family.

Traditionally fishing has been done by men. In some cases a man will take his wife with him to help out and also to enable her to qualify for unemployment benefits after the fishing season is over. In addition, today some fishing boats are being captained by women whose fathers were fishermen. Hauling traps has become less arduous, because fishermen use hydraulic haulers instead of hauling by hand. Nevertheless, fishing remains physically demanding. "Lobster fishing is not a walk in the park. Did I ever get embarrassed when I asked a fisherman about how hard the work really is. The fisherman challenged me to lift a lobster trap which had been drying out for the past seven months. The trap was no longer wet, so it was as light as it would ever be. I thought to myself that this can't be too hard. I mean what is it made of? A little wood, a little cement, and some string. So I tried to lift it and near pooped myself. I couldn't even lift one trap that was completely dry. Then the fisherman lifted it up and walked about seven feet with it. He explained to me that while fishing he must lift over 300 of the traps out of the water while they are soaking wet. He must lift them onto the

boat, which is about three feet above the water, and then carry each trap to the back of the boat, which is another six or seven feet."

Fishermen within a community have normally grown up together. "These are men who played together as children and got drunk together as teenagers. These same men play hockey together in winter and take their boats out together in summer for barbecues." There is a sense of family among the fishermen who fish together. When fishermen have problems, the other fishermen are more than willing to help. "My boat quit on setting day. I had about 170 traps on board, so another boat hauled me out to sea so I could set my traps. A different boat loaded the rest of my traps at the wharf and met us out on the water. I jumped on their boat and set the rest of my traps." "Most of these men also go herring fishing together, which is much more dangerous than lobster fishing, because it is done at night and herring catches are much heavier, so it is easy for a boat to sink. They tend to place themselves in an area where they know and trust the boats around them. There is always the possibility someone will not be paying attention and run into another boat. If a boat starts to sink, a call for help is made on the radio and any boats in the area respond immediately. Most herring boats are fiberglass and can be easily salvaged, but the electronic gear does not do well in salt water. When a boat is going down the main concerns are to make sure that everyone is safe, and if possible to retrieve the electronics, which is done quickly by members of the responding boats." Most fishermen are willing to take risks to help out another fisherman who is in trouble. "I have seen many boats go back out in stormy weather to look for or to help a fisherman who hasn't returned to the wharf." During the winter many fishermen participate in sports such as hockey, curling, and broom ball. There is more time for family activities, and they also attend many of the community functions, such as card plays and dances.

"When you grow up in a fishing community, fishing and fishermen are much of your life. Although I am a girl, it was a wharf full of men that made me what I am today. From them I learned to stand up for myself and fight back, even if I knew I wasn't going to win. What better way to learn sarcastic comebacks than hanging around a bunch of fishermen who refer to each other by the worst possible nicknames they can think of. I sold many a chocolate bar on that wharf and made a lot of money in tips walking the two minutes to the store for pop and chips.

I was lucky I was never thrown in the water, but I was held over the edge of a boat several times. I was a curious child and liked to talk to people, regardless of whether or not they had anything better to do. How many men do you know that would stop what they were doing to lift a child into their boat and listen to her incessant jabber and questions? I know at least ten. It was fishermen who taught me to tie knots, tag traps, band lobsters, and paint buoys, and who gave me rides to school and to the wharf. It was a fisherman who built the house my parents live in, and a fisherman who taught me all the words I was not supposed to know."

Many fishermen establish an arrangement with a fish processing plant. The plant provides a fisherman with his supplies (ice, bait, salt, buoys, rope, wire, etc.), and the fisherman sells his catch to the plant. Plants charge administrative fees and it is to one's advantage to deal with only one or two plants in order to minimize administrative fees. In the case of fishermen who fish for lobster from May 1st until the end of June, the plant pays them toward the end of July for their catch that season after deducting for supplies and administrative expenses. However, fishermen can usually get advances against what they are owed. In contrast, some plants pay fishermen at the end of each week.

Fishermen have strong feelings about fishing. "There are good years and bad years. There's no sick pay, Christmas bonus, or retirement plan. But I'm my own boss. I come and go when I want, and it's a healthy life." "It's our way of life. Island fishermen share a common love, interest, and profession. Fishing is my passion; it's what I love to do." "The first time I went out to sea I fell in love with it. It's in your bones. It bites at ya." "There's something very relaxing about seeing the sun rise every morning when you're out at sea. It's like being close to nature. It makes you feel like you're doing something worthwhile. Whether you're heading the boat to your favorite fishing spot or just stopping for a snack before continuing the repetitive job of hauling gear, something about being at sea makes it very relaxing. Also, there's a feeling of accomplishment, especially if the catch is good." "The day I stop fishing is the day I die. You won't ever catch me staying on land, when I could be out on the water which I love." "It involves a lot of work, but it is a very fun job." "It is challenging, exciting, and definitely fun." "I just can't get over the delight that fishing brings to so many people. Just the word 'fishing' brings a smile to so many fishermen's faces. It's like a boy getting his first bike on Christmas morning." #5243

3. Equipment

Months before the next season, fishermen check over their equipment and determine what they have to replace and repair. Fishermen spend many long days and a great deal of money getting their gear ready. If they use a wooden boat, they must dry it out after every season so it does not rot. After it is dry, they check it for cracks and replace broken and rotten boards. Boards are chinked with putty and epoxy. They must make sure the boat does not leak. Wooden boats have to be thoroughly scraped each year. Last year's paint has cracked and peeled thanks to the harsh action of the sun and salt water. Boats are usually completely repainted with two coats of a good marine paint. "You put gray paint on the inside bottom of the boat, because it doesn't show dirt as much. Then you paint the outside whatever color you want, usually white. Next you add a trim to make it look sharp. Then before the boat goes in the water you put copper paint on the bottom to keep the barnacles off and the worms out." The engine and hauler may also need repairs, and a new exhaust system may be installed. Finally the boat is towed to the harbor and put in the water well before the fishing season begins, to allow enough time to deal with any problems. "The last few days before the season begins are the most nerve-racking ones for the fishermen. Everything must be in perfect working order and ready to go. There are always problems, and they must be dealt with immediately." Breakdowns in equipment can have serious consequences. "Last summer a hydraulic pump broke on my boat. I lost eleven days out of the season waiting for it to be repaired."

Lobster fishing boats are larger today than they were in the past. "Twenty-five years ago a boat was made of wood. It was about 40 feet long and 9 feet wide and had a 100-horsepower engine. Today the average boat is made of fiberglass, and is 42 feet long and 13 feet wide with a 210-horsepower engine. They require less maintenance and are easier to keep clean than wooden boats. With fiberglass boats the bottom of the boat that is submerged has to be repainted. Fiberglass boats will not sink completely, but wooden boats will go straight to the bottom." "The average wooden lobster boat has a lifespan of about ten years, but a fiberglass boat may last three times that long." Some still prefer a wooden boat. "It might be a little more work, but it sails better than fiberglass. It has more give to it than fiberglass." In the past the standard

equipment was a compass and a fish finder, which was a depth sounder with a graphic printout. Today fishermen use a GPS (global positioning system) for finding their traps; a color sounder with a television screen for charting the seabed, which tells them the depth and how rocky the bottom is; and a VHF radio, which is an advanced two-way radio. Other additions include a cellular phone, a bathroom, a bilge pump, running lights, spotlights, and various kinds of safety equipment, such as life preservers and a fire extinguisher.

Fishermen keep their boats in excellent condition, and the better the condition of your boat the higher your status. "Most fishermen get ecstatic about their boats. Their boats have to be clean, painted, and shiny before lobster season begins, because they know others will be looking at and coming aboard their boats. Lobster fishermen spend two months of the year on their boats, and they think of the boats as part of them. Their boats have to look good so they can compete with others. A lot of this is male ego, but the men love it, so who am I to judge?" There is a local saying, "If fishermen thought of and took care of their wives as much as their boats, there'd be a hell of a lot of good-looking women in the village."

The engine is considered a very important part of your boat, and the more powerful the engine the better. "On setting day it is a big deal to be the first fisherman out of the harbor. The boats all line up and it is like a big race. When the time comes that they are allowed out of the harbor, it is like the Indy 500." "Our tradition on setting day is to have someone stand on the end of the wharf in full view and wave his hat when the time comes for the boats to leave. This year it was at six o'clock in the morning. Even though it was so early, there were crowds of locals and tourists lined up along the wharf to cheer the men out." "Everyone wants to be the first boat out so they can claim the choice fishing grounds." "Every day we laugh while speeding past the slower boats. It's not a mean laugh, just a 'better hurry up' laugh. Once we get to our first buoy we start to settle down a bit."

In the past traps were built of wood, such as spruce, maple, juniper, and oak. Wood was steamed, shaped into bows, and attached to a wooden platform to produce the shape of the trap. The heads, or nets, were knitted by the fishermen. Today the traps are larger, have a rectangular shape, and are constructed of wood and wire. The wire resembles chicken wire and is plastic coated. One buys a bundle of knitted heads

and cuts them to the right size. The trap consists of a kitchen, or central section which holds the bait bag, and one or two parlors at the side of the kitchen which the lobster enters. Each parlor is required to have a small exit so that undersized lobsters can escape. Cement is often added to the bottom of the trap so that it will sink, and the bottom of the trap is flat so it will rest on the ocean floor. In the past, one used a saw, hammer, and nails to construct the trap. Today one needs an air compressor, wire cutters, a nail gun, and a staple gun. The cotton string and hemp rope of the past have been replaced by nylon. Traps tend to last from eight to ten years. They can be damaged or lost in storms, and a fisherman may replace 50 or more of them each season.

Traps are organized into "trawls," or "dumps." A trawl consists of one or more traps, usually five to ten, that are connected to a rope, called the back line, with a buoy on each end of the rope. This buoy on each end of the trawl is about a foot in length and is made of Styrofoam. Buoys need to be scraped to remove barnacles and are repainted. Each fisherman paints his buoys in a distinctive combination of two or three colors, and also numbers the buoys for each trawl. He may add his initials. When the fisherman readies his equipment for the season, he repaints the buoys, replaces worn rope, and checks, repairs, and replaces traps. The fisherman is issued a new tag for each trap by the government each year, and the color of the tags is changed yearly. The number on each tag indicates the fisherman it is issued to, the year it is issued, and the area of the coast where it can be used.

To buy a fishing "fleet" today, which consists of the boat, gear, and license, one needs to make a considerable investment. In the past, a lobster license could be purchased by anyone. But today the only way to get one is to buy it from a person who retires from fishing. When they retire, fishermen normally sell their fleet to a family member. Because you must purchase your fishing license from someone who is willing to sell theirs, this effectively keeps fishing within the hands of certain families. Therefore if you are not a member of a fishing family, you are usually out of luck. A lobster license can not be moved from one area to another. One must continue using it in the area it was originally issued for. As a result some fishermen may have to drive an hour or more to reach the harbor out of which they fish, even if they live just a few minutes from the nearest wharf. #5244

4. Practices

There are two lobster fishing seasons, each at a different location on the Island. The first season begins on the 1st of May, provided there is not too much sea ice. “From the first icebergs in the Northumberland Strait until the last thaw, my father keeps his eyes glued to the water. You can see the water from our kitchen window, and if you couldn’t, I don’t know what he would do. If he’s not watching the ice, he’s talking about it. Whether or not the ice breaks up at the beginning of the fishing season determines whether the season will be delayed. Often the season starts on time, but not always, and I remember one year it started three weeks late. This upsets my father terribly, especially if the north shore season starts before that of the south shore where he fishes. However, it can also be very stressful if they do go ahead and decide to set their traps only to have their lines cut by the ice. It’s a very hard decision for a fisherman to make. If you put your gear out early, you run the risk of having it destroyed and losing a lot of money, but if you wait too long, you miss the opportunity to make a lot of money. It is an anxious and chaotic time. The ice flow is very unpredictable. One day there will be no ice to be seen, and the next day the river will be overflowing with it. This is why my father watches the ice so carefully. You just have to try to be patient and wait it out.”

The day before the fishing season begins is called “setting day.” On setting day the traps are taken out to the fishing grounds. “It’s a day we have been waiting for for the past ten months. We are incredibly excited.” “It is early in the morning, and I pull on my overalls and vest and rubber boots and join Dad in the truck. We head down the road to the wharf, which is only a kilometer away. At the wharf Dad checks if a breeze has started, but it is still dead calm. We jump in the boat, climb over the 160 traps that we loaded the day before, and enter the cabin. Dad turns the key, and thankfully the old girl starts again, just as eager as we are to begin opening day. The electronics, including the radio, depth sounder, and GPS, are all turned on. I check to make sure the lights are in working order, because it is still pitch black out. By now many fishermen are pulling onto the wharf and starting their boats. Dad and I hop out of the boat and go chat with the other fishermen. The wharf is alive with men going back and forth, and neighbors and friends down to

see the boats off. You can't help but get caught up in the moment with everyone buzzing around you. It reminds me of the first day of school, except these guys never grow out of it and get to repeat it every year. Many have been unable to sleep the night before, planning out their day, calculating where the good fishing may be, and deciding where to set their traps. The hired men start to roll in about a quarter after five, ready to start the rigorous two months that lie ahead of us. We all chat about what we've been doing all winter and how lucky we are to have such a beautiful day to set this year. I head over to the boat of a man I often fish with. He roars out, 'Good day, sir! How are ya today?' He can hardly stand still in anticipation of the day ahead. He couldn't sleep the night before, and is wide awake now. His father arrives and is like a kid in a candy store with a wide grin on his face. He's been fishing for about 50 years. He makes quick chitchat, but you know his mind is focused on one thing, starting another season. For many fishermen these are the two most important months of the year. There is a lot of pressure when you know you have to make enough money in these two months to support yourself and your family for an entire year. There is not much room for mistakes and these men take their work very seriously. Finally the clock ticks around to six o'clock, which is the official starting time on the north shore. Everyone jumps aboard the boats and one by one the boats pull out in a single file. About 40 boats fish out of our harbor. As we sail down the river into the bay Dad checks his notes from previous years as to where the good rock is and where lobsters have been before. Everyone has their secret and not-so-secret spots that they like to get to first. As we sail into the rising sun we see people standing on the beach waving, many of whom are wives and children. The entire ocean looks like a pane of glass, which the ships cut through, leaving ripples to show we've arrived. The boats branch out in all directions as some head up, down, and straight out toward their grounds. Many put their throttles down harder as the little patience they had wears thin. The radio breaks through the constant hum of the engine as people wish each other good luck and confirm that their radio is working. We travel a couple of miles from shore, and Dad reaches his first destination. There is a little bank, in sixty to seventy feet of water, which is our first stop every season. After you've fished for years you learn the names of different areas of rock

and how to line up landmarks to find specific holes or lumps that lobsters like. Edward, the hired man, and I head to the back of the boat to get the first group of traps ready on the washboard. Dad finds a good piece of rock that is a promising set and quickly turns the boat. He gives us the signal to push the first trap over. The rope is pulled out and tightens on the next trap. The four traps in the trawl disappear into the sea to settle on the ocean floor, baited with herring to attract hungry lobsters. I toss over the buoy so we can find the traps tomorrow and to let others know we are fishing there. Every fisherman paints a different color pattern on his buoys. We sail out a little further and Edward and I get the next trawl ready to go. We find another spot that we fished in previously, so we turn again and run off another group of traps. We continue until we have set all of the traps we had on board. About nine o'clock in the morning we head back home. Many of the boats are heading back out with their second load of traps. The wharf is alive as we pull in and tie up. The remaining traps are being loaded on boats and people are talking about how the first trip went or helping others load. Everyone is a little more relaxed now that the first load is out and nothing has gone wrong. We load the remainder of our 300 traps and head back out. We finish running out our traps to stake out the ground we fish on every year. As we head back home we clean up the boat. We want to rest for tomorrow when we'll make our first haul. Things have settled down at the wharf. Some of the fishermen hang around discussing where they set, the upcoming weather, and what the catches might be like tomorrow. Others head home to rest after a long and stressful day. The next two months will be the longest months for many of the fishermen because of all the work. If the catches are good and the price of lobster stays up, we should be in for another profitable season. But catches could always decline because of poaching out of season, native fishing, or mother nature." The day after setting day is the first day of the fishing season, when fishermen begin to haul their traps out of the sea.

The first few days of the season the fishermen tend to be out on the water longer, because they want to find the right kind of bottom for their traps, which is a rocky area. This is where they think the best lobsters will be found. The placement of traps is the most important aspect of lobster fishing. The fisherman has to decide where to place his traps

relative to the weather, the nature of the season to date, the bottom of the sea, and the abundance of lobster. If he stays on the same ground for too long, the fish will all be caught. As a result the fisherman loses revenue. A fisherman uses his experience to find the best ground. Fishermen frequently move their trawls, especially if they aren't catching many lobsters. "Many move at least one trawl a day. This is based on their mood and how productive a site is. However, there are some fishermen who move all of their trawls, regardless of how many lobsters they are catching." "Most lobster fishing takes place about a mile or two off-shore or closer. It is best in water that is about 80 feet deep, and some claim that water temperature and wind conditions determine where they should set their traps. The most important part of lobster fishing is finding where the lobsters are. Lobsters tend to like rocky areas when it is calm and sandy bottoms when it is stormy. They migrate because of temperature changes, storms, tidal currents, predators, and sources of food, so finding them is a major task." "In summer when the waters are warm, lobsters live among the rocks, where it is easy for them to catch their food. This is where fishermen place their traps. The man on the best bottom usually gets the best catch. So a fisherman must have a good memory where the rock is. He also has to be able to judge the tides, so when he throws his traps overboard they will land precisely on the best rocks." "The fault of many young fishermen is they don't know how to fish. They know all the methods, but they can't apply them with the skill they need to succeed. They don't take time to find out the correct way to fish. You must be willing to spend long hours out on the sea, moving your gear until you find the best ground. The better the ground, the more fish you will catch. When there is warm weather, you'll find more fish closer to shore. When there is poorer weather, the best fishing is in deeper water. In addition to the weather, you have to take into account the tides and the direction of the wind. If the wind is blowing in a certain direction, the lobsters will not trap."

There are informal rules which are enforced by the fishermen. If you fished a particular grounds the previous year, you have first claim to those grounds again, and some fishermen continue to fish the same grounds for many years. A new fisherman normally fishes the same grounds that his family does or the same grounds that were previously fished by the person that he bought his fleet from. If you invade someone

else's grounds you may have your trap lines cut. Family ties are important in fishing. Before the season begins, family members help each other get ready. They usually have their boats tied next to each other at the wharf. On the water they try to fish close to one another. This enables them to come together once or twice a day, to see how each other is making out and to sit and talk for awhile.

Fishermen are quite aware how well the other fishermen from their wharf are doing. It is not uncommon for other fishermen to set their traps alongside a fisherman they know is having success. "If you are hauling in lots of lobsters, you don't want the boats around to know this. So you don't dump more traps in or they will do the same." Many fishermen lie about the number of lobster they catch, usually by giving a number less than they actually catch. This is because if some people find out where you are being successful, they may move their gear over there too. Some successful fishermen deliberately set a line or two of traps in a poor fishing area, just to fool the fishermen who are setting their traps beside them. They may also try to mislead the government. "Everyone caught more lobster this year than last, but they don't want to say anything. They are scared if the government knows we are catching more, the government will increase the size of lobsters that can be legally trapped."

Occasionally a local fisherman is caught running someone else's traps. "This does not happen often, but when it does, what an uproar. Most of the time the offender is not taken to court, but this does not mean he gets off scot-free. First, he loses his reputation as a fair fisherman. Then all the fishermen who fish around him are suspicious of him and watch him closely at all times. He receives threats as to what will happen if he doesn't stop fishing in that area. Sometimes he is forced to quit fishing altogether, but in most cases he keeps on fishing. Eventually the incident is almost forgotten, but he will have a black mark on his reputation for the remainder of his fishing days."

A typical day for a fisherman involves getting up about three o'clock in the morning; leaving home and picking up his assistant, or cork; and arriving at the wharf about four. Most lobster fishermen have one or two hired hands in their boat. A hired hand, or cork, is normally a relative or a member of the same community. Mornings are dark and often very cold. By four in the morning most of the fishermen are at the

harbor getting ready to leave. They want to get out on the water so they can beat the wind and the sun. "We try to haul as many traps as we can before the water gets choppy. If it is going to get rough, it will get rough when the sun comes up." "Often it is much calmer in the morning. The wind usually picks up in the early afternoon, so it is much safer to be inshore by that time." "It gets very hot out on the water as the day progresses. There is no shade, and the men find it hard to work under the direct glare of the sun." "Traveling to the fishing grounds may take about fifteen minutes or more, and the loud hum of the engine on the way out makes talk impossible. The assistant prepares the bait and the trays for the lobsters on the way. The first trawls may be hauled about 5 AM, and work continues until half the trawls are hauled, which is about midmorning. They stop to eat lunch, or 'have a cup of tea,' and then haul the remaining trawls. By now it is late morning or early afternoon and as they sail back to the harbor the assistant cleans the boat." "This is a fun drive, because for the most part we are finished for the day." When they arrive they separate the lobsters by size between canners and markets, weigh them, and deliver them to a buyer. There are usually a number of buyers one can sell to, and this helps keep the price high. Markets bring a higher price and are sold in supermarkets and restaurants. Canners, which are smaller, are cooked and canned in Island seafood factories. Next they obtain bait, ice, and other supplies for the next day. They check the oil and get gas for the boat and make any repairs. They make sure the boat is washed and securely tied down before they leave. When they are not working around the boat they may go home and sleep for an hour or two. "It may only be early afternoon, but the life of a lobster fisherman deserves an afternoon nap."

Lobster traps are deposited on the ocean floor and are hauled up, emptied, and re-baited daily, except Sunday. There are several steps to hauling traps. A hired hand uses a gaff, which is a long stick with a hook on each end, to grab the buoy. The buoy is taken to the back of the boat and the back line is run through the hauler, which revolves and hauls up the traps. Each trap is lifted up by hand and set on the washboard. It is emptied, baited, closed, and run to the end of the boat on the washboard. When lobsters are removed from the trap they are measured and banded. Undersized lobsters and spawning females are thrown back in the sea. The size of the lobster is determined by a metal gauge

which is used to measure the distance from the back of the eye to the point where the body ends and the tail begins. Spawning females have rows of eggs beneath their tails. The lobsters that are kept, or "keepers," are placed in tanks with circulating sea water, or in tanks packed with ice. The objective is to keep the lobsters alive until the time they are cooked, because when they die they decompose quickly. Pliers are used to place rubber bands around their claws to prevent them from biting fishermen and plant workers. The person who empties the trap removes the by-catches, or "dirt," which are extraneous species, such as starfish, sea urchins, crabs, cod, rock eels, hake, and perch. "It is exciting to empty the traps and see what size the lobsters are and if there are any unexpected fish and creatures inside." Bait is bagged when it is put in the trap. Fishermen have their opinions as to the best bait to use. "Fresh mackerel is the best, but herring and flounder are also good." Bait is a major expense for lobster fishermen. The average lobster boat requires about three to four hundred pounds of fresh bait each week. Fishermen may put out nets to catch fish to use as bait for their traps. They salt the bait to preserve it. "There are different thoughts on whether to use fresh or salted bait. Fresh bait gets good fishing, but gathers more 'dirt,' like crabs, snails, rock eels, and sea urchins." When there are two or more people on the boat, tasks are divided between them. For example, if there are two hired hands, one may haul the traps, the captain may remove the lobsters and determine whether they are legal size, and the second hired hand may re-bait the traps and slide them to the end of the boat. Once all of the traps in the trawl have been readied, the captain takes control of the boat and yells for the hired hand to begin chucking them. The captain punches in a GPS (global positioning satellite) number so it will be easy to find the trawl the next day. The number of each trawl may be marked on a board so they won't go back and haul it again. "Trawls are run with the tide because the flow of the tide will help spread the traps on the ocean floor. If they are run against the tide the traps will tend to pile up on each other."

There is a close relationship between a fisherman and his cork. "The cork has a great deal of respect for the fisherman's knowledge and ability. The fisherman appreciates this respect. In order for fishing to go well the two must work as a team. Although the fisherman is the boss, he does an equal share of the work. The cork appreciates this. Because they appreciate each other, they get along very well together."

"When you start to work on a lobster boat there are a lot of things to get used to. For someone not used to the sea, it is hard to get used to the swaying boat. Seasickness can be a problem. However, once you get over the strong smell of bait, you are well on your way to getting your sea legs. Eating lunch with fishy hands is another thing to be reckoned with. On my first days at sea my lunch didn't seem too appetizing. But once I got used to the smells and swells, what to take for lunch became a pretty important issue. Even with all the machinery on board, lobster fishing is hard work. A good pair of gloves is a necessity. My hands couldn't handle it at first, but they toughened up. Also, it's important to work with people you can get along with. Tensions can run high when you spend all day out on the water with the same people. There are behaviors and habits that can be very annoying. The worst part is when the work isn't shared by all on board." "I work as a cork, or assistant on a lobster boat, and a person can enjoy himself doing it. I enjoy myself much more if it is a nice sunny day and there is a good catch. Last year there was a whole week in which we got 400 pounds of lobster a day and it was really sunny. Also, the sea was not rough. All of these factors combined made fishing fun. I could get a suntan at the same time I was working, and as long as I was busy the time passed quickly. The days that go by really slow are the ones when the weather is miserable and the catches are small. Time seems to be standing still. I say to myself, 'What in hell are we doing out here on a day like this?' We are being tossed all around the boat and it is pouring rain. It is a day when everyone should be home keeping warm and dry."

"I estimate that three out of four fishermen are indulgent drinkers. These are the ones who take stern action against outsiders who try to fish in their area. They seem to live by the motto, 'Work hard, drink hard, and fight hard.'" Some of the men stay out on the water all afternoon if they are drinking. There is a lot of "visiting" between boats. "They go around from boat to boat talking with the other fishermen and inviting them over to their boat for a drink." "There are several bootleggers in our community to keep the fishermen happy. If you are looking for one of the fishermen and he's not at the harbor, you drive by the bootleggers to see if his car is there." "At my harbor all the fishermen between twenty and thirty-five years old also smoke dope. They sit around the wharf

smoking, and some smoke every day. Dope is something different and they wanted to try it. They got into it and don't want to get out of it. And if they're not at the harbor, they're hanging out at the garage."

You frequently see fishermen in small groups around the wharf having a friendly conversation together. This is especially true on days when it is too rough to go out and on Saturday afternoons and evenings. Fishermen are competitive. "When you get two or three fishermen together, they joke about who caught the most fish in past seasons and who has the best boat." "They all want to be better than the rest. This includes who can carry the most traps on their boat, who can catch the most pounds of lobster, and who has the fastest boat." "Fishermen talk about one thing, which is fishing. When they run into someone, they talk about fishing, and if a relative or friend comes over for a visit, the conversation is about fishing. When you listen to two fishermen talking they are usually complaining about the low price of lobster that year. They also compare how many pounds they are catching. And without fail, they will bring up the name of someone they feel is overstepping their boundaries. They usually call this person down, especially when he is new to the fishing community. They will also complain if one person is doing much better than they are. If my father hears of someone who is doing better, it becomes important for him to find out why. For example, it might be that someone is using wire traps instead of wooden ones and is hauling in more lobster. My father will make a promise to himself to get some wire traps. But he may not get around to it. Last year he never 'got around' to buying them, but he complained and wished he had them all season." Fishermen often disagree and may disapprove of each other. "There's an asshole in every harbor who is trying to stir up shit." Fishermen frequently discuss and argue over the merits of fishing the north shore versus the south shore of the Island. "The south side is sheltered from most of the major storms, and there is more damage to gear on the north side. Also, it is easier to fish for things other than lobster on the south side." "It is a well known fact that fishermen have always done better on the north shore of the Island than on the south shore. My father states that there is a greater quantity of lobsters on the north shore, but a greater quality on the south shore, where he fishes. I recently went fishing with a fisherman on the north

shore and discovered what my father said is true. When this fisherman pulled in his traps, they were filled to the top with lobsters that looked ridiculously small in comparison with the ones my father pulls up. In contrast, my father may pull in all of his traps and find only about a third of them have lobsters in them. They are much bigger, more interesting to haul in, and my father gets more money for them, because they are markets instead of canners. In truth, I prefer to eat canners over markets, but I'd never say anything about this to my father because we'd probably argue about it for hours on end." "I have lived in a thriving fishing community all of my life. Everyone eats, sleeps, and lives fishing."

Over the years fishermen have experienced many memorable fishing seasons. These are usually the result of unusual weather. There have been freak storms which have destroyed most of the traps, and entire weeks lost because of hurricanes. There have been seasons ruined by ice. "One year we had to put out ice poles to mark the location of our traps. If we put out buoys, they would be carried off when the ice moved and the traps would be caught in the ice and destroyed. One year several fishermen lost most of their traps because they failed to put out ice poles. I was one of the lucky ones and only lost a few traps."

The last day of the fishing season is called "landing day," and all of the traps have to be removed from the water. This is exciting. Many people volunteer to go out on landing day, just as they did on setting day, to help the fishermen, and they usually drink a lot of beer. Back at the wharf, if a fisherman finishes before the others do he usually helps them unload their traps. At many ports after the traps have been brought back people hold a party. "There is drinking, singing, and dancing and much rejoicing." "This is when the real drinking begins. It is a time of male bonding and a time to reflect on the season just past. You hear a lot of gossip about locals in the community. You also hear some funny stories about what happens that day. My brother's helper and his friends, who are in their thirties, got drunk and went joy riding in a golf cart out by the lighthouse. They managed to flip it over just before they flew off the cliff." At the end of the fishing season the boats are hauled out of the water and towed back home. Traps are dried out and may be removed from the harbor. #5245

5. Regulations

Lobster fishing on Prince Edward Island is highly regulated by the government. In order to get a lobster fishing license, you have to be a commercial fisherman for at least three years. There are a limited number of lobster fishing licenses issued. The only way to get one is to buy it from a man who has finished fishing. When a license is sold it usually includes the previous owner's fishing equipment, such as his boat and traps. Lobster licenses tend to be handed down from one generation to the next within the same family. The number of traps you are allowed to use is presently 300 in one area, and 250 in another. Before the beginning of the season each fisherman receives either 300 or 250 tags from the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO). Each trap has to be tagged with a plastic colored tag that tells what number the trap is and what area it is to be used in. Traps are checked on the wharf before they are put out on setting day, the first day of the season. If DFO finds a trap in the water without a tag on it, they know it is illegal. Such traps are usually smashed by fishery officers in a patrol boat, which is nicknamed "the Cutter." If it can be proved who set the trap, charges can be laid. Every season there is a fixed area the fishermen must fish within.

Depending on where you fish, the lobster season is from May 1st until July 1st, or from August 10th to October 10th. The seasons are timed to minimize interference with the reproduction of the lobsters. In the spring the beginning of the season may be delayed by the presence of ice. The government allows a few extra days, if the ice is still bad and the fishermen can't get out to set their traps. When this happens the fishermen are disappointed and angry. They like to start on time because the lobsters are plentiful and the first of the season is the most profitable. Later on in the season there are fewer lobsters to catch. On the last day of lobster fishing the traps must all be hauled and taken ashore, and any traps left out past the deadline are taken care of by the Cutter. "Usually by this time the lobster catch is so small that the captains really don't mind that the fishing season is over."

Lobsters have to be a certain size to be legal. The size limit is specified each year. All lobster fishing vessels on the Island are required by

law to have a sizing tool on board. The tool is used to measure the distance from behind the lobster's eye to the point where the lobster's body meets its tail. After lobsters are taken from the traps they are measured. If they are too short, or if they are spawns (females with eggs), they are thrown back in the water. Under size lobsters are known as "shorts." If you get caught with shorts or spawns you are fined and may have a few days to a few weeks taken off the time you are allowed to fish the next season. The severity of the penalty depends on the number of illegal lobsters you are caught with and their size. No fisherman is allowed to keep or sell under size lobsters.

The government wants to prevent over fishing of lobsters. They do not want lobster fishing wiped out the way cod fishing was destroyed in Newfoundland. If the lobster population is decimated, it may not be possible to restore it. The government tries to reduce fishing by not issuing new lobster licenses, reducing the length of the fishing season, controlling the time of year that lobsters may be trapped, reducing the number of traps a fisherman is allowed to use, increasing the size of the lobsters that can be legally trapped, putting escape hatches for smaller lobsters on the traps, and restricting the coastal area that may be trapped. They patrol the waters and ports and board boats to check for violations. There are various punishments for breaking the fishing regulations. These include fines, reduction in the number of days or weeks one is allowed to fish, loss of one's license, confiscation of one's boat and equipment, and imprisonment. The lobster industry is governed by very strict rules and even the slightest misdemeanor can bring a large fine or a couple of weeks' suspension of one's license. Reductions in the number of days you can fish are usually at the beginning of the next season. This is quite devastating to the fishermen, because in some areas the largest catches are usually within the first two weeks of the season. "Most suspensions and fines are usually because of one of the following reasons: one, fishing too many traps or traps that do not have the proper tags; two, fishing short lobsters; three, cleaning spawn off the female lobsters; and four, taking lobsters from another person's traps." The majority of the fishermen tend to stay within the guidelines.

These rules are provided by the Department of Fisheries and Oceans, and are enforced by fishery officers. Fishery officers are to be taken seriously and are equipped with handguns. "I asked a number of

fishermen what they thought of the rules and the fishery officers who enforce them. An older lobster fisherman replied, 'The regulations are definitely needed. If there were no laws, the lobster fishery would be destroyed like the cod fishery. Most of the lobsters are caught in the two months. If we continued to fish for more than two months, we would deplete the stocks and there would be nothing to catch next year.' Another said, 'I believe the regulations are needed. Almost all the fishermen obey them. I believe that the fishery officers are lazy and they don't work too hard at their jobs. The only thing they are able to do is find a short lobster in a crate of normal ones. Last year one fellow was caught with three lobsters that were barely under size. The poor fellow was fined $500 even though he had no previous record. I think that is unfair. You should have at least one chance. By the way, what the hell do the fishery officers have guns for? We don't.' Another said, 'I believe the fishery officers are needed and we could use a few more. Some fishermen are fishing extra traps and not getting caught. Additional officers can prevent this kind of thing. There should be a fishery officer around every day, not just occasionally.'"

Fishermen get upset by new regulations, because they know this will reduce the number of lobsters that they can legally catch. It seems every year there are new regulations, some of which cause a lot of controversy. One is an increase in the legal size of lobsters. Another is the use of escape hatches on traps, which are supposed to let out the smaller lobsters. Fishermen argue that the escape hatches allow legal-sized lobsters to escape too, and the hatches also scrape the eggs off the female lobsters when they escape.

Another regulation prohibits anyone fishing another man's gear. The intention is to prevent theft from another man's lobster traps. However, there is the traditional practice in fishing communities of fishermen helping each other, particularly in times of crisis. This has now become illegal and punishable by the law. Nevertheless, the traditional practice continues in some communities, despite the fact it is illegal. In one case an older fisherman became ill and was unable to continue fishing. Even though well over a month remained in the fishing season, a number of fishermen took turns and hauled the man's traps. The lobsters were sold in the sick man's name and at the end of the season the fishermen got together and took all his traps ashore. In another case a fisherman

needed to travel to Halifax to see a member of his immediate family who had had a serious operation. Several fishermen cooperated together to haul the man's traps so he could go. In addition, the fishermen held a meeting and each man contributed money toward the travel costs. #5246

6. Dangers

There are many risks involved in lobster fishing. Numerous unexpected things happen. "The waters produce many dangers, and nobody is free of danger." Every fisherman has a great respect for the sea. Sandbars are very prominent in the waters surrounding PEI. If you aren't familiar with the waters, you can easily run into the numerous sandbars that are well hidden. Once you strike a sandbar, it is hard to get off without damaging the boat.

One reason fishing is very dangerous is the weather. The wind can always cause large waves. If the waters are very rough, the boat could capsize. "My brother once went out on a rough day, got too close to the shore, and capsized the boat. A large wave turned the boat over and the boat smashed on the rocks. Everyone on the boat got a scare, but escaped injury." On the days when it is too rough to go out, the fishermen have to wait around until it calms down enough. On these days the tides run stronger than usual, and when fishermen do get out they have a rough time trying to get the traps up on the deck. The fishermen are really careful about the weather. "When I think about bad weather, one day comes to mind. There were strong winds from the northeast, which are always bad for my area, because they cause big waves and dangerous conditions. I was asked if I wanted to accompany the fishermen, and I thought I would be brave and go. The minute we got out on the ocean, I regretted my decision. It was raining, thundering, and lightning. It was just a bad day. Fishermen are forced to go out on the water on many bad days. They usually have gear in close to the shore, and if they do not go out and move it further out in the ocean, it will be smashed apart. I was actually scared. You couldn't stand up because the waves would throw you all around the cabin. One fisherman tried to drink coffee, but spilled it all over the cabin, which made him angry. Because they were forced to move the gear further out, they had to try to do everything they typically do when fishing, like bring the traps in, unload

them, and stack them in the boat, while trying to keep their balance. It was quite a task and quite a dangerous day." "The weather builds up all summer, and now that it is fall it takes nothing for a real roll to come on. It can blow up fast and furious. You carefully watch the weather at this time of year. Maybe you'd go out on a day like today, but at the first sign of a blow, you're in automatically. I was out fishing with my brother all day Saturday. Then the next day there were whitecaps, and white water as far out as you could see. And the waves close to shore were massive. That's how people get killed. Two people had their boat flipped in a wave coming to shore this summer. They hit a sandbar and their boat flipped over and killed them. It was a rough, rough day, and there was white water coming from the north side. You're supposed to ride the waves. But if you get caught between some of those rolls, the roll just takes you over and hits you. It's a very big danger. Dad watches it like a hawk. He won't go out when it's chancy. If you lose your boat you could lose your life. At this time of the year the water is getting colder, and if you lost your boat at sea now, the chances of people getting out to you in time are not good. The boat sinks and you have a life raft, but the rolls are rough enough to toss your raft over. I went out one day that my brother considered rough, and I was really seasick. I don't know how we made it to shore. The waves, or rolls, were really terrible. You're only in a 40-foot vessel, fourteen miles out, and some of those rolls just lift you up and put you over. I got really worried. But they have two-way radios. And they know when they're heading ashore and they keep in touch. When one boat goes in, they all go together. You can't trust the wind. It might not be bad outside, but it might be blowing inside and we might have trouble getting into the harbor. You have to get back in, but you might have problems doing so. If it's blowing on the inside, it's blowing all along the coast, so you don't try to enter some other harbor. I've often heard my brother say, 'Well, it was nothing outside. But it was kind of bad inside, so we headed ashore. However, I didn't think I was going to be able to get in the harbor.'"

Storms are really dreaded. Besides the dangers of drowning, there is a fear of heavy damage to gear. Any damage at all to lobster gear can cost hundreds of dollars. On days when there is a storm brewing, the fishermen fish only those traps that are within easy sail of shore. The

fishermen know how to read the sky and water for signs of oncoming storms. “One very strong sign a storm is on its way is when the water is very still and the land seems to swell up away from the sea.” “I found the most dangerous time is trying to enter the harbor on low tide with a storm on. One day we were out fishing when the wind started to pick up. We decided to head back to the wharf, which was a half hour distance. When we got to the breakwater, the wind was really blowing, the waves were huge, and the tide was very low. As we tried to enter the harbor we came off a big wave. When we came down, the water was so shallow the boat turned over on its side. The next wave hit side on and came right into the boat. This wave straightened the boat around, so I gunned the engine in reverse and got off the sandbar. I was no further ahead, because I was still out to sea and the storm was picking up. So I figured the only way to get in was to ride the wave over the sandbar. To do this I had to time it just right, and with a little bit of luck it worked.”

Attitudes of the fishermen about fishing in rough seas vary. “There are always a couple of crazy fishermen in every harbor who will go out on the roughest days.” “My uncle has a small fishing boat and goes out in almost any kind of weather. One day last season he was the only person from our harbor to take his boat out.” However, there are usually one or two days in the season when it is too rough for anyone to go out fishing. There are other fishermen who will not go out at the slightest hint of a rough day. They are afraid of damaging their boats or breaking off traps while hauling them.

Fog is another enemy. If it rolls in unexpectedly, then anyone on the water is in trouble. “The best thing to do is anchor the boat and wait.” On foggy and stormy days it can be difficult seeing the buoys. In the past fishermen depended on landmarks to have an idea where their buoys and traps were located. If it was too foggy, they simply would not go out. Today they use a GPS, or global positioning system, and just sail right up to the buoy. Landmarks and lighthouses are still important today to help you direct your boat through sandbars.

One danger the fishermen must avoid at all costs is getting tangled up in the ropes when the traps are put back overboard. When traps are being run off, all of the rope is in the boat. As each trap enters the water it pulls the next trap after it. The traps are heavy, and if you get your feet

caught in the ropes that tie the traps together you will be hauled overboard. In this situation the man must get himself out of the tangle or drown, because often the other man cannot help him. "Once you go overboard chances for rescue are very slim. The boat cannot be unattended at any time. There have been situations where the man who is steering the boat had to watch his friend go down and not return. The tides pull you out. You can run the boat to the side, but you can't go overboard after him." There are a lot of close calls. "I know someone who got their foot wrapped up in the rope and just got his foot out of the rope in time. He didn't get pulled over, but his rubber boot did." "I nearly lost one hired man. His feet got caught in the ropes and over he went. Somehow I managed to get him hauled back up and cut the lines free. Even though I was later given a life-saving award, the true thanks comes every year when he comes to visit me. You can never take your mind off your job when you're out at sea. It could be the last chance you'll have. Fishing is serious business." Most fishermen can't swim. "When I ask fishermen why they can't swim, I am usually told, 'I don't know.' One fisherman laughed and said, 'Well it was never something I had to learn, and I hope I never will.' When I asked if this is dangerous, I was told, 'Of course it's dangerous; fishing is dangerous business.'"

There are other risks too. One danger is working with a hauler for the lobster traps. If not used properly the operator can get his fingers caught in the hauler and crush them. "Every year there is at least one fisherman who gets his hand caught in the hauler, which results in a serious injury. When one hauls traps one is always wet. If one isn't wearing rain gear, it is very easy to get salt water boils on one's arms." Also, when handling the lobsters a person has to be careful that the lobster doesn't get hold of his fingers. Lobsters can give a person a bad bite, especially the larger lobsters. "I've been grabbed by lots of lobsters. I have to say, they definitely leave a mark and it does hurt. You can't just pull them off, because you could rip off their claws, which is not what we want. They're fast little guys, so you have to be quick too." "I did well all year by not getting bitten by any lobsters, until I was bitten by five of them in one day." "I find the best thing is not to resist, and eventually the lobster relaxes its grip. If you struggle, the lobster just holds on." "It's an amusing sight watching a grown man jumping around a lobster boat, trying to get a lobster to let go." In addition, rope sometimes gets tangled up in the boat propeller, or "wound up." When this

happens they reach down and try to get it unwound, or one of the two men in the boat must go down under and get it untangled, or they try to drive slowly until they get back to the harbor where they can get this fixed. “This problem occurs much more often on the south side of the Island than on the north side, because there is less rock on the south side and the trawls are closer together.”

A lot of the men drink when they fish. “I can’t believe the amount of alcohol these men drink, both when they are fishing and when they’re not.” Unfortunately, liquor is not a good idea on a lobster boat at any time. In one instance a fisherman had to take the engine completely out of his boat for repairs. “While they waited for the engine to be repaired, the boys sat around getting drunk. When they returned the engine to the boat, they managed somehow to let go of the hoist and the engine fell right through the bottom of the boat.” “A lot of the younger men smoke dope. It’s reached the point where there could be an accident in the boat. When you get stoned, you tend not to watch what’s happening as closely as you should. And you tend to think things that happen are funnier.” Accidents can happen very quickly, and a clear, sober mind is needed in order to prevent a serious outcome. For example, the person running off the traps has to stay alert so that his feet don’t get tangled in the rope, because the weight of the traps will drag him right down to the bottom of the sea. A clear mind is also needed by the person running the boat as he has to stop the boat and pull the traps back up. “Many an engine has been stalled through haste and panic and the victim drowned.”

“Although all of these dangers are very apparent, when I was fishing I never thought much about them. Once I got used to working with all the equipment, I forgot about the dangers.” “I believe the fishing life has been good to us. It is a dangerous life and I have known people who have drowned doing it. The job has no pension plan and no benefits. It’s funny, but I would say it is the job for me and I couldn’t think of doing anything else.” A large number of fishermen feel the same way. #5247

7. Poaching

Poaching is the term used for illegal fishing. There are many illegal ways to fish lobster. These include fishing outside of the official season;

fishing without a license; fishing more traps than one is allowed; fishing outside the permitted area; taking undersized lobsters, or "shorts;" and keeping females laden with eggs. Poaching is a major problem and is rampant along Prince Edward Island coasts.

Fishery officers patrol the waters and board boats to make sure regulations are adhered to. When people are caught poaching they may be fined or lose their license or boat and have to buy it back. They may also be penalized with a reduction in the amount of time they are allowed to fish during the next season. If anyone is caught with short lobsters in their vehicles, they face the same penalties that the fishermen do. Those who fish without a license are less afraid of being caught because they do not have a license to lose. "It is often whispered that lobster poachers favor gray-colored boats, helping them escape notice." Many modern poachers are said to use radar to detect approaching vessels.

When emptying their traps, poachers do not throw the undersized lobsters, or "shorts," back. Some keep "shorts" in a separate container. "At the end of the day they may drop them off as close as possible to the shore where someone is waiting to swim out and bring them back." Some fishermen have been known to dump pans of short lobsters overboard or cut loose a set of illegal traps when fishery officers are in sight, for fear of getting caught. Owners of boats usually have a small stove on board. This allows them to have a feed of lobsters whenever they want. They are not losing any money doing this. The lobsters they eat out at sea are below regulation size, and are supposed to be returned to the sea. These "shorts" are said to be the tastiest lobsters. It is illegal to fish these lobsters, but as the fishermen say, "Well, who's ever going to know?" "After the lobster fishing season is over there are a couple of fishermen at our harbor who'll be out fishing for something else, but at the same time they'll continue to set their lobster traps and haul them. Sometimes the police drive out to the harbor about the time the boats come back to make sure there are no lobsters brought in. They park at the end of the wharf. Just seeing the police cars is enough to make anybody pile lobsters overboard."

Not all of the fishermen poach, but there are a lot that do. This causes resentment between fellow fishermen. The fishermen who don't poach have a very low opinion of the poachers. They view poachers as

selfish and greedy. They lose money if there are fewer lobsters to catch legitimately. Also, they do not want to have the lobster industry destroyed by over fishing. Then no one will be able to make a living from fishing lobsters. "Poachers often think that the non-poachers are just not smart enough to poach. Poachers often have more material things than others do, such as several four-wheel-drive trucks in their yard. They feel this puts them on a higher social scale than the other fishermen." Some non-poachers phone the fishery officers to report the poachers. They do this to protect themselves and the industry. When they phone they do not have to give their names if they don't want to. It is said, "The poacher is the worst predator the lobster has to contend with." Many fishermen wish that more was done to prevent poaching. "The government needs to police the shore more than they do. There are a lot of fishermen who fish more than their 300 traps, and they get away with it. It has been almost four years since I saw a Department of Fisheries boat policing for poachers. Policing is now done by the Coast Guard and there is only one boat for the Island, so it is very hard to catch someone fishing illegally. People know they can get away with it."

Many incidents happen between fishermen and fishery officers. "In one area the boat used by the fishery officers was sunk twice after they interfered with the poachers. Once a cable was placed across the harbor, and the boat used by the fishery officers was badly damaged when it entered the harbor. There have been many phone calls to the homes of fishery officers threatening the officers and their families." #5248

8. Sabotage

A lobster fisherman is issued a license for a specific area. However, it does not specify where to place his traps within that area or which harbor to keep his boat in. Nevertheless, there is a fisherman's agreement to stay within your own district, and this is policed by the fishermen.

Fishermen are very possessive of their own wharf and resent any new fishermen moving in on their territory. Although there is a lot of competition between individual fishermen who use the same harbor, they will get together and team up against an outsider who tries to make a start in their area. They feel that outsiders, or newcomers, have no right to fish in their port. Lobsters are a limited resource and no fisherman

wants to see his own share of this resource diminished by other fishermen. The fishermen believe there are only so many lobsters, and any extra fishing produces a personal loss of money. Every new fisherman is seen as taking money out of their pockets.

Most fishermen who retire sell their fleet (license, boat, and equipment) to a family member. If you are not a family member and you are lucky enough to find a fleet to buy, the other fishermen are usually very cold towards you because they do not like newcomers. They do not feel they are being nasty; they are simply protecting "their property." "I asked a young fisherman who had just bought a lobster license where he was going to fish the license. Legally he could fish in a number of ports in the same area. He replied, 'Oh, no, I'm going to fish the license in the exact same place where the previous fisherman fished it. If I was to fish my license in another port, they would cut me out of the water. That is, they would not leave me with a trap.' What he is saying is that if he took the license and fished in a nearby port, which he is legally allowed to do, he would not be accepted by the other fishermen."

Fishermen have an understanding as to which area each fisherman fishes in. "A new fisherman must fish in the same ground that his family fishes in, or fish in the ground that his fleet has previously fished in. This is very important because a failure to comply with these rules often results in your gear being cut by a rival fisherman." "In addition, at the beginning of the season, there is some shifting around. A few fishermen move from one territory to another. There may be some grumbling or opposition to this. But if someone makes a major move later in the season it is a real no-no. This is because lobsters flourish at different times in different locations. If I am waiting for mine to flourish in June, and yours already flourished in May, don't come into my territory in June after you fished yours in May. I need my opportunity too." "At the wharf there is also proper etiquette as to where you dock your boat. The same rules apply to docking your boat as to setting your traps. You do not dare take another fisherman's spot. If you are new you must find a vacant spot, and not crowd the others, which is not looked on favorably."

When another fisherman attempts to trap in their territory, reactions are often quite harsh, such as cutting the newcomer's buoys adrift, so he can't find his lobster traps; taking his lobsters; smashing his traps;

tampering with his boat; and outright verbal abuse and physical force. An extreme action is ramming another fisherman's boat. "In our harbor all the fishermen have been fishing in one area all of their lives. If one of these fishermen moves from his area into someone else's area, there will be trouble. Last season someone moved into someone else's area and the other fisherman cut loose 30 of his traps. In one of the other harbors last year one man lost all of his traps when they were cut loose by another angry fisherman. This started a personal war between the two of them." "I am told that rivalry has sometimes been carried on for several generations, and still happens to this day; a sort of hereditary fishing feud." "I asked an older fisherman, 'What would you do if someone from a foreign port was to come in and fish beside you?' He promptly replied, 'I would do the same as any other fisherman. I would cut his buoys off and give him the message that he is not wanted around here. If that didn't work, I would really make him hurt by smashing every trap that I could find of his. A fisherman has no right, in my mind, to move a license from one port to another. I would not take my fishing gear somewhere it was not supposed to be, and I don't think anyone else should either.' I asked another fisherman, 'Would you cut or smash someone's traps, if he decided to come and fish lobster in your port beside you?' He replied, 'You're goddamn right I would cut his gear. The way I see it, each lobster out there is money. If someone comes into my area and thinks he is going to take my money, he has another think coming. I would have to be dead or foolish to let him fish beside me. I have bills to pay and I want the money that is coming to me. I don't want to share it with someone I don't know. Anyway, if you don't stop the first fisherman from coming in, then more will follow. You have to stop the first one, and stop him fast, or you will regret it forever.'" "A few years ago, a fisherman was proceeding down the coast to get to his own wharf and had to pull into a different wharf to tie up overnight. Unfortunately, he didn't mention to anyone the reason he was using their wharf. The next morning when he went to his boat to continue his journey, he found two holes chopped into the bottom and his boat sunk to the washboards. He finally got the boat raised and fixed, but was forced to leave the boat at this wharf another night. Much to his dismay, the boat was sunk again when he returned the next morning. This time when the boat was fixed he stayed right with it until he reached his home port the next day."

"Our band of native people gained the right to fish lobsters in 1995. Our band has to fish many miles from home, off Pictou Island. There's a lot of friendly fishermen who share a greeting with us, but there are a few who do not welcome newcomers, especially people from another race. They will do just about anything to make sure we feel unwelcome. Our fishing crew has experienced a lot of harassment from other fishermen. This includes stealing bait from our boat, cutting our trap lines, causing expensive damage to our boat, blocking off the entrance to the harbor, verbal abuse, and sometimes even physical confrontations. When we agreed to live on reservations, we were promised we could hunt and fish when and where we wanted. We just want to legally fish lobsters commercially. They think we are stealing their lobsters, but our license is every bit as good as theirs."

Sometimes warnings are used. "I find they do two things. One is pile your dump. Your dump is the collection of five or so traps you have attached to a buoy. Normally when you dump them you let the tide pull them out in a string. But if someone wants to threaten you, they pull them so they're around to the side or piled near each other. You know they've done this. Another thing is dipping your buoy. You can pull the rope through the ring and fasten it so the buoy is upside down. The only way this could happen is if someone does this intentionally."

Even though smashing or ruining someone's property, including lobster traps, is illegal, it is a common practice. It is hard for police or fishery officers to stop this type of crime. Fishermen can go out at night and do considerable damage to another person's fishing gear. It is very hard to catch someone out in the ocean and nothing can be proven unless they are caught directly in the act. Therefore, to keep order, unwritten rules of lobster fishing are obeyed by fishermen. "A newcomer usually leaves and goes to another spot where he figures the resentment won't be as bad." #5249

Analysis

There are several dominant models employed in lobster fishing. The fishermen want to maximize their resources. They do this by trying to "Catch as many lobsters as possible." In order to accomplish this fishermen employ the submodels, "Make sure my equipment is ready and in

good working order before the lobster season," "Place my traps at the most productive locations," "Use my buoys to claim my territory," "Keep others from fishing in my territory," and "Keep outsiders from fishing in our area." Those who poach employ the model, "Make more money today," and those who don't poach employ the model, "Make less money today, but make money from lobsters in the future." The Department of Fisheries and Oceans uses the models, "Allow fishermen to continue to fish lobster," and "Control lobster fishing so it will remain a continuous resource." In order to maintain lobster fishing as a continuous resource they employ the submodel, "Protect lobster reproduction." Fishermen also apply the model, "Respect the Sabbath," by not fishing on Sundays.

Fishermen seek to get positive reactions and avoid criticism by having a better boat than others, having a faster boat, keeping their boat attractive, and catching more lobsters than others. They also obtain positive reactions by talking about a subject that is of interest to others, which is fishing. They protect themselves and their resources by taking various precautions, such as moving their traps away from shore in bad weather, staying in port in very bad weather, not fishing before the sea ice breaks up, obeying government regulations, keeping others from knowing about their most productive fishing sites, and keeping other fishermen out of their territory and area. They also take precautions when they try to avoid getting bitten by lobsters, getting their hand caught in the hauler, and getting their feet caught in the rope when traps go overboard. Poachers take precautions by hiding what they are doing and by dumping lobsters when they might be caught. Poachers try to protect their resources when they sabotage and threaten fishery officers. Fishermen fail to take precautions when they do not learn how to swim and when they drink on their boats. They obtain positive stimulation by fishing, drinking, and using drugs. Fishermen experience envy when others show signs of being more successful than they are. They are envious of those who catch more lobsters than they do and of those who are able to buy more things because they poach. They avoid guilt and criticism by helping other fishermen who need help.

8. A LOBSTER CANNING PLANT

During the past three summers I have worked either full-time or part-time at a lobster canning plant in a fishing village on Prince Edward Island. Lobster processing coincides with the lobster fishing season, which in this area normally opens on May 1st. Occasionally winter ice may prevent fishermen from getting out to the fishing grounds on the first of May, in which case the opening of the season is delayed for a week or more. The season lasts for two months. After the season ends, most fishermen resort to some other type of fishing until the weather makes it impossible to fish any longer. They then go on UI (unemployment insurance) benefits until the season opens again the next spring. At the other side of the Island the lobster season also runs for two months, but opens toward the end of summer. In that area fishermen engage in other types of fishing before the lobster season starts.

During the lobster season there is work at the plant for six days a week. Working hours are from 8:00 AM to 4:30 PM, with a half hour for lunch and a fifteen-minute break both in the morning and afternoon. Although many of the workers are from the local village, most eat lunch at the plant because they don't find they have enough time to go home. It is common to work only half a day when there are small catches by fishermen, and to have to work until 5:30 PM when too many lobsters are put through the cooker. All jobs for females receive the same rate of pay, and increases in pay are based on how long a person has been employed at the plant. New female workers receive the minimum wage. Those who have worked at the plant for two years get about ten cents more an hour, and this is increased over time until workers receive a top pay of about fifty cents an hour above the minimum wage. Men receive similar pay increases, but are paid approximately thirty to fifty cents more an hour than are the women. There is no overtime pay. On holidays, such as the first of July (Canada Day), workers receive time and a half, provided they are present on the workdays immediately preceding and following the holiday. There are few days when everyone is present. Usually two or three workers are absent on a weekday and as many as nine or ten can be absent on a Saturday. It is also common for

workers to come for half a day and then leave for some reason, such as a medical appointment. I would estimate that the average daily output of the plant is about 8,000 pounds, although 10,000 pounds can be processed when people work at full potential. The plant also processes some flounder, scallops, and clams after the lobster season.

The great majority of workers inside the plant are women. Most are married to fishermen and have children in school. Generally they are employed only during the summer while work is available at the plant, and then draw UI through the remaining months. During the summer they can usually get their mother or another family member to keep an eye on their kids, who are outdoors most of the time anyway and need little supervision. During the winter months the women can be home to look after their families, because they are receiving UI. In winter the children have to get up, have their lunches packed, go to school, and get their homework completed. Most mothers prefer to be at home to oversee this.

This particular lobster plant was set up after most of the local fishermen had already established ties with other nearby factories. For the most part the local fishermen were satisfied with their existing relationships with other plants and saw little reason to switch. Therefore, the new plant had to look elsewhere for a supply of lobster and ended up going to communities as far as thirty and forty miles away. Most plants are located within five or ten miles of their suppliers and unless there is a backlog produced by enormous catches, can usually process lobsters the same day they are brought in. At the plant under discussion, however, several trucks are sent out daily to pick up the lobsters, and the drivers wait until every boat has returned to shore before taking the lobsters back to the plant. Therefore, trucks usually return with the daily catch after the workday is over, and the lobsters are processed the next day. Consequently, if fishermen have very high catches for several days, the lobsters are less than fresh when they are finally processed. Lobsters are kept in a tank house through which sea water is pumped continuously, but there are frequent interruptions because of pump breakdowns and power failures. Therefore many lobsters are dead at the time they are put into the cooker.

Inside the plant itself, twelve stations are involved in processing lobster. The movement of lobster between the stations is diagrammed in Figure 1 after the next page and discussed below.

Station 1: The lobster cooker is at the west wall of the plant. Lobsters are brought up in crates from the tank house by a truck. The truck parks outside and the lobsters are dumped through a window. Inside the plant, directly below the window, a man shoves the lobsters down a chute. At the bottom of the chute is a conveyer belt, which moves slowly through the steaming chamber of the cooker. It takes about half an hour for lobster to travel from one end of this chamber to the other. Therefore, the last load must be put into the steaming chamber between 3:15 PM and 3:30 PM in order that it can be cooked and then fully processed by the end of the workday at 4:30 PM. At the other end of the cooker are two or three men engaged in "breaking off," which involves grasping the lobsters as they are fed out of the cooker, breaking off their arms and tails, and putting the arms, tails, and bodies into different tubs. When the tubs are full, one of the men delivers them to their appropriate stations. Bodies go to Station 2, arms to Station 3, and tails to Station 5.

Station 2: Bodies are delivered to this table, where three or four women tear the legs from the bodies and put the legs into tubs. The body of the lobster is "shaken," or struck, against the top edge of a big pot to dislodge the green meat, which is called tomalley, as well as the red roe from the females. This meat is used to make lobster paste, and the remainder of the body is discarded as worthless. Workers at this table are referred to as "shit shakers," because of the appearance of the body meat, or tomalley. The tomalley and red roe are packed into five-pound tins and taken to Station 11. The legs are carried to Station 7.

Station 3: The arms, which consist of claws and knuckles, have been brought here from the breaking-off area. One or two tables are used at this station, depending on the speed of the workers. Two or three cleavers and two shakers work at each table. The cleavers use large knives to break the claw from the knuckle. There is a technique to this so that the shakers can dislodge the claw meat by simply tapping the claw on the top edge of a pot. When the cleavers break the claw, they leave the knuckles on the table. The knuckles are picked up and carried to Station 6. Claw shakers pull the thumbs out of the claws and store them in bowls beside their pots just before they shake the claws. The thumbs are periodically picked up by someone from Station 4. The claw meat is taken by a meat carrier to a washing table at Station 8.

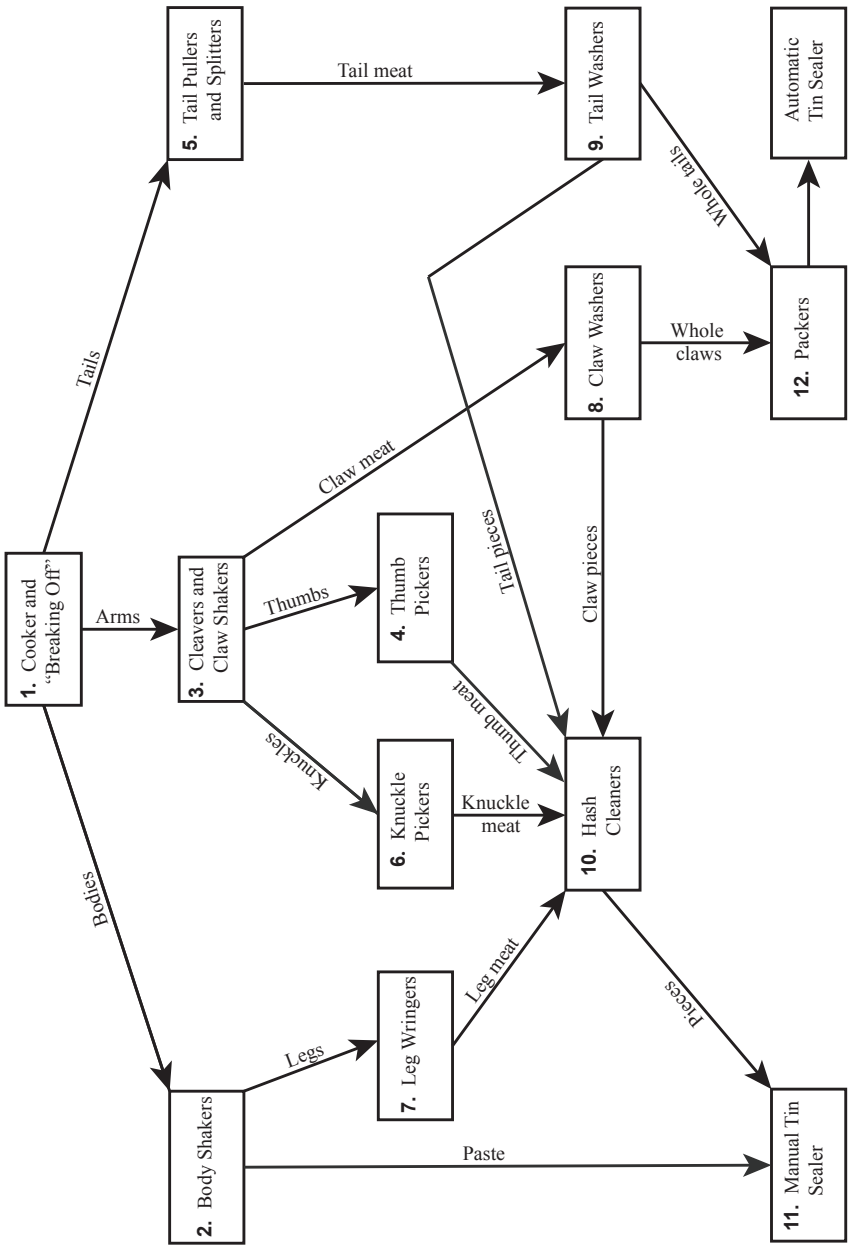

Figure One: Work flow on the plant floor

Station 4: This table is occupied by two to four women who use a pick-like instrument to pry the meat out of the lobster thumbs. Taking meat from lobster thumbs is a very tedious task, and one of the least desirable jobs associated with lobster canning. The meat is collected by the workers at Station 10 and is used in canning hash, or lobster pieces.

Station 5: Lobster tails have been carried here from the breaking-off position. At this table there are two or three pullers, and a splitter for each puller. Pullers use a bent, pronged instrument to extract the tail meat in one piece from the shell. Splitters then use a knife to split the tail meat and remove the "shit shoot," or digestive tract. Tails are picked up by a meat carrier who takes them to the washing table at Station 9. All the claws and tails from Stations 3 and 5 are carried over to be washed at Stations 8 and 9.

Station 6: This job, which consists of picking meat from the knuckles with small scoop-like instruments, is probably the most dreaded job at the plant. The prickly, spiny surface of the knuckle shell is very hard on one's hands, even for the most expert "hash picker." The plant seems to have a real problem getting good pickers, and usually has sixteen to twenty employed at the task, whereas only eight or nine should suffice. Despite their numbers, the hash pickers almost always fall far behind the workers at the other stations and it isn't uncommon for everyone to have to pitch in and help them from time to time. The knuckle meat, or hash, is picked up by meat carriers and taken to the hash cleaners at Station 10.

Station 7: At this station the lobster legs are fed by hand through iron wringers, which squeeze the meat from the shells. This is another of the less desirable jobs. Bending over the wringers all day is hard on one's back. The job is also relatively dangerous, because there are no guards on the machines. Several people have had their hands badly crushed when they were caught in the wringers. The four or five women who are employed here really have to keep their wits about them. Meat from the legs is picked up by the meat carriers and taken to Station 10 to be cleaned and canned with the lobster pieces.

Stations 8 and 9: Each of these two stations consists of two tables for the washers. On each table is a long revolving drum, set at an angle with its lower end partially submerged in a trough. Fresh water flows continuously through the trough. Claws (Station 8) or tails (Station 9)

are placed into the upper end of each drum. They travel down the length of the drum, are rinsed where the drum is in the trough, and fall out of an exit on the drum onto the table for inspection. The meat cannot be submerged in water too long, or it loses its flavor. At Station 8 two women inspect the claws to make sure they are really clean. Those which are not clean and free of blood are cleaned in the trough by hand. Broken claws are also separated from the whole ones. There are three women at Station 9 who use the same methods to inspect and clean the tails. Although the troughs are supposed to contain lukewarm water, the water is always freezing cold and very unpleasant to put one's hands in all day. After the meat has been cleaned, one of the women at Station 9 carries the whole tails and claws to the packing tables (Station 12), and takes the remaining broken pieces to Station 10.

Station 10: This is the site of the hash cleaners. Meat from the knuckles, thumbs, and legs, together with the broken tail and claw pieces, is picked over at this location to make sure it is clean and free of shell. This job is accomplished by three or four women, but many others help out if they fall behind. No one minds helping out at Station 10 because of the size of the task. In contrast, everyone begrudges helping the knuckle pickers because of the large number of people already employed at the task. The meat processed at Station 10 will be sold as lobster hash, or lobster pieces, and is packed in five-pound tins and taken to Station 11.

Station 11: This is the location of the manual tin sealer, which is operated four or five times a day by one of the men. The lobster paste from Station 2 and the lobster pieces from Station 10 have been scooped into five-pound cans by the woman who delivers them to Station 11. When there are enough cans for several cases, they are sealed all at once. These cases are kept in the walk-in freezer until a truck transports them to their destination.

Station 12: These are the packing tables, where whole tails and claws are placed in cans. At each of the two packing tables is one tail packer, one claw packer, and a weigher. Depending on the size of the tails, the tail packer puts four or five lobster tails in the bottom of each 10-ounce tin. Then the claw packer packs the remainder of the tin with whole claws. Next, the weigher places the tin on a scale to make sure it weighs 10 ounces or a bit more. If the tin is underweight, the weigher

puts in small pieces of meat to raise the weight to the required amount. As she finishes weighing the cans she places them on a conveyer belt which carries the cans to the automatic sealer. This machine snaps lids on the cans as they pass through. The cans are then placed either into a bather or into cases. The lobster is packed as hot pack or cold pack. With hot pack the cans are first lined with a special tissue and a salt tablet is added. When these cans come off the line they are put into a huge bather which is placed in a steam bath for a designated period of time. Cans which are hot packed need not be frozen. In contrast, cold pack involves the use of unlined cans containing a special brine. Immediately after being sealed and packed in cases, cold-pack cans are placed in the walk-in freezer and later transported in refrigerated trucks.

On the first day of work each year, management assigns each woman her station for the season. Workers who have been at a particular station for a year or two are usually reassigned the same job, provided they are relatively good at it. They have to take this job, unless they can give a good reason why they shouldn't. For example, a hash picker might have an allergic reaction to lobster fluids which causes a rash on her hands. In such a case she will be switched with another worker who is picked at random from one of the other tables. However, if someone simply wants to avoid an undesirable job but doesn't have a good reason, the transfer is denied. In this area of the Island, jobs outside the plant are extremely scarce. Also, people only have to work in the plant for a limited number of weeks in order to qualify for UI (unemployment insurance) benefits. Therefore, people accept the jobs they are assigned.

There is considerable resentment felt toward the women who work at the packing tables (Station 12), particularly on the part of the younger women, who are assigned the harder jobs. The younger women feel the older women don't need the work or money, yet have the easiest job in the plant. The husbands of the older women are for the most part the established, more prosperous fishermen. Although they may have several children still living at home, the children are no longer dependent on their parents. Therefore, the older women can use their money for new carpets, cars, and so on. The other women at the plant are usually younger and have small children and husbands who do not earn enough to support them, and therefore need the money for food and rent.

The same women work at the packing tables every year. They are older than most of the women at the plant. In fact one is over 70, and the rest are over 50. Management may have assigned them these jobs at the packing tables because of their age. Working at the packing tables is one of the few jobs remaining, after one excludes the more arduous tasks, such as bending over machinery all day (leg wringing at Station 7), getting one's hands pierced by sharp shells (picking knuckles at Station 6), putting one's hands in cold water all day (washing claws and tails at Stations 8 and 9), and tasks which require very strong arms and hands (cleaving at Station 3, or shaking bodies and claws at Stations 2 and 3). However, other factors are likely at play. These women have worked for many years in this and other plants. Therefore they have had more time to move into one of the most desirable jobs. They also come to work on Saturdays and remain to process fish after the lobster season is over, unlike some of the younger women who do not always show up on Saturday and quit as soon as the lobster season ends. In other words, these older women are the "old faithfuls." One suspects that management is not eager to alienate their most experienced and reliable workers. Also, these old birds have probably squawked enough to get positions at the packing tables. There are a few other older women working inside the plant. They usually work at tasks such as washing tails and claws, which are not as hard as jobs like picking knuckles.

Certain tactics of the packers also make them very unpopular with the other workers. If lobster catches have been small for several days and the stations have caught up with the backlog, then workers are frequently employed only half a day. After workers finish processing their supply of lobsters they automatically go to help workers who aren't finished yet at other tables. Thus the women at Stations 2, 3, and 5 move to help those at Stations 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10. At such times the women at the packing tables slow down to a crawl in order to make full days for themselves. As a result, most of the packers get at least two or three hours of extra work on days when the other women at the plant only get half a day of work. This extra time and money is begrudged by most of the other women, who feel those at the packing tables don't need the money anyway. At these times five or six tubs of washed meat accumulate by the packing tables. The meat carrier usually gets a lot of flak from those at the packing tables, who tell her, "Don't be bringing us

any more meat. You know we can't handle it now." They also complain to the manager that everyone is causing their work to pile up. Instead of realizing the packers have slowed down and need to pull their own weight, the manager gives everyone else all hell, and sends three or four women from other stations to help pack. There is only enough room for three or four extra women at the two tables set up for packing. At other stations where there aren't as many regular workers, there is enough room for five or six extra women. Because of a lack of space and equipment, it is not practical for the plant to set up more than two packing tables. Sometimes, when workers are sent to help the packers, work piles up at other stations. Then when the packers get caught up, they complain if others have fallen behind. I have never seen anyone from the packing station help the other workers. Even when they have caught up and are waiting for meat, they just stand around and talk among themselves. All the other women help each other out, even though they don't feel they should have to help the large number of knuckle pickers. Women at the packing tables do little to improve their popularity with the other workers. They remain somewhat aloof from the others, seem to thrive on gossip, and have their own section in the crowded eating area and get very annoyed when it is invaded by an outsider.

Another focus of resentment among the women are the male employees. It is well recognized in the plant and in the community too that male workers at the plant have very little to do. Whereas women have to stand at tables all day and keep busy to prevent a pileup at their table, men move around doing several tasks in different parts of the building. It is easy for them to just walk around and look like they are going from one task to another. Also the men have a great knack for getting lost at the tank house for the entire day, where they are sometimes caught sleeping. Women also resent that the men are paid a higher rate than they are.

One thing that disturbs me personally is the lack of attention to proper sanitation at the plant. All female workers are given smocks to wear over their street clothes, and also rubber aprons so their smocks won't get too wet. They are never supposed to wear these smocks outside of the plant. Men are not expected to wear smocks, but are required to wear rubber aprons over their street clothes. The aprons are supposed to remain in the work area at all times, except when taken home to

be cleaned. These rules are seldom followed. Most women put their smocks on before they leave home, and few people remove their aprons during breaks when they leave the work area. Also hair is supposed to be covered by a hair net, but many women simply tie scarves around their heads and let their hair fall out the back.

Near both entrances to the work area is a sink which is filled with disinfectant. All workers are required to dip their hands into this water and brush their aprons with it at certain times, such as first thing every morning, after the noon meal, and following the morning and afternoon breaks. Most people are lax in this regard. In addition, there are pans containing disinfectant beside every table. Workers are expected to frequently dip the tubs which are used to hold the lobster meat into these pans. Although the disinfectant in the pans and sinks is supposed to be changed several times a day, it is usually changed only once. The pans and sinks are too heavy for one woman to lift, and the job of changing them is assigned to one of the men who is seldom present.

It never ceases to amaze me that the plant is allowed to remain open despite visits by health inspectors. Workers are instructed by the manager to pack everything, even meat which is plainly spoiled. The manager sometimes picks up a questionable piece of meat and eats it in order to convince workers there is nothing wrong with it. Despite this many of the workers follow their own consciences and refuse to process anything which shows signs of spoilage, such as meat which smells foul or is deep red, purple, or green in color. However, I have seen several workers processing rotten lobster. When I asked them about it, they said they couldn't care less as long as they were paid their money. On one occasion the lobster was being shipped to Japan and it wasn't uncommon to hear statements such as "Those crazy Japs won't know the difference. They don't know what lobster is supposed to taste like anyway." On many occasions rotten lobster is processed while health inspectors are present. However, the inspectors seem to ignore the fact. Before they buy lobster or fish for themselves from the plant, office workers at the plant sometimes ask whether the seafood was fresh or spoiled that day.

Lobster is one of the most popular foods on Prince Edward Island, and virtually everyone in the plant who likes the taste eats a few pieces in the course of a day. Some women will stand at a table and eat two

or three tails or claws in a row. Although many will look around first to make sure management isn't watching, others just eat it when they feel like it, regardless of who is watching. It is also a common practice to go to the tail or claw washing table at the beginning of a break and eat a few claws or tails. At lunchtime one office worker sometimes brings two pieces of bread spread with mayonnaise and takes pieces of lobster from the table to complete her sandwich. Workers seem to feel that because the owner and managers walk around tasting the meat, it is perfectly alright for them to do so too, provided they do so within reasonable limits. I have never heard of management giving someone a hard time for eating lobster in the plant.

I find that the time goes extremely slowly in the plant if you don't stay busy. When you are busy you don't have time to notice the noise of the machinery, which can get on your nerves and cause headaches. Many workers feel a sense of accomplishment when they learn that the production level is up for the day. Others, however, take the attitude, "Who gives a shit? Just as long as there is enough work to draw unemployment benefits during the winter." #5250

Analysis

The various parties try to maximize their resources. Fishermen fish for lobster during the lobster season, for other species until the ice no longer allows them to fish, and draw unemployment insurance benefits during the remainder of the year. Workers at the canning plant work during the summer for sufficient weeks to qualify for unemployment insurance benefits for the remainder of the year.

Management at the plant use the model, "We want to maximize gains and minimize losses." In order to do so, they minimize expenses by paying workers little more than the minimum wage, by not paying overtime except on holidays, and by sending workers home when there is little work to be done. In order to maximize gains they go to considerable effort to obtain all of the meat they can from each lobster, and they minimize wastage by processing dead lobsters and spoiled lobster meat. Managers eat some of the spoiled meat to convince workers that it is safe to process. In order to maximize production they use separate work stations where workers perform limited tasks in a routine fashion.

One makes fewer mistakes and works faster when one uses familiar routines to deal with simple tasks, rather than when one has to make decisions in dealing with complicated tasks. Specialized tools and equipment, such as knives, scoops, iron wringers, and washing drums, are used to accomplish specific tasks. To operate more efficiently, heavy lifting tasks are assigned to the men, demanding tasks to the younger women, and easier tasks to the older women. Management seeks to maximize production on the factory floor by assigning different numbers of workers to different tasks, and by moving workers to other work stations which fall behind, in order that the total operation flows smoothly. By using specific work stations and tasks, and by designating the flow of materials, managers are able to impose their models on the workers. There is little room for workers to introduce their own models in the plant. Few workers can choose which stations they work at. However, they can decide whether to leave work early, or not to come in on Saturdays. Nevertheless, workers do need to maximize their pay during the weeks they work at the plant in order to increase the amount of unemployment insurance benefits they receive during the remainder of the year.

Various feelings are evident on the factory floor. One is envy. Younger women resent the advantages of the older women at the packing tables, who have an easier job, manipulate their production in order to work more hours than other workers, and do not need money as much as do the younger workers. Women are also envious of the men, who are paid a higher wage and do not have to remain at a specific work station. Workers seek to conserve time and energy. They conserve time and energy when they are lax about cleanliness. They also put on smocks before they leave home, keep their aprons on when they leave the work area, frequently fail to disinfect their hands and aprons, and change the disinfectant in the pans and sinks only once a day. In addition, older workers have sought out the easiest jobs, and workers at the packing tables do not help out when other workers fall behind. Also, the men supposedly hang out at the tank house and occasionally sleep there. Workers obtain positive stimulation by eating lobster. When they do so, some workers take precautions by first making sure that no managers are watching. Office workers at the plant take precautions by asking whether the lobster or fish is fresh or spoiled before they buy

it. Some workers avoid guilt by refusing to process spoiled lobster meat, and by rationalizing that it is acceptable to eat pieces of lobster because the managers do so. Many workers experience a feeling of accomplishment and pleasure when they succeed in increasing daily production.

9. HARVESTING IRISH MOSS

Irish moss is a seaweed which grows on rocks under water and is processed to obtain carrageenin. Carrageenin is used in food and other industries as a stabilizing agent. It is used in the production of beer, jello, and ice cream. In winter the waters around Prince Edward Island are covered with sea ice. This provides good protection for the Irish moss, which thrives in quiet seas. Because of the ice, winter storms do not tear the seaweed away from the rocks. However, this situation changes in the spring and summer when the sea ice disappears. Without ice as a cover, the rolling sea separates the moss from the rocks, and tides move the moss towards the shore, where it is deposited on the beach and on the bottom in shallow water. This occurs to a much greater extent during the occasional storm. The Irish moss season can begin as early as April and last as late as November or December, depending on the presence and absence of sea ice. The moss is found and collected only along certain shores of the Island.

There are two means used to collect Irish moss. One involves obtaining a license and using a boat. The license entitles one to gather moss as long as weather permits. These boats are rigged with large rakes that scrape the moss from rocks on the bottom. This is done most days of the week during the season. The wet moss is carried to the shore in boats and delivered to a waiting company truck. Several companies buy the Irish moss and prepare it for transport to refineries on the mainland. The other means of obtaining the moss is to collect it from beaches and shallow offshore waters during and after a storm. When there is a storm, large numbers of people gather on the beaches with scores of trucks, tractors, horses, and wagons. Large scoops are attached to horses to scrape moss from the bottom in shallow water. Moss which has washed up on the beach is collected with rakes with long handles and is maneuvered with pitchforks. Horse-drawn wagons, tractors, and trucks with four-wheel drives haul the moss away from the beach and the tides to higher ground. Often relatives and friends work together and share equipment. Given the high value of the moss, several hundred dollars' worth can

be loaded into a half-ton truck. Because the storms frequently occur at night, there are real dangers involved. Often a beach is crowded with people, horses, trucks, tractors, and wagons, and because of the high winds and pitch blackness it is very difficult to hear or see anything more than a few feet away. The large horses can become very nervous and throw their riders into the water or step in a hole and trip and carry their rider under water, and as a result people have drowned.

Because there is a limited supply of the moss and it is seen as a source of quick money, there is considerable competition to get it. This competition exists both between individuals and between local inhabitants and people who live outside the immediate area. "When the weather is right in my community, local people rush to the best areas for harvesting the moss and stake out territories for themselves. Often they make large flat piles of the moss parallel to the water's edge. This enables them to control a large area. When local people come a little late, they frequently go to the area where the most people are gathered, because they think that this is where the most moss is to be found. Local people and outsiders gather in different areas, and when people arrive late they go to their respective group. If an outsider seeks to enter the group of local people, he is likely to be forced out. Local people get in his way and try to prevent him from getting any moss. The local people complain among themselves about the outsiders and make jokes about them. Outsiders try to win acceptance from the local people by attempting to start conversations with them, acting very courteous, and going out of their way to do favors for them and help them when they have a problem, such as getting stuck in the sand. After the local people have been working for a few hours, they tend to group together and attempt to drive the outsiders away from the vicinity. The local people converse more with each other as they make their piles more compact. Then they go to the area where the outsiders are working and show contempt for them by laughing and talking about them and physically get in their way. Certain individuals become leaders, and this occurs both among the locals and among the outsiders. These leaders are the first to move to a new location in search of more or better quality moss. Among the locals such leaders show the most aggression toward the outsiders, and among the outsiders they put up the most resistance when they are being forced away from an area."

After the moss has been collected, it is spread out to dry. One needs a sunny day, preferably with a light breeze, for it to dry properly. The moss is turned over several times with a pitchfork to help it dry faster, and people feel relieved when it finally dries. Rain is dreaded because it washes salt and sand particles off the moss and causes it to lose weight. Also, if it rains, one has to start drying the moss over again. Dry moss is moved to a building where the other kinds of seaweed mixed with it are removed. Finally the moss is loaded on a truck and taken to be weighed and sold. Because storms occur only occasionally, men who collect the moss normally have other occupations. When they succeed in obtaining a large amount of moss they frequently sell it in the name of their wife or some other family member. When the sale is spaced out, perhaps a truckload each week, the wife or other family member accumulates enough weeks of work to qualify for unemployment benefits from the government during the remainder of the year. #5251

Analysis

Irish moss is a resource, and people can obtain a considerable amount of money by harvesting and selling it. Many people want to obtain the moss and they use specialized tools to do so, including boats, trucks, tractors, horses, wagons, rakes, scoops, and pitchforks. However, because Irish moss is in limited supply, individuals compete with other individuals, and groups of local people compete with groups of outsiders to obtain it. The models people use include "I want to obtain as much Irish moss as possible," "I want to obtain it before other people do," and "I want to sell it for as much as possible." In order to accomplish this they rush to the best areas, stake out territories, go where other people have gathered, group together to drive away others, and resist being driven away. After they obtain the moss they try to keep it out of the rain so it will weigh more and command a higher price, and they feel a release of tension when they succeed in drying it. People are willing to take numerous risks to obtain this resource. When possible people sell the moss over time for a family member, so that the family member will qualify to draw unemployment insurance benefits, and their family can obtain more resources.

10. TRAVEL COUNSELORS

Tourism is one of the Island's largest industries, and over a million visitors a year are attracted to the Island. Most tourists arrive by car or recreational vehicle, either by ferry boat or over the Confederation Bridge. Others come by air, in cruise ships, or on tour buses. There are visitor information centers in the major communities, at locations of entry, and at major attractions on the Island. University students are frequently hired for the summer at the information centers to be travel counselors. There is an extensive training program for the travel counselors in May. Trainees are given a great deal of information to learn. This is supplemented by acting out simulated conversations between tourists and counselors.

A travel counselor is expected to help tourists make reservations for accommodations, to provide information on things to see and do in various areas of the Island, and to answer any questions concerning Prince Edward Island. At the same time the travel counselor is required to be pleasant, courteous, and patient. Travel counselors are expected to fill certain roles. One role is ambassador for Prince Edward Island. Travel counselors are considered to be largely responsible for the success of each tourist's vacation, and as a consequence the success of the tourist industry. The counselors are often the first Islanders that tourists encounter. It is very important to present a good first impression through one's smile, poise, appearance, and patience, and by being pleasant, welcoming, and helpful. Travel counselors take the initiative and greet tourists, "Hi! Good morning! May I help you?" It is necessary to make eye contact and convey feeling and sincerity so it doesn't seem like you are delivering a rehearsed speech. Another role is salesperson. The longer that tourists remain on the Island, the more they will spend and help the Island economy. Even an extra hour or two helps, but an extra day or two is even better. Tourists buy gasoline, shop, eat in restaurants, go to tourist attractions, and need accommodations. If the travel counselor can help tourists find things they want to do on the Island, they will stay longer. We want tourists to consider the Island the perfect

vacation spot. The better the experience of the tourist, the longer the tourist will want to stay, the more likely the tourist will return, and the more positive things the tourist will tell others so that they will want to come too.

We have to give personal attention to each visitor and try to help them fulfill their needs. If their needs are not met, they will not enjoy their vacation. We want to put ourselves in the other person's shoes so we can better help them. However, it is very hard to be enthusiastic when you are asked the same boring questions all day long, such as "What is there to do on Prince Edward Island?" One requirement for a travel counselor is to hide their true feelings. When you work with the public, you are often unaware that you are giving off cues as to what you are thinking or feeling. One very busy afternoon at the information counter there were about fifty tourists waiting for help. I looked up and saw this 350-pound man in the ugliest shirt I had ever seen. It was a loud, bright, lime-green Hawaiian shirt. After I glanced at the shirt I returned to helping the tourist in front of me. Roughly fifteen minutes later the fat man came up to my counter and said, "So, you're the young lady who hates my shirt!" When you are working with the public you often experience negative feelings, such as boredom, fatigue, annoyance, impatience, and frustration. You have to make a conscious effort to replace this with interest, concern, empathy, sincerity, and enthusiasm. Otherwise tourists may feel uncomfortable and cut their vacation short.

At the beginning of summer the new staff seem mesmerized by the quantity and variety of the questions asked by tourists and local residents. The following five requests were received within a fifteen-minute period.

1. What is the name of the bus that goes from Charlottetown to New Glascow, Nova Scotia?
2. I have forgotten the name of my motel. Will you phone around until you locate my reservation?
3. What time does the next boat leave for the Magdalen Islands?
4. Where can I buy fresh lobster?
5. Where can I watch a ship being built?

No one is expected to be able to answer every question without help. However it is vital that the counselor be able to obtain answers from a variety of sources. A primary source is what the counselor has already learned. As the summer proceeds, it is surprising how much better informed all the counselors become. There are numerous questions asked over and over again. If one doesn't know the answer, often a fellow counselor does. In addition, there is an Information Book which is commonly referred to by the counselor. Also, the phone is used to call bureaus and offices to get the information. For example, the Tourist Information Center in Souris is phoned to find out how bad the lineup is to catch the ferryboat to the Magdalen Islands. In addition a toll-free number is provided for people to call long distance to speak to counselors, and there is a website on the Internet for information.

On a busy summer afternoon, particularly on a rainy day, tourists may be lined up two or three deep along the entire length of the counters in the information centers waiting for help from the counselors. However, even on a quiet day when tourists are at the beaches, one continues to get telephone questions from tourists and local residents. It is common to be waiting on a visitor, then have to excuse yourself to answer a phone call and perhaps a second call before returning to the visitor.

The questions we receive can be grouped as follows:

1. General requests
2. Questions from adults under twenty-five years old without children
3. Questions from families
4. Questions by adults over forty years old
5. Memorable questions and comments

1. General requests

There are three very common questions. One is "Can I please have a road map?" Another is about Cavendish. It is surprising the number of tourists who come to PEI with just one word in mind – "Cavendish!" Cavendish is the setting of Lucy Maud Montgomery's famous novel, *Anne of Green Gables*. It is also the location of white sandy beaches.

As a result, about eighty percent of all tourists head directly to Cavendish. I remember waiting on two boys around fourteen years old who had bicycled from Nova Scotia that morning. It was a hot, humid afternoon and they were exhausted. When I told them that they had another twenty-three miles of hard biking ahead of them to get to Cavendish, their faces fell. They rested for a short while, then set out for a campground in Cavendish. Cavendish was their destination and they weren't about to settle for a nearer campground. Most tourists know exactly what they want, which is a housekeeping cottage right on Cavendish Beach. The only problem is that thousands make the same request. These requests are futile because the limited number of cottages in Cavendish are booked for the next summer shortly after Christmas. Also, a large portion of the north shore coast is within a national park, and the cottages are not on the beach. There are tourists who assume there will be high-rise hotels on the beaches, and some leave the Island the same day when they learn there are none. One of the difficult jobs for the travel counselor is informing tourists they can not have a housekeeping cottage on one of the popular north shore beaches. The counselor has to be firm and tactful, but empathize with the disappointment of the tourist. We try to find out if the tourist's preference is to be near Cavendish or to be near a beach. If the tourist wants to be near Cavendish, then we suggest a motel or tourist home within a five-mile radius. If the tourist wants to be near a beach, we suggest a cottage on the beach in the eastern or western parts of the Island. I find it is best to give tourists a choice, instead of telling them they can not have what they want. For example, it is nine o'clock at night in mid-July and the only facilities that remain available in Charlottetown are a few rooms in tourist homes. A young couple approaches the counter and the man informs me that they want an air-conditioned room in a motel in Charlottetown with a dining room, pool, and lounge, and cost is no object. I tell them, "I'm extremely sorry, Sir, but every motel room within thirty miles of Charlottetown is booked solid. I can book you a room in a small countryside motel about 45 minutes from here. But fortunately I still have a vacancy in the city in a tourist home. If you would like to stay in a tourist home for tonight, I will try my best to reserve a room in a motel for tomorrow night. The decision is yours: drive for 45 minutes to a small motel room or stay one night in a private home." Although they would really prefer not to, most tourists choose to stay in the tourist

home, because they are tired of driving. However, I have overheard counselors tell tourists, "I am sorry but all the motels in Charlottetown are booked solid. You will have to stay in a tourist home." When the tourist is not given a choice he is likely to rebel and say something like "Look I am not staying in any private home. I never ran into problems like this down in Florida. Imagine, no motel rooms available. What kind of dump is PEI anyway?" I learned through experience to provide tourists with a choice. Many of the other counselors have copied this and find it useful when working with the public. A common problem is that everyone wants a nice, quiet place by the beach, away from the crowds, but does not want to pay the price. Another frequently asked question is in regard to the ferry schedule. It is not sufficient to say that the ferry departs daily at 7:00 AM and every hour and thirty-five minutes after that. If the person is in the information center, we simply hand him a printed schedule. But if he is on the phone we must list every scheduled crossing from early morning to late evening. Afterwards tourists see the pattern and remark, "Oh, it's every hour and thirty-five minutes!"

The above three questions are the most frequent ones. We are also repeatedly asked for the schedule of the musicals at the Confederation Centre in Charlottetown; the locations of liquor stores, seafood outlets, and lobster suppers; and the best swimming areas. Another common question is "When is low tide on the North Shore?" In order to provide this answer the counselor must interpret a complicated table. A counselor is hesitant about giving the answer, because one doesn't want to make a mistake. Often the tourist plans his trip in terms of this fact. Swimming and sunbathing are usually scheduled during the high tide, while clam digging and beach combing are done during low tide. A miscalculation could result in an angry tourist storming into your center because he drove thirty miles to go clam digging only to encounter a high tide.

2. Questions from adults under twenty-five years old without children

Young adults are tourists under twenty-five without children. About three-quarters of these are campers or have rented a housekeeping cottage. There are four campgrounds in the Cavendish area. Young

adults are very interested in the beaches and going swimming and sunbathing. They also ask questions about bike rentals, tennis courts, horseback riding, and sailing. They are interested in the outdoors and Island products, such as handicrafts, vegetables, and seafood. Occasionally they ask quietly, "Where are the gay bars?" or "Where can I buy drugs?"

3. Questions from families

Families are normally composed of parents and two or three children, usually under twelve years of age. Very few families travel with teenagers. The question they repeatedly ask is "What is there to see and do that my children would enjoy?" We give them a booklet which lists attractions. However, tourists will not take the time to read the booklet. Instead they ask us to "Point out some of the better, more popular ones that don't cost too much." We mention various tourist attractions which would appeal to children as possibilities, such as the Rainbow Valley amusement park, the Royal Atlantic Wax Museum, Anne of Green Gable's House, the Mi'qmak (Native) Village, Fantasyland, and Fairyland. It can be difficult to entertain children and simultaneously not spend much money. We suggest the various national, provincial, and local parks, which provide beaches for swimming and building sandcastles, playgrounds, nature walks, pony rides, hayrides, horseshoes, campfires, clam digging, and fishing. The primary concern of the parents is to keep the children entertained, because if they become bored and restless, the parents will never get to enjoy their vacation.

Sometimes a travel counselor is caught in the middle of an argument between a husband and a wife who cannot agree over what part of the Island they would like to see or what price they want to pay. Rather than deciding this in advance, they bicker back and forth, sometimes for as long as half an hour. Each tries to get the attention of the counselor, and many of the arguments become quite irrational. Often there is a long line waiting behind them, while their children may run through the building without supervision. In one case as they were leaving the husband said to the travel counselor, "Don't marry a short woman. What they don't have in height, they make up for in mouth!"

4. Questions from adults over forty years old

Many of the tourists who are over forty years old are on bus tours of Atlantic Canada and are only on the Island for a day or two. They tend to be very well dressed. They are also quite relaxed and not pressed for time. These tourists are usually present in September, after the hot, humid days of August are over and the hordes of tourists have departed. They are interested in sightseeing, and in taking drives around the Island and stopping at various attractions which deal with Island history and culture. Thus they are often interested in the previous shipbuilding industry, the railway and the fisheries museums, restored pioneer villages, a flower garden estate, Anne of Green Gable's House, and an architectural tour of Charlottetown. They enjoy seeing the beaches, but are not very interested in swimming or sunbathing. They are not concerned with costs, but want accommodations in the best hotels and motels and to eat in restaurants with a relaxed atmosphere. Most of these tourists are from the United States and central Canada. In contrast, the majority of the young travelers and the travelers with families are from nearby provinces.

5. Memorable questions and comments

There are many questions which amuse or annoy the travel counselors. These may be asked face-to-face at an information center or long distance over the telephone. Often these questions result from the fact that many tourists know nothing about Prince Edward Island before they arrive. But to the travel counselors some of the questions and comments seem as bizarre as asking if people on the Island eat food and breathe air. Counselors often discuss these "dumb" comments and questions among themselves and post them on the bulletin board inside the office. Here are some examples:

Who do you people belong to?
Are the native people dangerous? Is it safe to tour a reservation?
How do I get to Charlottetown? (The tourist is presently in the information center in Charlottetown.)

Do we have to bring our own food, or are there grocery stores on the Island?
Are there any fishing villages on Prince Edward Island?
Can anyone use a fishing pole to catch lobsters?
Will the blood suckers suck the blood out of you and kill you? (The person is referring to jellyfish.)
We were wondering if there are any gas stations on the Island?
Are there any liquor stores on the Island?
I didn't know you grew potatoes here.
What does a potato tree look like, and where can we see one?
Is there a Mrs. Smith vacationing on the Island? I have to get in contact with her.
Could you give me directions for swimming across to the Island?
Could you tell me where to park our car, so we can walk around the Island?
Do you have such a thing as a map of your Island?
Who owns Prince Edward Island?
Is the Island open all year round?
Where do all the people go in the winter when you close up this Island?
When does the ferry go back to Canada?

Many tourists are disappointed to learn they can not leave their car on the mainland, take the ferryboat over, walk completely around the Island in an hour or two, get back on the ferryboat to return to the mainland, and head for another location in Canada, all in the same day. Some tourists do not realize they have arrived on the Island. One tourist asked, "How do I get to Prince Edward Island?" and another, "Where can I take pictures of Prince Edward Island?" even though both were on the Island at the time. One man asked, "Young man, tomorrow my wife and I are leaving for Prince Edward Island, and we were wondering if you might help us with reservations?" When this tourist was told he was already on the Island, he stated, "I thought it was a bit peculiar that you people would be advertising Prince Edward Island."

There are many things that tourists do that annoy the travel counselors. Most tourists receive a visitor's kit, which includes a map, an accommodation book, a booklet of weekly events, and an attraction

book. Nevertheless, the most common question asked is "What is there to see and do on Prince Edward Island?" The travel counselor shows them the different attractions in the attraction book and points out their locations on the map. Finally the tourist realizes he already has this information and says, "Oh yes, we got something about Prince Edward Island on the ferry." They do not want to take the trouble to look through the books on their own. Instead, they want to be spoon-fed and have the counselor do this for them. Also, tourists often do not listen to the counselors. When the tourist uses the wrong name for a place, counselors frequently tell them the correct name. However, the tourist often continues to use the wrong name. In the following examples the correct names are included in parentheses. "How far did you say it is from Charlottesville (Charlottetown) to Wood's Hole (Wood Island)?" "Where is Woods Land (Wood Island) and Stanport (Stanhope)?" "Where is Cavender (Cavendish) Beach?" "Do you have a map of Prince Charlotte (Edward) Island?" One difficulty occurs because tourists have a guidebook, such as the American Automobile Association Guide Book, that is outdated and expect to pay the prices for accommodations that are listed inside. Most of these guides are about two years out of date. The tourists then spend a great deal of time arguing in their attempt to get very nice accommodations for a very low rate, and consider it the fault of the travel counselor that they can not.

Travel counselors have to deal with many kinds of problems and complaints. Many tourists arrive on the Island at the busiest time of the year, the last half of July and the first half of August, without reservations. Even though tourist brochures from the Island advise tourists to book ahead, many do not take the trouble to do so. Also, numerous tourists are traveling around Atlantic Canada when they decide to also visit Prince Edward Island. Tourists who arrive on the Island frequently become upset when they learn how limited the choices for accommodations are at the busy time of the year. One lady commented, "My friends at home told me it would be like this, but I didn't think it would be." One counselor spent two and a half hours with the same couple before she could find them a place to stay. The couple were no help at all, because nothing she offered them was good enough and they had no intention of cooperating. When you have a couple like this the other tourists who overhear become very upset and it is extremely difficult

calming them down. You can get fifteen or so people yelling at you for a place to stay.

Tourists also have legitimate complaints about facilities. One problem is accommodations which are not clean. They may have dirty sheets or towels or hairs in the bed or tub. In addition, some tourists encounter false advertising. For example, a two bedroom cottage was so tiny that there was no room for people and suitcases in the same room. There are also complaints about food poisoning and racial discrimination. According to the Human Rights Act, tourist operators can not discriminate on the basis of sex, race, or religion. But they do so all the time. If they don't like the look of the tourists, they tell them, "Sorry, no vacancy." Last summer two Chinese girls complained about their reservation in a local tourist home. When the owner saw them she put them in her basement away from the other guests. She informed them, "Please confine yourselves to this room. I wouldn't want my other tourists to know I have foreigners in the house." In addition to the legitimate complaints, many tourists complain because they are frustrated over the high prices, rain, heat, difficulty getting accommodations, or the fact their children are restless. In these cases all we can do is empathize with them. Some tourists are satisfied if they can voice their complaint. Others file a formal complaint. These are investigated, often by the Department of Health, and the tourist is informed of any actions taken against the facility.

Practically every day at least one counselor in an information center is yelled at by an irate tourist. The tourist usually creates a scene and tells the counselor he or she is incompetent or says something degrading about the Island. It is very frustrating for the counselors because they cannot reply and say what they think, but instead have to smile and take the abuse. Travel counselors think that a fair number of tourists who enter the information centers are disorganized, uninformed, misinformed, lazy, easily excited, upset, angry, and/or frantic. However, hundreds of tourists enter the information centers every day, and only a few complaints are received each day. Fortunately, the pleasant encounters far outnumber the unpleasant ones.

Most tourists express appreciation for the help the tourist counselors give them. They almost always take time to thank us. Just a simple "Thank you" makes all our efforts seem worthwhile. Tourists

are grateful for the help they get, because they don't want to make the effort to read the information and find out for themselves. A few tourists come to the information centers to thank the counselors for mailing them information or for finding them accommodations over the phone. Some tourists stop to say how beautiful Prince Edward Island is, or just to sign the guest book, or to talk to the counselors about the Island. Many like to get brochures on the Island to take home to family and friends so they will travel back with them the next year. When you look through the guest book, you see a number of tourists who come back for their fourth or fifth visit. There is a great deal of mail received at the tourist bureau every day. Occasionally there is a letter to thank the counselors for being so kind and helpful. Counselors agree that this makes up for all the bad days they've had.

Being a travel counselor is a demanding job, because you have to face tourist after tourist and answer the same questions over and over again. However, you feel really good inside when a tourist comes back to the center or writes a letter to thank you for planning a very enjoyable vacation for them. This is a source of personal satisfaction and is a major reason why most travel counselors want to return to work at an information center again the next summer. #5252

Analysis

Travel counselors are hired to help people a) execute their vacation models, b) have a positive vacation experience on Prince Edward Island, and c) extend their vacation on the Island. Tourists contact the travel counselors for help in executing their vacation models. Travel counselors use a number of submodels to achieve this, including "Find out what the tourists want," "Help them fulfill their needs," "Give them the information they want," "Be patient and pleasant," "Empathize with tourists," and "Tourists are always right." When they are unable to provide tourists with the accommodations that the tourists want, travel counselors suggest alternatives.

Tourists want to obtain positive stimulation. They do so by sightseeing, going to the beach and amusement parks, attending musicals, eating, and drinking alcohol. Tourists seek to conserve time and energy. They do so by getting travel counselors to arrange accommodations for

them, and to tell them what there is to do, so they do not have to read the information themselves.

Travel counselors want to avoid criticism, and therefore try to give tourists correct information. When they are criticized by tourists, travel counselors are unable to defend themselves, because this would conflict with the model that "Tourists are always right." Travel counselors are very pleased to receive positive reactions in the form of praise and thanks from tourists.

Tourists experience tension when they are unable to execute their models, because their models do not coincide with reality. Thus they become upset when they can not get the accommodations they want in the locations they want, and when they are not allowed to pay the prices stated in outdated guidebooks. They also experience tension and argue when their spouse disagrees with them over what to see and what one is willing to pay. Tourists become upset when reality does not correspond with their models, for example, when accommodations are dirty or too small. Tourists seek to establish consistency with their models by complaining to travel counselors. Although complaining and criticizing release tension, as long as one is not opposed, some prefer to try to establish consistency with their models by filing formal complaints.

11. A HOTEL STAFF

The hotel where I work is located by the beach. Hotel operation begins in June and finishes near the end of September. Guests begin arriving in the latter part of June. During the first week there are vacancies, but thereafter the hotel remains completely filled until the end of August. Most of the guests are regulars, who have previously spent one or more seasons at the hotel and usually make their reservations a year ahead. Occasionally a vacancy occurs in the middle of the season, but it is filled within a few hours.

In the first part of June, before guests arrive, the hotel is cleaned from top to bottom. During "house cleaning" only the cooks, head waitress, head chambermaid, and office staff are present. Most of these women live within a five-mile radius of the hotel. Therefore they have seen each other from time to time during the winter, and their talk often centers around which staff will and will not be back at the hotel during the regular season. These same individuals spend a week closing the hotel and packing everything for the winter months at the end of the season.

There are twenty-six bedrooms in the hotel itself, and no televisions or telephones in the rooms. There are also two cottages, but neither cottage has housekeeping facilities. Therefore all the guests take their meals in the hotel dining room, where three meals are served each day. Breakfast is between 8:00 AM and 9:00 AM, lunch between 1:00 PM and 2:00 PM, and dinner between 6:00 PM and 8:00 PM. The dining room is licensed to sell liquor.

The married couple in charge of the hotel are nicknamed "Mister" and "Missus" by the staff. New staff quickly adopt these nicknames too. Missus deals with the daily operation of the hotel and staff consider her to be the real head. Mister does menial tasks around the hotel. They do not know they are called Mister and Missus by the staff.

Missus has certain ideas in regard to hiring staff for the kitchen, dining room, and upstairs. She always places local girls, who live within two to five miles from the hotel, in the kitchen and they work their way up to the level of waitress or chambermaid. A girl is in the kitchen for

one or two summers at the most. Missus usually gives "city girls," or girls from larger communities on the Island, an immediate position as a waitress. Girls from out of province are always guaranteed jobs as waitresses. Most of the chambermaids are local girls who have worked their way up from the kitchen. Kitchen girls and chambermaids live in a dorm in the hotel, and waitresses stay in a cabin beside the hotel.

The kitchen staff consists of cooks and kitchen girls. The three cooks prepare and serve the meals. Two kitchen girls operate the dishwasher and two others wash the pots and pans and prepare the vegetables. These jobs are exchanged each week. The kitchen girls consider spending the week on pots, pans, and vegetables relaxing and the easiest job to do. After the two girls finish the pots, pans, and vegetables, their job is done. When they finish they are supposed to help those on the dishes, but they are not very motivated to do so. This creates a bit of rivalry between the two pairs of girls, but the two on the dishwasher act the same way when it is their turn to do the pots and pans. An advantage of being a kitchen girl is that one doesn't have to wear a uniform, and most dress in shorts and T-shirts.

The six waitresses in the dining room range in age from seventeen through twenty years old. Waitresses are required to wear a white uniform, which is a dress, and white shoes. Waitresses set up after each meal, and this involves setting tables, dusting, and sweeping. A head waitress, who has been at the hotel several decades, is in charge of the six waitresses and making sure they do their duties properly. There is a lot of bitching among the girls during the daily dusting. The head waitress is quite insistent that all the rungs of the chairs are dusted. The waitresses on the other hand feel it isn't necessary to do this every day. When the head waitress isn't watching, they neglect this, but when she is watching they clean every rung. The head waitress isn't fooled, and claims she has eyes in the back of her head. Although she is persistent and respected, the waitresses know she is soft and that her threats to report them to the office are never carried out. Waitresses like when she has a day off because they can neglect the dusting and sweeping.

Most of the guests are easy to wait on. Those the waitresses like least are families with young children. Most young children can not read the menu. However they want to order for themselves, and therefore require a lot of time to do so. It is very tiring waiting for them to order,

and one's patience grows thin by the end of the summer. Occasionally waitresses make threatening remarks under their breath. Older people are nicer to wait on, but are usually poor tippers.

Waitresses get frustrated and argue with the cooks when their orders aren't ready or they have to repeat them. Waitresses see the cooks as gossiping biddies who like to smoke and discuss others during their breaks. The cooks always want to know when a waitress is serving Mister, Missus, or a celebrity so they can make sure their plates are piping hot. A waitress has to handle these plates with her bare hands, which can be quite painful. One doesn't interrupt Missus when she's talking and the waitress has to stand there until smoke rises from her burning hands before she can put the plate in front of Missus. It becomes a game to try to sneak the plate for Missus out of the kitchen without having the cooks know who it's for, but the waitress is rarely successful. Waitresses and dishwashers get into arguments at times, because the waitresses are supposed to help dry cutlery and glasses and they rarely do so. As a result the dishwashers leave this task until the last. Arguments result because waitresses have to wait until the cutlery and glasses are dry in order to set the tables for the next meal.

In addition to serving guests who stay at the hotel, meals are provided to the public. Transients, as they are called, are seated in a separate dining area, a closed-in veranda. Waitresses are normally eager to get transients because they provide extra tips. However, when transients arrive after dining room hours, waitresses try to look busy or seek hiding places so they won't have to serve them and stay late. The longer a waitress has been working at the hotel, the better she is at concealing the fact she isn't doing anything. Usual places to hide are the linen closet, washroom, and the dorm. When a regular guest arrives in the dining room late, it is useless to seek hiding places, because each girl is assigned to wait on specific guests for the duration of their stay. Dining room hours are usually extended an extra half hour at night, which causes considerable friction between waitresses and management.

The head chambermaid has worked at the hotel for decades and knows the hotel inside out. Three girls work as chambermaids and they and the head chambermaid usually work in pairs. Two clean the rooms on the ground floor and second floor. The other two clean the third floor and the two cottages. The task of cleaning the carpet in the main foyer

and office is done twice a day and is rotated among the three girls. While one vacuums the carpet, the other two distribute a fresh set of towels to the rooms.

Office staff are considered the highest level in the hotel organization, and local girls rarely rise to this level. The three office staff are not supposed to associate socially with other staff, who are considered beneath them. Other staff consider the office staff lazy. Guests are more relaxed and personal in their contacts with office staff than they are with waitresses and chambermaids. Office staff are the only ones allowed to play bingo with the guests.

Although there is considerable rivalry among the staff, it is usually forgotten after working hours. The most important thing for the staff is to get to the beach during the day and get finished at night so they can go out. Staff seem to work harder if it's a nice day for the beach or if they have something planned for the night.

Staff also get involved in various adventures at the hotel. One problem is the food, and staff complain a great deal about the meals they receive. Meals for staff are prepared well before they are served, and are frequently reheated. In addition, most girls do not get up to eat breakfast because it is served too early, or at 7:00 AM. As a result staff conduct raids at night on the kitchen. Initially we left the back door of the kitchen partly ajar, which gave us immediate entry and the hauls were quite enormous. However, Mister began checking the doors at night to make sure they were locked. We soon found an alternate route. This is a window in the dining room which can be closed but not locked. This way seems even better than the old route. It appears riskier, which means it is more exciting. Our raids using this entrance usually run smoothly. One night, however, we almost slipped up. Three of us waited until Mister and Missus's lights went out at 10:45. Most hotel guests were already in bed, so everything was dark. This particular night the girl with the pen flashlight had already climbed inside and another girl was entering the window when we heard voices. I and the girl who was halfway inside lay down in the flower bed to hide. It turned out to be guests going toward their cottage. Although they didn't see us, it ruined the adventure for us that night. Nevertheless we continue to use this entrance. We don't conduct a raid every night, and we feel it is a harmless way to amuse ourselves.

At night we sometimes hold parties, which usually take place in the waitresses' cabin. Those who attend these parties are waitresses, chambermaids, and the grandsons of Mister and Missus. The grandsons work in the office. Even though Missus doesn't appreciate having her grandsons mix with the staff, they usually attend the parties. Sometimes a few close friends of the staff are invited also, and everyone brings booze. Once word leaked out and a number of uninvited people showed up. There was quite a bit of noise and Missus called the RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police), who came immediately and closed the party down. Missus was quite upset in the morning and blamed the whole mess on a girl she didn't like.

Another problem for staff is driving up to the hotel after 10:30 PM. If we are out past this time, we have to park by the tennis courts. When someone breaks this rule, Missus questions us the next morning, but doesn't get anywhere because staff are loyal to each other and keep quiet.

Guests at the hotel consist primarily of older couples, the recently married, and families. Staff label guests "almost deads" and "newly weds." The hotel is considered a place to relax, and few single people stay here. Guests play tennis, boat in the lake, bowl on the lawn, and spend sunny days at the beach. Most guests usually amuse themselves around the hotel because they come for the peace and quiet. If they do leave during the day, they are provided with a box lunch and thermos. Box lunch orders are never appreciated by the waitresses. Although it means fewer people to wait on at lunchtime, it also means getting up half an hour earlier to fix them. At night most guests retire early.

One can see differences between guests based on their ages and family status. Few young women between twenty and thirty-five years of age stay at the hotel. When they do so, two young women usually room together. They tend to keep their rooms very clean and seldom complain about the service, and they keep their doors locked at all times. During the day some play tennis or go to the beach, while others sightsee or go to town to shop. They often spend their evenings reading or chatting in front of the fireplace.

Older women, thirty-five and up, also usually room two together. They try to get a room on the first or second floor because many have heart conditions and feel there are too many stairs to climb to the third

floor. Most prefer a room with two double beds, rather than two single beds. The majority keep their doors locked all the time. Nevertheless, the two ladies who have been going to the hotel for the past twenty years never lock their door during their stay. Very few go down to the beach. They would prefer to sit just outside the hotel to get a tan. Many sit in the lounge and read and knit. Some play cards while others talk to children playing in the lounge. Most elderly ladies hover about the lounge before meals, anxiously waiting for the dining room doors to open. A few older women complain. For example, one lady felt her room wasn't cleaned early enough, and made a point of telling the chambermaids when she was going down to breakfast so it would be finished when she got back. Many older women go to bed early, but others stay up until the office closes at 10:30 PM.

Few young men stay at the hotel on their own, and occasionally two men room together. Young men go down to breakfast fairly early. They keep their rooms neat and tidy. If one man is alone, he tends to prefer to sit by himself at meals rather than join others. When eating breakfast, he becomes engrossed in the morning paper and takes time now and then to flirt with the waitresses. During the day these men play golf and tennis, bowl on the lawn, and go to the beach. At night, they either go out or sit in the lounge, reading and playing cards. They tend to talk more to ladies than to other men, and they usually retire very late. Younger guests tend to complain less than older guests. However, occasionally one is really fussy. For example, one young man wanted an extra lamp, extra blankets, and extra drinking glasses, and requested that the chair in his room be changed for one with arms.

Young married couples usually ask for two single beds, rather than a double bed. The two single beds are pushed together occasionally, but not very often. Their luggage and other belongings tend to be scattered all around the room. They arrive at breakfast at the last minute, which infuriates the waitresses. Many of the couples attend plays in Charlottetown at night and usually return to the hotel very late. Some are very fussy. They complain that the bed isn't made properly, there is dust under the bed, the tub is dirty, or their bath mat is too wet. One couple complained their room was too hot, and moved to a room on the other side of the hotel. The next night they wanted to move back because they were too cold.

Young married couples with children usually rent one room and add a cot or two for their children. Their entire room is kept very cluttered and untidy. They all eat breakfast together, and frequently go to the beach during the day. Older children play tennis, go canoeing, play the piano, or just lie around in the sun. Younger children sit around the lounge and play while their parents watch over them. At night the children tend to go to bed early. The husband usually stays down in the lounge and goes up to his room later. Although most guests have some liquor in their rooms, this is not the case with couples with children.

Older married couples always keep their rooms neat and orderly. They frequently have a large supply of fruit and cookies to munch on. When they go to the beach, they take their umbrella and lawn chairs. Usually the wife goes down to breakfast first, and her husband joins her later. Some take their own homemade jam to breakfast. They complain about how nasty the weather is. Some get mad at the noise in the evenings and others say that the water running through the pipes wakes them up every morning.

Older couples with children usually stay in one separate room and their children that are sixteen years and older stay in another. Most of the time during the day the members of the family do what they want. The children play Frisbee, go canoeing, and play tennis. The parents usually go to bed early, but the children stay up later.

Many of the guests who stay at the hotel return year after year, and some have come regularly for over twenty years. Returning guests expect to get the same dining table every year unless they can get a better one. The best tables are the two right by the window. The longer a guest has been coming or the more important a guest is, the more likely they are to move closer to the window or to sit at these two tables. The head waitress waits on certain guests, and when they make their reservations for the next season they request that she continue to serve them. Second-floor rooms are considered to be the best in the hotel, especially those facing the water, and these are usually given to regular guests. When they make reservations, returning guests request the room they had the previous year, and sometimes a better room if it is available. Thus one man has been coming to the hotel since he was a child and now brings his wife and children. He calls the bingo games every year,

and always has the largest room in the hotel. Guests usually know each other because they come at the same time every year.

Guests who are present between the beginning of July and the middle of August are considered the liveliest by the hotel staff. They plan many activities on their own and occupy themselves at night with bingo and card games. They hold a masquerade at the end of July each year. Most guests participate in the masquerade and bring their costumes with them. It is very competitive and each guest tries to have the best costume. There are no prizes given, and one's reward comes in terms of the number of compliments received from the other guests. One couple from the United States are noted for their extravagant costumes, and one year the man brought a gorilla suit. Can you imagine running around in 80 degree temperature in a gorilla suit? Not all of the outfits are elaborate and the masquerade is mostly for fun. Waitresses also dress up, which pleases the guests.

Staff often remember guests in accordance with their distinctive traits, such as their appearance, their actions and eating preferences, and their nervous habits. Thus two sisters always start breakfast with prunes and oranges. In addition, their neck muscles twitch, which causes their heads to bob up and down. When most of the staff refer to the sisters they bob their heads at the same time. One couple is from Montreal. The wife has bright red hair and wears lime green or purple outfits. She is gaudy, but very nice. Her husband always tries to help the waitress and stacks his dirty dishes on the side table. As a result, the waitress has nowhere to set her tray and has to go halfway across the room to find another side table which isn't in use. He always says, "Help the waitresses, help the waitresses. You should be tipping me." His waitress tells him, "Mr. F____, you should relax. You're on vacation," but this doesn't stop him. Sometimes guests are given nicknames. I gave the nickname "Tinkerbell" to an elderly lady who wore 1960's ball dresses to evening meals. Three years later the waitresses and office staff still call her Tinkerbell. Another couple is from Boston. The wife is quite outspoken and you soon know her complete life story. Her husband, however, is the complete opposite. We call him "Stoneface." He never smiles and won't speak except when he orders a meal. I feel he is a challenge and spend extra time at the table trying to get him to smile or talk. The first summer I failed, but in subsequent summers he managed to smile and

talk a little. Another elderly man tries to get the waitresses to go to the beach with him. He tries this with all the waitresses, and every day makes up a new excuse why one should accompany him. Staff enjoy making jokes about the guests among themselves.

Staff also gossip about guests. For example, a chambermaid who cleans the cottages noted that a particular couple, who had always shared a double bed, slept in separate beds one night. However, on the next night they again shared a bed and did so for the remainder of their stay. It was decided that the couple must have argued on the night they used separate beds. Another chambermaid found a 40-ouncer of liquor hidden under a blanket in one little old lady's room, and concluded the woman didn't want others to know she drinks.

There is quite a commotion when celebrities stay in the hotel. Once the Governor General of Canada spent a week at the hotel together with his wife, aide, and secretary. There were also three RCMP bodyguards posted at the hotel. The Governor General and his wife were given the best table in the dining room. In addition to being waited on by the head waitress, their tablecloth was changed every meal. The best waitress among the girls waited on his aide and secretary. Plates for the party were so hot the waitresses could hardly handle them. In addition, the head chambermaid, who normally works only in the hotel, cleaned his cottage, and dusted and vacuumed it every day.

At the beginning and end of the season the hotel is not open to the public or regular guests. Instead we host conventions. One business corporation books the entire hotel for five days at the first of the season. A bar is set up sometimes in the lounge. The men keep extra liquor in their rooms and can be quite rowdy at times. They eat a lot of junk food, such as peanuts, chips, and bars, and their rooms are very messy. During their stay the staff hold a lobster and clam boil for them on the beach. At the end of the season a Protestant denomination books the hotel for a retreat. They have been coming to the hotel for over thirty years. Missus enjoys their music a great deal and is always humming along. Each year they bring carnations to pin on the uniforms of the waitresses and copies of the New Testament for all the staff. Meals are easy to serve at conventions because everyone receives the same thing. At the end of the Protestant retreat the hotel is closed until the next summer. #5253

Analysis

The overriding model is that the hotel should operate successfully. Physical layout and the schedule of events are highly structured and encourage staff and guests to participate in the identical models. Designated rooms and dining tables, set times for meals, assigned waitresses and chambermaids, uniforms, and specified duties all help establish consistency with these models.

Numerous conflicts occur over which models and submodels are instituted. Waitresses resist certain cleaning duties in the dining room, do not want the plates to be too hot to hold, do not want to dry glasses and cutlery, do not want to stay late to serve transients, and want to raid the pantry at night. Other differences over models occur because Missus doesn't want noise at night, wants to know who breaks the rules, and doesn't want her grandsons to have social contact with staff.

Various methods are used in an attempt to establish consistency with specific models. These include guests asking for better rooms, furniture, and dining tables, and wanting their room cleaned at certain times; the head waitress insisting that certain cleaning duties be performed and threatening to report non-cooperation to the office; Missus investigating rule infractions and calling the RCMP to deal with a noisy party; waitresses becoming upset with kitchen personnel when their orders are not ready; people locking doors; and Protestants handing out copies of the New Testament. Guests attempt to obtain positive reactions in the form of compliments through their choice of costumes for the masquerade.

People get upset when others interfere with the implementation of their models. Guests are bothered by noises which wake them. Missus is bothered when staff make noise that could wake the guests. Waitresses feel frustrated with guests who arrive late for meals, young children who take a long time to order, and the lack of dry cutlery and glasses so they can set the tables.

Many forms of positive stimulation are pursued by guests and staff at the hotel. These include card games, bingo, golf and tennis, Frisbee, reading, knitting, talking, joking, drinking liquor, eating, gossiping, smoking, listening to music, going to the beach, sunbathing, lawn bowling, canoeing, holding parties and a masquerade, shopping and attending plays in town, sightseeing, and playing the piano.

The operation of the hotel includes various class distinctions. Girls from towns and other provinces are given better jobs than local girls; office staff associate socially with guests, but not with other staff; and celebrities receive the best facilities and service.

12. A FORESTRY WORK CREW

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1. Work

In certain areas of Prince Edward Island a common form of employment is working in the woods. This consists of clearing and thinning wooded areas. Men work on crews for contractors, and a crew typically consists of about ten men. Most men are between twenty and thirty years old. I have worked for several summers on crews, both for a large and a small contractor. The contractor receives assignments from the Forestry Service and from private individuals. They pay the contractor who in turn pays the crew.

Much of Prince Edward Island is wooded, and roughly ninety percent of these woods are in private hands. The federal government offers an incentive program for developing woodland and increasing its productivity. The program pays a large amount of the cost to enable an owner to build a road into his woods, survey the boundaries of his woods, build a bridge over a stream to get access to his woods, and/or develop trees on his lot. The program is quite popular and there is more demand to participate than there are funds to fulfill the requests. Even so, there aren't enough contractors and crews to meet the demand which could be funded.

When farmers and other private individuals arrange to have their woodland improved, they place their woods under the control of the Forestry Service for five to ten years. The Forestry Service then determines how best to develop their woods, and engages contractors to carry out their wishes. At the end of the period, use of the woods is returned to the original owner. The Forestry Service assumes that after five to ten years, trees will be sufficiently developed on the lot that the owner will

feel it is in his financial interest to let them continue growing. However, some farmers will simply cut out or plow under all the young trees that have been planted so they can use the land for farming. Government control over the lot is not absolute, because an individual can always take over his woods and put the land to his own use before the end of the contract period. If he does so, however, he is required to pay back the government the costs they incurred in developing the woods.

The most common instructions to a crew are to either thin or clear cut the wooded area. Thinning consists of establishing a space, usually between eight and ten feet, between trees in order that the remaining trees can get enough sunlight and moisture to grow bigger. When one is thinning an area, one also cuts out the dead trees so they won't ruin good trees when they fall. Clear cutting means to cut down everything standing in order that the area can be replanted.

When you are thinning or clear cutting woods, you cut and stack the usable "sticks," or logs. Sticks are cut from the trunk and branches of trees, and are approximately eight feet in length. Unless it is too short, a single tree has between one and ten sticks in it. The average width of the sticks is between three and ten inches. When sticks are this size they aren't too heavy to carry. Some sticks can be as thin as an inch or as wide as twenty inches. Eight feet is a suitable length for placing on trucks and transporting along roads. A whip is a flexible plastic rod which looks like the antenna on a portable radio and is bolted on the rear of your saw. The whip and saw give you a combined length of four feet. You measure twice this to get the eight feet required for your sticks. After sticks are removed, the remaining material is considered brush. Brush includes trees which are too small to have sticks, portions of trees which remain after sticks are removed, and other sizable growth in the area. The sticks are stacked and later picked up by the owner. When clear cutting, once the wood is removed, a bulldozer pushes all the brush together into windrows and it is burned. Sometimes we don't take any wood off at all, because it's not being sold. We might just go in and thin the woods and drop everything where it is. It depends on the size of the trees and the nature of the assignment. Occasionally we get special instructions. For example, if there is an open field next to the area we are thinning, they may tell us to leave a buffer of twenty to fifty feet of woods between the two areas to prevent the wind blowing the

remaining trees down. Or they may tell us to stay away from a stream on a lot and not put any brush in it. Or they may tell us to cut out certain trees, but not others, for example, "Thin the spruce and leave the white birch." Afterwards, the Forestry Service sends someone out to check the work. If they like it, they'll pass it, which they usually do. Sometimes they don't and you'll have to go back in and take out a few more trees.

The foreman divides the woods into lots and assigns each member on a crew a lot to cut. Even though the shape of the woods is usually irregular, the foreman divides it into rectangular lots. Lots consist of long strips about twenty meters wide. The length of a lot depends on the nature of the woods being worked. Most lots are between an acre and a quarter acre in size. Sometimes the woods are in the shape of a triangle, and they can't square it off, so you'll get a triangular piece to do. The foreman uses a compass to keep the boundaries of the lots straight. He also carries a meter box which is about the size of a shoebox. A meter box contains a spool of string and registers the length of string removed. The foreman ties the end of the string to a tree and uses the string to mark the edges of the lot. He also ties orange ribbons along the boundaries for the crew members to see. These ribbons are tied every ten meters or so, but if the woods are very thick they will be tied about every five meters. Lots are not uniform in size. The foreman assigns bigger lots to the faster men. He gets everybody started and then marks off additional lots to stay ahead of the crew. However, he is careful not to make the lots too long. Otherwise, he knows the men will get bored. If you work on the same lot for a week or two, you can be making all kinds of money, but it will seem like you're getting nowhere. You'll just get sick of it. Therefore, if the woods are 400 meters deep, rather than assign a single lot 400 meters long, the foreman will probably divide it into four lots, each 100 meters long. Woods are not the same throughout, and different lots have different characteristics. The foreman wants to move you around to different lots just to keep you motivated. Sometimes he goes to the woods on a Sunday evening to lay out the lots so the men can get started early Monday morning. He frequently marks off enough lots for the next two or three days. However, he doesn't want to get too far ahead, because we might be reassigned suddenly to another area to meet a deadline. This can happen because bulldozers are scheduled to arrive at an area on a certain day, and we have to finish cutting

that area before they arrive. When the foreman has run off the lots, he'll pick up a saw and help someone, such as a slower person. The odd time he'll do a small lot by himself.

When you are cutting you can get a small, easy lot, and go right through it in less than an hour, or you may get a thick, two-acre lot and be there for a week. When the wood is going to be sold, you cut a little road, or trail, down the center of your lot. This is so a skidder can come in and pull the wood out when you're finished. A skidder is something like a bulldozer with big tractor wheels on both ends. It's up fairly high so stumps won't catch underneath. It has a blade in front for pushing brush, and a winch, chains, and cable in back for lifting piles of wood or dragging logs. As you cut your road, you keep it cleared of brush and pile your wood on it. Sometimes you'll angle the road a little off to the side to avoid dips, potholes, hills, or a big deadfall. Deadfalls are trees which have been knocked down and make a big mess that you wouldn't want to have to put a road through. When you cut you try to put your tree directly across the road. By doing this you place a chunk of wood on the road itself that you don't have to carry anywhere. Also, if you've already finished cutting on the other side of the road, the top of your tree will fall there and won't get in your way. However, it isn't always possible to put a tree across the road. Sometimes the trees that you intend to leave standing are in the way, or else the tree you are cutting is leaning in a particular direction or jammed against another tree. The trees you can get at easiest, that are closest to the center of your lot, are the ones you like most. You place the sticks you cut in piles on your road. When you stack wood you first put down a couple of sticks parallel with the road. Then you stack the other sticks on top at right angles to them. This allows the skidder operator to get a chain under and around your pile so his vehicle can haul it to a more accessible location, such as a field or a regular road which can be reached by a truck. The wood is eventually picked up and loaded on a truck, which has a large hydraulic arm with a grip. Afterwards the truck delivers the wood to its destination. Once you carry the sticks to your road and stack them, your responsibility is over. The owner will pick up the wood when he wants it.

When you first start working on a crew, you're not sure just what to do. But you learn by experience. Now when I'm thinning, I'll just go in

and cut. I don't make conscious decisions as to which trees I'm going to leave. I don't even think of the distance between trees. I'll just glance and think this tree is fine and leave it alone. I don't think of anything except cutting. I keep my eyes concentrated on the saw blade, and occasionally glance up at the tops of trees to see if they're dead and have to come down.

About a quarter of the time you work with another guy. There are certain things that each of you can do better than the other. For example, one of you might be stronger and be able to lift sticks higher on a pile, and the other might be better at carrying wood. You also correct each other's mistakes. For example, if I'm thinning trees and leave a tree too close to other trees, the other guy will go cut the tree down or yell to me and point at the tree. Sometimes lots are too big, but if two people work the lot together, it's finished much quicker. Also, if you are working in a real thick woods, a partner helps you make progress faster so you don't get discouraged. When there are big trees, usually two people work the lot together so they can carry and stack the sticks. Almost everybody works with someone else occasionally, and you pick who you work with. Both parties tend to be of equal speed, because no one wants to work with someone who's much slower than they are. Both the guy I worked with last year and the one I worked with this year were the only ones there who were roughly as fast as I was. I normally like working alone, because I can be responsible for everything myself. Also, I find with a partner you take too many breaks. The odd time you get more than two guys working a lot. For example, everybody may finish their lots at the same time and there is only one lot left over that has to be done. Then everybody jumps in and does it together.

When we are in the woods, we don't see that many animals, because most take off when they hear you coming or hear the saws. However, the men are awful kind to the animals. Everyone in the woods is. There are a lot of dead trees around and sometimes you can tell there are animals like squirrels and things living in them. When we're thinning we're allowed to leave two trees per acre for wildlife. But sometimes you have your head down and you don't see a nest with baby birds in it until you've cut down the tree. Then you put the nest in another tree. Of course, if you're clear cutting, you can't leave any trees standing. There

are a lot of guys who bring guns in case they see a partridge. We got a few in the woods this year, and a lot more when we were traveling to work. But the little animals we don't bother with. Men usually leave their guns in the truck when they're working.

The cutting season runs from late spring, when the snows are gone, through late fall when the snows begin. In the spring and fall when it's cold, we leave home around seven or seven-thirty. The trip to the woods can take anywhere from ten minutes to an hour. When we're working some distance from home, we usually leave earlier. If we're tired we try to sleep in the truck on the way to the woods. Most of the men work in their lots until lunch time, when they walk back to the truck. They usually take between half an hour and an hour for lunch. We take several short breaks during the day. Thus we often have a cigarette when we run out of gas and have to fill up our saw again. When everybody else wants to go, we leave for home. Usually it's around five o'clock. I go home and eat, because I'm pretty hungry. Also you get awful dirty and need to get cleaned up. In the middle of summer, when it starts getting hot, we take off for work about five-thirty in the morning and might be home by two-thirty in the afternoon. #5254

2. Earnings and expenses

The dominant concern of the members of a crew is the size of the unemployment insurance payments they will receive when they quit work. Almost all of the crew members draw UI, or unemployment insurance, during the months they aren't working on a crew. Because the size of UI payments is based on the amount of one's paycheck when one was working, it is very much in their interest to maximize the amount of money they make each week in the woods. Most men work only as long as they have to, to satisfy the requirements of the Unemployment Insurance Commission. If you have not been drawing UI over the preceding year, then you need to work twenty weeks to qualify. If you have been drawing UI, then you only need to work ten weeks to qualify again. UI payments continue for almost a year. It is also common for men to help each other in order to increase the size of the UI payments each will receive. Thus two men will combine what

they cut together and credit the earnings to only one of the two men. After doing this for ten weeks, they work an additional ten weeks during which they credit the amount to the other man. This way a man is credited with much higher weekly earnings and therefore qualifies for larger UI checks. Some men, however, remain and work until the end of the cutting season. They want to continue to earn their weekly pay, and they can still draw UI whenever they choose to stop work. Also, in some cases they may plan to take another job or go to school at the end of the cutting season, both of which disqualify them from receiving UI payments. Some of the men work under the table in the winter while they are drawing UI. For example, they can cut someone's firewood for $20 a cord and make $400 or $500 in a couple of days. They don't report it because they do not want to have their UI payments reduced.

A crew member is paid by the amount of work he does for that week. This is measured in terms of the acreage that he cuts, and the number of cords he cuts if the wood is being sold. Last year a worker was paid about $100 an acre and $15 a cord. A typical paycheck would be about $225 to $250 a week after deductions. (These dollar amounts apply to the mid-1980's.) However, some weeks a worker's take-home pay may be small, and the next week it may be very large. It can range anywhere from $100 to $350 depending on many factors. One factor is the weather. When it is very hot people get tired fast and don't feel like working. Also, it can rain and be too dangerous to work. Other factors which affect how much you cut include how well your equipment is working and how enthusiastic you are about working on a given day. The nature of the woods is another factor. A person can make good money in an area where the cutting is good. But if the cutting is bad, he won't make much money. Woods are classified from one to four. If the woods are real thin, it's a class one. At the other extreme, if the woods are really thick, it's a class four. You get paid $10 more for each class. Most people prefer class two, which pays $100 an acre. Although class one is real easy, it's a long walk between trees and you don't get much for it. When it's class four, you get sick of it really, because the trees are so close together that it seems like you're not moving or getting anywhere. Also, you could be in a place where there is a lot of dead wood on the ground. Then you're climbing over brush and cutting down fewer trees and don't make good time. You get disgusted and take more breaks,

saying "Well, I'll quit for a little bit and go back at it." Usually a couple of people team up when it's real thick. You get it done faster and don't get as discouraged. The foreman marks down that both of you worked the lot and you split the money for it. Before each Friday, which is a payday, the contractor and foreman go over your lots and measure how much cord wood, or cordage, you've cut and stacked so they'll know how much to charge the owner and to pay you. They measure it with a dot grid, which is a transparent plastic board with dots in it. Occasionally the owner will leave the wood there, perhaps for as long as a year. Also, sometimes the owner won't want the wood, and the contractor will buy it from him cheaply and sell it himself.

Occasionally there are problems getting paid properly. The Forestry Service sometimes gives the woods you are cutting too low a rating. For example, they may give it a class two rating, but it's really a class four woods. It's easy to understand why this happens. When someone from Forestry goes to rate the woods he'll walk where it's easiest for him to walk. He doesn't walk where it's thick and hard to get through. I guess he doesn't want to get his clothes dirty. Then he'll use a string to make a circle and he'll count the number of trees and stumps inside the circle. But because he's in a relatively open area, this doesn't necessarily represent the other parts of the wood. As you cut you may find that other parts of the wood are really thick, and the wood should have had a class four rating. So then you've got to do some complaining to get them back out there to measure it again. They'll wait until you've finished cutting the wood, then they'll look at the number of trees and stumps. So maybe they'll average it out and give it a class three. Also when the trees you are cutting are being sold for wood, the Forestry Service knows you're getting more money than if you were only being paid by the acreage you cut, and will tend to assign the woods a lower class. They can be sort of cheap. You may also have problems when you cut wood for private individuals. One man wanted me to cut the wood on his land, and I asked for a written contract. But he wouldn't give me one. When two friends and I finished cutting his wood he owed us $550. Then we went to see him about getting paid. We were standing outside this nice house he'd just built and he told us he didn't have the money to pay us right then. I asked him when he would have it, and he said, "Oh, maybe in a couple of weeks." I just looked at him, because I suspected he was

never going to pay us. Then one of my two friends commented, "You have an awful nice house here." Then the friend went to the car, took out a chainsaw, and just stared at the guy. My friend didn't even start the saw, but the guy went in the house and got the cash for us. We were just bluffing, because it would have ended up costing us a lot more if we'd carried through.

Each member of a forestry crew buys his own equipment. The main piece of equipment is the chainsaw. A new saw costs $400 or $450, and a secondhand one $250. It's just like buying a car; you can buy a good one or a bad one. The Board of Compensation also requires workers to wear safety pants, safety helmets, and steel-toed work boots to provide protection against cuts. The safety pants, which look like jeans, are heavy and contain a nylon mesh. When a saw hits, the saw catches on the mesh which jams the chain. Also, there's the helmet. I never wear mine, but keep it handy in case someone from the Compensation Board comes by to check, which they never have while I was working. The helmets come with earmuffs to protect your hearing from the noise of the saw. I can't stand the earmuffs really, and usually there are only two or three on a crew who wear them. The odd person doesn't wear the steel-toed boots, but I wear them all the time. Mine are light and comfortable. Workers also have to supply their own gas and oil and any other equipment which they find useful, such as a pulp hook, chain files, wrenches, and screwdrivers. Some people use a pulp hook for moving wood. They stick the hook into a log and drag it or else they stick the hook in one end and carry it with the other hand. I don't like them, because I find I can carry wood easier without one. Also, someone will buy a file and everyone will use it. Then someone else will buy one. They take turns really. There's also rain gear, because sometimes you work in a light rain to meet certain deadlines. The contractor sells equipment to the men, and keeps extra equipment available in the truck. It is more convenient to buy it from him than to travel to town for it. Some guys don't have their own equipment when they start work and get it from the contractor on credit. He deducts a certain amount each pay period until it is paid for. There are additional expenses, such as gas and oil, which cost about $15 a week, and chains for the saw, which last about a month. Even though there are a lot of expenses, you can deduct them on your

income tax. The men differ in the amount of care they give to maintaining their equipment. I usually take my saw home every night and fix it if there's anything wrong. Some guys are real good about it, and some are sloppy. Occasionally, a mechanic is present. He normally works as a regular cutter, or crew member, but when something breaks down you give it to him to fix and he gets a little extra on his pay check each week. If someone takes poor care of his equipment, the mechanic might pick on him about it, but the other men don't care. Usually, however, the foreman acts as mechanic for the saws. #5255

3. Dangers

This is an easy job to get hurt on. It's real easy. There are trees falling and dead limbs from trees coming down. Usually the ground's not level, and there are hills and depressions. Working with a chainsaw is dangerous. If you hit something, like a rock beside a tree, or a little hill, or hit a tree the wrong way, the saw can jump on you. You have to constantly watch your saw. You may even hit rabbit snares made of little wires, which will slow you down because you have to sharpen your saw again. Sometimes a tree will go back on you, or in the opposite direction of the way you planned, and can hit someone. This may happen because of wind, the lean of the tree, or the fact it is on a hill. If you yell, the other guy often doesn't hear because he has his saw going. I know, because I got hit once. I was just standing cutting a tree, when all of a sudden I heard another tree hitting against the top of mine. I saw the other tree's shadow and just dove. I tried to land so the tree I was working on would be between me and the falling tree. But I didn't dive far enough, and the tree hit me across the back of my legs. I couldn't feel them, they were so numb. A couple of guys came over and hauled me out from underneath. I couldn't move my legs for awhile, but they were OK. It gets dangerous too when it's raining because the leaves and branches get wet. Your feet can slip while you're operating the saw. If you're out on a real good day and it starts raining, people will keep on working if there's just a cloud overhead. But if the sky is black all over you might call her off. I was out a couple of years ago when a big thunderstorm hit. It was just pouring rain, and lightning, and wee little

hailstones started coming down. I was working beside a tree when lightning hit it. It didn't hurt me, but I could feel it. I just left the saw in the tree and sat back for a while until the storm passed. Another time we were working right beside the road, and I cut down this real tall tree and it went back on me. It hit the telephone wires, and I got quite a shock. The Maritime Electric crew came along, and I learned I had knocked out the power for the eastern end of the Island. We had a great laugh over that.

Cuts from saws are the most common injury. There are a lot of cuts to knees, because your knees are moving all the time. After a few cuts the material on your safety pants wears thin, and sometimes the next cut goes into your leg. There are nicks all over my safety pants. Also, on the steel-toed boots, the steel only goes back so far. You get a lot of nicks at the toes, but a cut behind the steel is going to be serious. Before this summer, the only cut I got was to my knuckles when I was sharpening my saw. It happened once when the saw was turned off and my hand slipped across the teeth of the chain. But this summer I was cutting along when the saw kicked back on me. I saw the blade coming for my face. I couldn't hold the saw because of its force, and it hit me in the shoulder. It scared me for a minute. The cut didn't hurt, but it was kind of gross. My shirt was all tangled up inside and I had to pick it out. It was about an inch deep, but didn't get the muscle. I went right to the doctor and he put in sixteen stitches, and I was out three weeks on compensation. I have seen other people cut bad. One guy took a cut across his instep. It was pretty serious, and he came close to losing use of his toes. Another time I saw someone with his hand near off. He was working beside another guy and he was cutting down when the other guy cut up. I don't know any guys who have any superstitions about handling the equipment or working in the woods.

It's a good job if you like being outdoors and can handle the heat in the summer and the bugs in the spring. You've got to get used to these things. Before I started, I was allergic to bugs, but after working a few years I got right used to it. They don't bother me at all now. It's also easy to get lost in the woods when you're working. I've gotten turned around lots of times. You can walk up your lot for some distance looking for the side boundary. The cord that marks the sides of your lot can break real easy. It is taunt, and if it's hit by brush or gets nicked by the saw, it

flies apart and you may not be able to find it. When you get lost the best thing to do is listen for the other saws and go toward them. The other guys will usually help you get your bearings, but they'll rib you if they know you're lost. #5256

4. Crew interaction

Certain crew members compete to try to do more and get a larger paycheck than the next guy. It's sort of a race in which you keep trying to beat the next fellow. This competition often helps keep a worker going in the woods. Also, if two people are assigned lots and there's a real good lot waiting beside them where they can make more money, they'll have a race to get that next lot. If you finish your lot first, you can take the next one. Lots of times we don't team up together on a lot because we would be splitting the money. We want to see if we can get ahead of the other guy, so we compete on separate lots. Usually the guys on both sides of you work at roughly your speed. Even if your lots are separated initially, guys who are equally fast usually finish around the same time and can normally take the next lots right beside each other. You want two guys next to you who work near your speed because it promotes competition. When you're cutting you usually have to stop every 45 minutes or so to put more gas in your saw. Often the guy working next to you will come over to have a little chat and a smoke while you're gassing up. If you're having a race, both of you figure that if he's over talking to you or you're over talking to him, then neither of you is doing anything, so it's like a time-out. Normally the competition is for fun, and isn't taken that seriously. It also helps a worker earn more so he can qualify for larger UI benefits during the remainder of the year. Men frequently talk about who's making the most money.

At the same time, members of the crew don't like anyone to get ahead of them and earn more money than they do. They sometimes brush in to slow down another worker. Brushing in consists of cutting some of the trees on the edge of one's lot so that they fall partially onto the lot of the other person. You remove the sticks from the tree, but leave the brush in the other person's lot. That person then has to climb over the brush or cut it out of his way to get at the trees which are along the edge of his own lot. It's just a nuisance really, but it slows him down,

and after a few times of dealing with another person's mess, he gets the idea. I find the only way to stop a person brushing in on you is to give him a dose of his own medicine. Then he usually stops doing it. Brushing in is also done sometimes if you don't like the person working in the next lot, or if you want to get back at him for a practical joke he's played on you. Sometimes you get a real big tree and don't intend to put it in his lot, but it goes back on you anyway. If the other person is too close, you wouldn't brush into his lot, because the tree might hit him.

This competition tends to occur between steady workers who are there for most of the season. Those who are only there for ten weeks are less likely to get involved, because they are so concerned with being able to make a living from the job. It all depends on the percentage of steady workers on a crew. I have seen anywhere from one-fifth to three-quarters of a crew involved in the competition.

During the time I've worked I've achieved a good reputation, and now people call me up to work for them. Last year I was top man on my crew and made the most money. The year before, I was second from the top. But this year one guy was just a little bit better than me. When I first started, I was slow, and I didn't like being below everybody else. I wanted to get fast. It's the way I was in sports or anything. I just want to be on top. I find I don't like things which interfere with doing the work fast. A lot of times a crew member will come over to talk when you are gassing up. It keeps you from getting back to work, but I don't think that's their intention. They just want somebody to talk to. Once we were way back in the woods and went through a cow field and someone forgot to close the gate. So they had to get the whole bunch of us out there chasing the cows back in. It was fun, but I didn't like doing it. Although it gave us a break, we lost time.

Crew members also help each other out in a number of ways. When guys are just starting out, they're not used to the work and they're slow. Everybody realizes they were slow themselves once and tries to show the new guys a few tricks to help them along. One thing is how to notch a tree so it falls in the direction you want. Another is how to swing your saw around. If someone's starting out, they cut one tree at a time. But once you get used to it you can swing the saw like a knife and take out all the little trees at once. People who are working their lots show you how to do it. Also, if you're in trouble, the guys will do anything for you.

If you're hurt you can always count on them to be right over and help you. Sometimes you have a great big stick to lift, and another guy will come help you with it. Other times you can get your saw jammed in a tree. Someone will help you push against the tree to get the blade out. Also, if you run out of gas, you can always borrow some, and men loan each other money. Once the police came by, and one of the crew members was wanted by the police. We just kept talking to them to give the guy time to run back in the woods. It turned out they weren't looking for him at all. Someone down the road had seen us go by, thought we were stealing wood, and reported it because wood had been stolen in the area before.

If you want to get another guy's attention, you frequently yell. But often men are using their saw and can't hear you. If you're close, sometimes you throw little sticks to get the other guy's attention. You don't try to hit the guy or anything, it's just so he'll look around to see what's happening. Sometimes we do this when a guy's still working if everybody else has quit and wants to go home.

Crew members sometimes play practical jokes on each other. One thing is brushing in, or dropping brush into the other person's lot. Another is reversing the chain on someone's saw. A person may be off talking to someone else, and when he comes back and goes to cut a tree he'll find the chain goes backwards and the teeth won't cut. So the guy has to turn his chain around again. It takes only a minute to correct, but he can get right pissed off. Often the jokes involve scaring somebody. You'll be working and assuming no one is around and someone will come up behind you and yell to give you a start. Once I saw someone drop a tree near a person, but they tried to make sure it wouldn't hit him. Another time a guy poured gas on the back of a guy's legs and lit it to give the other guy a little scare. The guy who did it was right there with a jacket to throw on top of the flames. Of course, if someone plays a joke on someone, the other guy is going to want to get him back a little bit better. People never try to hurt anyone with their practical jokes.

There are always job openings on a crew. Anybody can get a job anytime. The more people a contractor can get to work for him, the more work he gets done and the more money he makes. Also, there is a lot of turnover. Many men leave when they've finished working ten weeks. Also, I would estimate that only about one out of four who tries

it out sticks with the job. There are a variety of reasons for this. Many new employees aren't familiar with the work, do not like it, are slow, or can't get along with the other men. Many of the people working in these crews are from Charlottetown and haven't done this kind of work before. In contrast, I lived in the area, was used to the woods, and went every fall to cut firewood for home. My family owned two chainsaws and I was used to handling them. Some of the new people quit because they don't like the work. They only last a few days, just long enough to find out what the work is like, and then leave. Most people, however, quit because they are too slow to make good money and they get discouraged. Someone who is slow won't earn the money he needs to qualify for sizable benefits from unemployment insurance during the winter. The first week or two everybody's slow because they are just getting used to it. They find it hard carrying a chainsaw around all day. Not everybody's cut out to work in the woods. Some people just can't keep up. I don't know how to explain it, but some may be born lazy. Another reason is that big guys seem to have more trouble working in the woods and are more likely to quit. It's hot and they're a lot heavier and it's harder for them to carry themselves around. Also, some guys aren't that strong and have trouble carrying their own share. You can get a good laugh out of watching some of the guys trying to work.

If you don't get fast you create problems for the other workers. If a crew is working in woods where they can make good money, there is little difficulty. But if they are not in good-money woods, the crew will want to finish the woods quickly and move to possibly better woods. However, if a slow person has not finished his lot when the others have finished theirs, the other workers have to help him finish. He gets paid for the wood cut on his lot, but they don't. Therefore when they have to help him, their own paychecks are reduced because they aren't busy cutting wood for themselves. They definitely do not like this. Guys will make comments to someone who's slow, like "Hurry the hell up," but it's nothing really serious and there isn't much pressure on him to quit.

People who remain with a crew get along well together. When I started I had an easy time fitting in. I was from the area, everybody knew me, and I got along well with everybody. At first I was slower than the other workers in the crew. But, when the workers on each side

of me got ahead of me and brushed in my lot, I realized I had to become faster. I got mad over this and decided to take my revenge. I would work when others were taking a break and gradually I got faster and faster. After a time I was brushing in the lots of the workers who had brushed in mine. I just did it once or twice to show them I was there too. To have good working relations, you have to make friends with the other crew members. I joke with the guys, and have gone on a couple of drunks with some of them. One new guy who was hired had a screw loose. Sometimes you'd see him running into the woods, going over trees, and jumping up and down. He didn't really hit it off with the crew right away. But he worked steadily and after a few weeks the crew accepted him and his ways.

Another new guy, however, didn't fit in at all. His name was Ron and he was a relative of the contractor. We disliked him from the day he came. Guys from the area had told members of the crew he just wasn't liked, and we found out why. He was a know-it-all kind of guy; you couldn't tell him anything. Experienced guys really got ticked off when Ron told them how to do things. The foreman would try to correct his mistakes, such as telling him to go back and take out a few more trees because he wasn't leaving enough space between them. Even the most experienced guy sometimes leaves trees too close together, and no one likes to go back anyway, but Ron got right mad about it. He was a wimpy type of guy too. People would pick on him, and he wouldn't do anything back. The madder he got, the more they teased him. Other guys get mad, but they do something about it. If he had stood up to a few guys, it'd been alright. But he was scared of everybody really. Also, he was a much slower worker than the other members of the crew. People often don't mind a slow worker, because they know he'll learn to be fast. But when he's not liked, it doesn't matter if he gets faster or not, they just don't want him around. Some guys remain slow but they get along with everybody, and no one bothers them.

The men adopted a variety of methods to get Ron to quit. They taunted him about how slow he worked, and made comments like "How much are you going to earn today?" and "You going to make ten dollars today?" Or they were more direct and said, "Why don't you quit?" and "Leave us alone and quit." They also called him names, like "Dirt bag" and "Townie." But Ron wouldn't give it up. Then the crew began to

play around with his equipment. They used his wrenches without asking him, reversed the chain on his saw and hid his wrenches, and they took bandages from his first-aid kit and used them as toilet paper. As the days passed and Ron continued to stay, treatment became harsher. One crew member punched holes in Ron's gas tank and filed his pulp hook down so it would break after a few good swings. Ron took one look at the hook and threw it away. Then a few days later a new fellow was hired on the crew. He and Ron hated each other. This guy was a real troublemaker who vowed he would get Ron to quit within a week. He started calling Ron worse names than the crew had used. He also hid all of Ron's equipment in the woods. He would eat Ron's lunch, or hide it and say he had eaten it. Then one day he took his chainsaw and cut Ron's safety helmet in half. This pissed Ron off severely and he got in his car and drove off. Afterwards, he informed the foreman he had gone to a lawyer and that members of the crew could be charged. The outcome was that Ron quit and those who had destroyed his helmet and pulp hook replaced them with their own equipment. The foreman didn't approve of the crew's behavior towards Ron, but he couldn't do anything about it. And he wanted to stay on the right side of his good workers. I never saw these sorts of things done to other slow workers. But the crew's reaction to Ron isn't that hard to understand when you realize they hold the attitudes, "Work with everyone, or don't work at all," and "Get along with others, or get the hell out." #5257

Analysis

Various models are used by the Forestry Department, the foreman of the work crew, and members of the crew. Models used by the Forestry Department include 1) woodlands should be developed, and 2) woodlands should be either thinned or clear cut and replanted to be more productive. Models used by the foreman include 1) mark off enough lots for the members of the crew to cut, 2) do this ahead of time, 3) do not mark off more lots than they can cut in a few days, because the crew may get reassigned to another area, 4) don't make the lots so long that the men get bored, 5) divide the woods into rectangular lots when possible, and 6) assign the bigger lots to the faster men.

The models used by the members of the forestry work crew include 1) cut a little road down the middle of your lot on which to stack wood for the skidder, 2) try to cut your trees so they fall across your road, 3) cut logs the right length, 4) stack your wood so the skidder can easily pick it up, 5) don't work with a partner who is slower than you are, 6) maximize the size of your Unemployment Insurance benefits, 7) work together to get larger Unemployment Insurance benefits, 8) finish a poor-money wood quickly so you can move on to another wood that may pay better, 9) competition helps you work faster, 10) try to save nests of birds, 11) the Forestry Department may give the woods you are cutting too low a rating and pay you too little, 12) the Board of Compensation requires you to wear safety equipment, 13) put on any safety equipment you are not wearing when an inspector from the Board of Compensation comes around, 14) it is very easy to get hurt on this job, 15) when you are cutting you have to constantly watch your chainsaw, 16) help someone else who gets hurt, 17) don't work during a heavy rain or a thunderstorm, 18) if you get lost, head toward the sound of other saws, 19) yell or throw little sticks to get another guy's attention, 20) help another crew member if his saw gets stuck in a tree, if he runs out of gas, or if he needs help lifting a log, 21) show new guys how to do the job better, 22) brush in on a person to slow him down, stop him from brushing in on you, get back at him for playing a practical joke, or if you don't like him, 23) let someone who is still working know when everyone else wants to go home, 24) not everyone is cut out to work in the woods, 25) work with everyone, or don't work at all, 26) get along with others, or get the hell out, and 27) be willing to stand up for yourself.

Models are adapted to deal with current circumstances. The crew follows special instructions, such as cut out spruce trees but not white birch. Some lots can not be rectangular in shape because of the irregular shape of the woods. A road, or trail, that is supposed to be cut through the "middle" of the lot may have to be angled to the side to avoid dips, potholes, hills, and deadfalls.

In terms of feelings, the men 1) seek positive reactions by socializing with other crew members, 2) are jealous of those who make more money cutting wood than they do, 3) seek to produce stimulating reactions by playing practical jokes on other crew members, 4) avoid guilt

by being careful not to injure those they play practical jokes on, and 5) are angry at those who play practical jokes on them, work too slowly, or try to slow them down by brushing into their lot.

Various types of social pressure are used to get others to be consistent with the crew's models. Brushing in may be used to slow down someone who works faster than the others, and a worker who slows down the crew may be told to hurry up. Numerous types of pressure are used to get a man who doesn't fit in to quit, including name calling, ridicule, picking on him, telling him to quit, taking his lunch, and using, hiding, and destroying his equipment. Also, after a crew had cut wood for a private individual, they indicated they would destroy his house with chainsaws if he didn't pay them.

13. A ROAD CONSTRUCTION CREW

Summer road construction is a significant form of employment on Prince Edward Island. It pays well in comparison with many forms of unskilled labor. More importantly, the length of employment is normally sufficient to let one qualify for drawing unemployment benefits for the remainder of the year. Because the job does pay well, one is able to draw "big stamps," or top benefits through unemployment insurance. Crews tend to be made up of men and women without regular employment, together with a few university and college students. There is considerable competition to get on one of the road construction crews, and the common belief is that you have to have a good political connection to succeed.

There are a variety of road construction crews. These include patching (short patching), paving (long patching), painting, and seeder crews. Patching crews fix holes and cracks, paving crews pave roads, painting crews paint markers to separate traffic lanes, and seeder crews plant trees and grass to prevent erosion along roadsides which are torn up during paving. I will discuss social control on a patching crew.

Because of the large number of unpaved roads on Prince Edward Island, and the amount of damage to roads which occurs during the winter months, an unlimited amount of road work could be carried out by road construction crews during the summer. However, the provincial government budgets only so much money for road construction each year, and places an order for a specific amount of asphalt to be used through the summer months. Consequently, there is only a limited amount of asphalt to be spread each summer. When this starts to be used up, they begin to lay off workers. It is understood when the road, or asphalt, crews are let go, the other crews go as well. The patching and paving crews have an informal guideline as to how fast the asphalt should be used up. If too much asphalt is taken and used each day, the employees will eventually find themselves without jobs before the end of the summer. On the other hand, if too little is used by a crew, people at the office will be dissatisfied with the speed at which the crew is

working and its workers might find themselves fired before the members of other crews are let go. Therefore there are informal guidelines as to how much asphalt should be used in a day. On a patching crew each morning the foreman orders an average of three truckloads of asphalt for the crew to use that day.

A patching crew is made up of a foreman, assistant foreman, two shovelers, two looters, a roller operator, two asphalt trucks, their two drivers, two flaggers, a truck for the tar and roller, and its driver. The foreman supervises the work. He orders asphalt for the work site and makes sure the work is done in the right spots. The assistant foreman takes over when the foreman is absent. Shovelers transfer the asphalt from the back of the trucks to the road. Looters spread out the asphalt to give the road a smooth surface. Then the roller operator packs it down with the steam roller. The two flaggers control the flow of traffic around the lane occupied by the road construction crew and their equipment.

The rate at which each member of a crew works is of considerable importance and interest to the other members. This is the case both in regard to working too slowly and working too fast. If a member of a road crew goes too slowly, it can throw off the smooth operation of the entire crew. When the trucks are too slow, there is no asphalt to work with. If the shovelers go too slowly, there will not be enough asphalt to loot or roll. If the looters go too slowly, the asphalt will not be spread out fast enough for the roller and will harden in lumps. If the roller goes too slowly, the asphalt will not get packed down and will be lifted up when cars drive over it. When a flagger does not do his or her job properly, cars may skid on the wet tar, traffic tie ups may occur, and accidents or near misses may happen. Irate drivers are likely to complain to the head office.

A foreman is evaluated on the basis of his crew's performance. Therefore, if a crew member is working too slowly the foreman tries to get him to work faster. If the foreman is liked by the crew member or has earned his respect, often the suggestion that the individual should work faster is sufficient. Frequently, however, a foreman is disliked by the crew members. Perhaps the foreman wants his crew to work much harder than the other crews, or else is known to tell the office on the men when they break rules, such as knocking off early on a very hot day to go to the bootlegger's and drink beer. When foremen are disliked they

have to resort to more than a suggestion to get people to work faster. Techniques they use include verbal abuse, yelling, and sometimes even hitting an individual. Occasionally a foreman refuses to take a man he is having problems with along with the crew when they leave the garage in the morning. The man who is left behind is placed on another crew and usually rejoins his regular crew the next day. Certain workers seem almost allergic to work. For example, when a crew would arrive at the work site each day, one worker would stay in the truck and sleep. When he was issued his shovel he would often run off to the woods for two or more hours. This meant that someone else had to do his job. In this case the foreman was quite large and strong and intimidated everyone on his crew. Occasionally he would slap this particular worker, and once he was so aggravated with him he dumped a can of chocolate pudding on the man and chased him to the top of a truck. The policy of the head office is not to fire anyone, so this option is not open to a foreman.

The major crime, however, is not working too slow; it is working too fast. Once the summer supply of asphalt is used up the crew members are all laid off. With the exception of foremen, all workers on crews are classified as "casual" and can be let go within an hour's notice. If this happens too early in the summer, people will not have worked the requisite number of weeks to qualify for unemployment benefits and will have to seek additional work elsewhere, which they may or may not be able to find. If they do succeed in finding a supplementary job, it is unlikely to pay as well as road construction, and as a result they will likely receive smaller unemployment benefits during the subsequent year. Most workers on the road construction crews do not have much education and lack skills which would make them employable elsewhere. At one time during the summer it was rumored that everyone was going to be laid off after only ten weeks, which meant that no one would have put in sufficient time to qualify for unemployment benefits. There was a huge scare over this, and it was the major thing that people talked about.

When a person works too fast, the foreman will tell him to work slower. But the foreman would look bad to the front office if the person complained that his foreman wouldn't let him work as fast as he wanted. However, the lack of pressure by the foreman is more than compensated for by the actions of the other crew members. If someone

is too eager, gets ahead of the others, or is a new employee who doesn't know the ropes yet, he is likely to be told, "Slow the fuck down!" or something comparable. Such comments are commonly made by crew members. A person who persists in working too fast will be taunted, ignored, and have to sit by himself at lunchtime. If he sits down next to someone else, the other person is likely to get up and move. A person's own crew, along with members of other crews, continues this and other forms of pressure back at the garage. The men frequently play poker, bridge, and other card games at the garage and gamble for large sums of money. If someone is in their black books and asks to be dealt in, the men are very blunt in saying they don't want him in the game. If the person asks to see the sports page of the newspaper, they won't give it to him. Sometimes they snarl their reply. Moreover, it is very clear that the men talk about the person behind his back and say anything bad they can about him. These same techniques are used to a lesser extent when someone works too slowly or refuses to loan an individual money.

Physical pressures are also used against individuals who work too fast. At the beginning of summer last year a man on another crew was working faster than the others. One day in the garage someone gave him a magazine and said, "Here, look at this." When he had the magazine in his hands, a man behind him pinned his arms to his sides while another man tore at a hole in his pants leg and ripped the pants right off him. The man wasn't wearing underwear and had to slink through the office and about 200 yards along the road during rush hour traffic to get to his car. Another instance happened on my crew about midsummer. One of the truckers, who was already very much disliked for other reasons, became too eager about getting the job done. This was the last straw, and one night two crew members got drunk and went to his house and roughed him up.

There is considerable anxiety about holding one's job. Men do not want to work too fast because they fear they will exhaust the amount of work available. At the same time, they do not want to appear to be slacking off, because they think they would be among the first to be fired. Everyone knows that if they screw up in some way on the job, someone else will always run to the office and report them in the hope that when the layoffs begin they will be fired before the person tattling on them. #5258

Analysis

Members of the crew pursue the models which will provide them with the most resources. The models used by the workers include 1) working the right number of weeks to qualify for unemployment insurance, 2) not using up the asphalt too quickly, and 3) not getting laid off before the other workers are. The models used by the foreman include 1) getting the work done, and 2) not working so fast that the asphalt runs out.

In order to establish consistency with these models a great variety of techniques are used on individual workers to get them to work faster or slower. These include telling a worker to work faster or slower; taunting, ignoring, yelling at, or hitting him; not sitting with him; refusing to include him in card games; not sharing the newspaper with him; snarling at him; saying bad things about him; leaving him behind; dumping food on him; roughing him up; ripping off his clothes; and tattling on him to the office.

14. PARI-MUTUEL TICKET SELLERS

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1. Selling tickets

I work at the local race track, which employs a number of people to sell betting tickets and operate the ticket machines. Most of these employees are from seventeen through twenty-one years of age. Pari-mutuel ticket sellers are paid $15 for a night's work, or ten races. (Amounts in this report are in 1980's dollars.) In order to be eligible for the job, a potential employee must have a clean record which is free of theft and shoplifting convictions.

Tickets at the track are sold in two locations, downstairs and upstairs. Beginning sellers work downstairs on the ground floor of the racing park, where there are eighteen ticket machines. Those who sell downstairs remain busier, because there are many more customers, and they are more closely supervised. Upstairs there is a dimly-lit bar area and seven ticket machines behind a counter. The sellers stand behind the counter, which overlooks the race track. Because liquor is sold upstairs, a seller must be at least eighteen years old to work there. Sellers prefer to work upstairs, where there are fewer customers. However, sellers downstairs who turn eighteen are almost always refused the first time they apply to transfer upstairs. Working upstairs is seen as a real privilege and workers have to prove themselves downstairs to be considered for the position. Those who work upstairs are the more senior workers, and have established their reliability. However, in some cases a new employee who is already eighteen or older may be placed directly upstairs. Roughly half the workers downstairs and eighty percent of the workers upstairs are male.

In order to follow what is happening at the track, it is necessary to understand the various ways tickets are purchased. In addition to betting

that a horse will finish first (win), in the first two (place), or in the first three (show), there are two popular special features, exactas and triactas. In the exactas, a bettor attempts to pick the first and second horse to finish the race. Thus, a ticket might have a 3 and a 7 printed on it, which indicates that horse number 3 must come first and horse number 7 must come second for the bettor to win. Such a ticket costs two dollars and a winning ticket may pay from ten dollars to a couple of hundred dollars. In the triactas, the bettor tries to pick the first three horses to finish the race in the exact order in which they finish. These tickets also cost two dollars, but because of the higher odds against having a winning ticket, such a ticket pays anywhere from thirty dollars to several thousand dollars. The triactas are more popular with the bettors, and are held on the first, fifth, and tenth race of the evening. A popular form of betting on triactas is called "wheeling the horse." This is done by those people who think they know which horse will come in first, and have the guts and money to do it. In order to wheel horse number 1, for example, the bettor ensures that if horse number 1 wins, he'll have a winning ticket. He does so by buying a ticket for every possible combination of horses coming in second and third. In an eight-horse race, he would buy 42 tickets with the following combinations:

123	132	142	152	162	172	182
124	134	143	153	163	173	183
125	135	145	154	164	174	184
126	136	146	156	165	175	185
127	137	147	157	167	176	186
128	138	148	158	168	178	187

For example, ticket 123 bets that horse 1 will come first, horse 2 will come second, and horse 3 will come third. Ticket 187 bets that horse 1 will come first, horse 8 will come second, and horse 7 will come third. This ensures that if horse number 1 does come in first, the buyer will have a winning triacta, because he has bought tickets which cover all possibilities for the second and third place horses. This would cost a total of $84. All of the money bet on one race is called the pool. Twenty-four percent of this money is returned to winning ticket holders, who form about five percent of all the people who bet.

From the point of view of the pari-mutuel ticket seller who works in the bar area upstairs, there are two types of bettors. I will call these "average bettors" and "smart bettors." From the standpoint of intelligence, the average bettors are practically a lower life form. They know absolutely nothing about horses. If an average bettor leaves the track with more money than he comes with, he has either been lucky or he has cashed a cheque or two while there. The average bettor also likes to drink while at the track. He normally arrives early enough to check over the horses in the ten races that evening. He often plans hours in advance the tickets he will buy. His program is frequently marked and scarred by different colored pens, each color carrying a different meaning in connection with selecting a horse based on its past performance. The average bettor is constantly in a state of confusion. He'll often rush or stumble up to the wicket at the last minute to buy his ticket(s). Because he is a gambling addict, he seems to have little power over his actions. This is indicated by something which happens frequently. The average bettor will have a twenty dollar bill and plan to buy six tickets, which cost twelve dollars. However, when he gets his tickets and his change, he'll realize that he has eight dollars left. He'll then mumble out a request for four more tickets that he selects off the top of his head. Having collected his ten tickets, he'll walk back to his table and a few minutes later watch his selections put in a terrible showing. He'll then order another beer, turn the page of his program, and decide which six tickets to buy next. Although he would like to make money at the races, when he loses he is usually more than satisfied if he leaves an impression among those he is with that he knows horses. Most of these bettors are men. Certain of the women bettors have the terrible habit of coming up to the wicket unsure as to what tickets to buy and forcing everyone to wait while they try to find their money somewhere in a large purse.

The smart bettors, on the other hand, are a minority. They usually have an inside line of information, and are not dependent on the racing program. They tend to know everything about the race track, and may own horses themselves. They are cooler and more collected and have more money than the average bettor. The smart bettor is a demanding person. If you are a seller you must punch out his tickets rapidly and correctly so that he doesn't get impatient. All you have to do to get along with a smart bettor is cooperate with him. If you don't make a mistake,

he won't yell at you. They drink, but not as heavily as the average bettors, and they sit with other smart bettors. They make no attempt to convince others of their horse racing knowledge, because everyone recognizes their ability. There are some smart bettors who are women. They either sit with or know the smart bettors who are male. The average bettor will often buy the same tickets that he sees a smart bettor buy. #5259

2. Theft

Male ticket sellers use two techniques, shortchanging and short ticketing, to take advantage of the ticket buyers. Bettors do leave the window prematurely without their change. This occurs because they are impatient waiting in line to get to the window, they are concentrating on getting the correct ticket(s), they are eager to return to their buddies at their table, and the people behind them want them to hurry up and finish their business so they can buy their own tickets. The buyers are not helped by drunkenness, confusion, stupidity, and normal forgetfulness. In addition, bettors tend to trust the morality and mathematical competence of the ticket sellers. There are techniques which take advantage of these things, and each ticket seller has his favorites.

To shortchange a buyer you either do not give him his change and hope he walks away, or you give him less change than he is supposed to receive and hope he doesn't count it. For example, if a bettor buys one or two tickets and gives you a five-dollar bill, you punch out the tickets, grab the bill, and run off in the direction of another ticket seller. You leave as if the sale is completely taken care of. If the buyer waits and asks for his change, you explain you didn't have enough small bills in your cash box and had to get some from another seller. Another technique can be used when the buyer purchases a large number of tickets and gives you a twenty-dollar bill. People who bet at the track work with even numbers, usually from two to twenty. After they ramble off specific requests for six or more tickets, just the fact they get back a familiar number of dollars tells them everything is OK and they've gotten what they came for. Thus they are used to paying out 12, 14, 16, or 18 dollars, and receiving 8, 6, 4, or 2 dollars in change. Because 4 dollars is one of the sums they are used to receiving when they

buy tickets with a twenty-dollar bill, they normally do not realize they have been shortchanged when they receive 4 dollars in change when they ask for only 6 or 7 tickets. The ticket seller is simply using the buyer's familiar routines against him. In this situation you give the buyer back 2 or 4 dollars less than you should and slowly put your hand back in the cash box as though you are getting the remaining change. Frequently, he'll grab his tickets and leave thinking he has the correct amount of change. If he waits, you slowly raise your hand from the cash box with the remainder of his change, giving the impression that you are suffering from fatigue. This method is a good one, because the bettors are usually more concerned with getting their tickets and checking them for mistakes than they are with making sure they have the correct amount of change. Sometimes you can give the buyer back the correct number of bills, but the wrong denominations, such as a one-dollar bill and a two-dollar bill, instead of two two-dollar bills. If you are really lucky you get bettors who mistakenly give you an extra bill over the cost of their tickets.

To short ticket a bettor, you simply give him fewer tickets than he pays for. If the ticket you fail to give him is a winning ticket, the bettor will usually spend ten minutes looking for it under his table. However, I remember hearing one bettor exclaim, "He gave me every ticket (of the set) except the one that won."

People sometimes return if they find cash or a ticket missing. You can tell them you will recount your cash at the end of the evening, but many do not return at that time. You have to be careful, however, when someone catches one of your "errors" that you don't try the same method on him again or on those standing immediately behind him, because they will become suspicious. Also, you should keep the money in your cash box that you get from shortchanging. If someone returns for their missing money, it looks suspicious if you say, "Oh yes, I was looking for you. You left money on my machine," and then pull his money out of your pocket. If you play everything by the book, the worst that can happen is that a bettor is suspicious. Even so, you can never get in trouble as long as you smile from ear to ear.

Not all male ticket sellers shortchange and short ticket bettors. However, practically all would if they could. Most of those who are not raking off money from the bettors are operating the betting machines

which do not make it easy to do so. The ideal situation is to be operating a two-dollar feature machine upstairs in the bar area. More money passes through the two-dollar feature machines than through the twelve-dollar feature machines or through the two-dollar and ten-dollar win-place-show machines. Also the money at the two-dollar feature machine involves a greater percentage of smaller denomination bills, which are of less concern to the bettor. In addition, people upstairs tend to be heavier bettors than the people downstairs, which increases the flow of money at the two-dollar feature machines. Very important is the fact that bettors are usually under the influence of alcohol in the bar area upstairs. Also, unlike the machine operators downstairs, those operating machines upstairs are relatively unsupervised.

Ticket sellers are not supposed to bet on races while at work. However, ticket sellers tend to be quite knowledgeable about the horses, and most do bet while on the job. This is true of the sellers upstairs, where there is little supervision. Depending on how busy they are and whether they are working at a machine that prints the kind of tickets they want to play, male and female sellers will print an occasional ticket for themselves and put the money for the ticket into their cash box. Some sellers bet as if there were no rules at all, as though they had the night off and were sitting watching the races from a table.

Practically all male ticket sellers at the track engage in another practice to make extra money. At the end of every race, the number of tickets printed by your machine has to match the amount of money sent down to the bank. If you punch out a ticket incorrectly and your customer doesn't want it, you send the "mistake" ticket downstairs to the bank where they credit it against your resulting cash shortage. Now, if you think you know a probable winning combination of horses, you can punch out that ticket for yourself. If it turns out to be a winning ticket, you cash it in. If it is a losing ticket, you can send it downstairs as a mistake ticket. Sometimes people upstairs are slow putting the money down the chute to the bank. Then you can afford to hold on to the ticket and watch the race for two minutes to see if your ticket comes in. If it doesn't come in, you put the ticket in the pouch and send it down. If it does come in you keep the ticket and put an extra two dollars into the money on the way to the bank. You normally do this only in the triactas where the potential payoff is greatest.

There are certain factors which restrict the number of mistake tickets which are intentionally printed by the sellers. One factor is that accidentally printed mistake tickets are not all that common. It is a plus if you have one extra ticket during an entire evening. The most one might have would be six in a night, but this would probably catch the unfavorable attention of management. Therefore, one can not intentionally print many mistake tickets without being noticed. Moreover, sellers differ in their ability to handle their machine and process buyers. The better sellers are the faster ones, and contrary to what one might think, faster sellers make fewer mistakes than slower ones. Certain bettors patronize specific sellers, because of their speed and accuracy. Better sellers pride themselves on not printing mistake tickets, and therefore on most nights do not print any accidentally. Management is fully aware of who the better sellers are, because of the larger number of dollars they take in during an evening. As a result one does not intentionally print a mistake ticket very often, although some people do abuse this practice.

Ticket sellers are responsible for any difference which occurs between the number of tickets sold and the amount of cash in their box at the end of the evening. A shortfall is taken out of a seller's next paycheck. One night a seller was short $90, which came out of his salary. Also a seller can lose his job if this problem persists. Sellers do not like management's practice of holding them responsible for such losses. To some extent intentionally printing mistake tickets is a form of retaliation against this practice.

A more sophisticated technique is used by certain ticket sellers. This involves manipulating the mechanics of the machine so that it prints up a winning ticket based on the previous race. For example, let us say the winning ticket for the first race was 143, in which 1 refers to the first race, 4 to the horse that came first, and 3 to the horse which ran second. Once the seller knows the outcome for the first race, during the second race he will print up a ticket for horses 4 and 3, and by manipulating the machine with his fingers change the race number from 2 to 1. The result is a ticket which reads 143 and can be cashed in as a winning ticket for the previous race. This is much riskier because every machine has its own signature and it is known how many legitimate winning tickets come out of each machine. However, there are certain mechanical or computer related problems which could cause this to happen. A winning ticket can be cashed in up to one year after it is issued.

On an average night of work, a male ticket seller can obtain from four to fifteen dollars through shortchanging and short ticketing. This amount depends on the number of bettors present, but also on the seller's mood, which influences his willingness to take advantage of situations that evening. On nights without much business you won't take in anything extra. But on busy nights you will get four or five dollars extra. Ticket sellers are paid $15 for a night's work by the racetrack. Old Home Week is the major Island festival of the year. The primary focus of the event is the horse races, and this is the busiest time at the track. Old Home Week is the big week for getting extra money, and you often take in ten dollars or so a night. Sometimes you can hit a streak of good luck. For example, during a three-night period last year one seller averaged thirty-five dollars extra a night, but this was also a result of punching winning tickets for himself. Unlike the males, female sellers do not intentionally undertake to shortchange and short ticket bettors. However they know it takes place, and when they acquire an extra bill or ticket by accident, they welcome it.

The ticket sellers consider themselves members of a team. There are male sellers and female sellers, there are better sellers and poorer sellers, but they are all united against the horde of buyers. It's us against the mob. And the counter separates the two. The inferiors are out there blowing their money away. And behind the counter, sellers are having a good time taking advantage of their jobs and the bettors. The sellers believe the bettors will lose their money anyway, and if they do win they won't miss a few dollars. The male sellers upstairs all know each other, most have gone or currently go to school together, and many play sports together. Downstairs the kids are more green and more closely supervised, and they don't do half what the group upstairs does. Sellers use the word "tips" to refer to the stolen money, and sellers often ask each other how their tips are going for the night. #5260

3. Goldbricking

The ticket sellers employ a variety of techniques to get out of work. At the end of each race, the infield neon board shows the payoff rate for the winning tickets. The sellers have a break of eight minutes. They spend this time talking, gambling on cards or horses, drinking beer, or having a cigarette. Then a yellow light on the wall signals the sellers to

begin selling tickets for the next race. At this signal the sellers downstairs jump to their machines and spend the next ten minutes before the race selling tickets. Because there is almost always a senior employee present downstairs, such as the personnel boss, manager, or computer operator, the amount of slacking off that takes place is insignificant compared with what happens upstairs. When the yellow light goes on upstairs, nobody moves. The ticket sellers upstairs are busy resting, talking, and sitting around. At about four minutes to post time they start moving slowly to their machines and indicate to the buyers they can now purchase their tickets. There are exceptions, because occasionally a seller will go to his machine before this time to deal with an early buyer who is standing there. A seller who doesn't want to be bothered at all between races can sit on a flight of stairs at an unused exit, where a partition provides complete privacy.

Another method of goldbricking is to sabotage your machine. One technique is to disconnect wires or take out the fuse in the machine. However, the most popular technique is to stuff test tickets, which are void and useless, down the exit slot, thereby jamming the machine. I and others have used such methods to sabotage our machines somewhere around the third race and have been able to leave with full pay for the night. Both methods of sabotage are assured of getting you at least a race or two off. If you are feeling lazy, you can disable the machine and just stand there while the employee who fixes machines works on it. These methods do not raise the suspicions of the repairman. Sabotage is carried out between races when there are few people around.

Not all workers sabotage their machines. Some do not know how. They resort to other techniques, such as going to the bathroom or the bar when the other sellers go to their machines. One employee leaves every night after the ninth race, just before the very busy triacta of the tenth race, except when the manager is at the bar, which is located between the machines and the exit. The gutsier sellers tell the boss they aren't feeling well and would like to go home. On one occasion a seller told the boss he had just thrown up in the washroom, and he succeeded in getting the rest of the night off. He did this after he had made several unsuccessful attempts to sabotage his machine. I do not know of any female who tries to sabotage her machine. Among the sellers upstairs,

there is no discussion of each other's efforts at goldbricking. In contrast with collecting "tips," sellers pretend goldbricking does not exist.

After I stopped working at the racetrack, I learned of various changes which were initiated. I understand the track was purchased by a consortium of horse owners. Because they tend to bet themselves, they were more familiar with the practices of ticket sellers. Subsequently, a number of sellers were fired for reasons related to theft and goldbricking, such as printing too many mistake tickets, drinking between races, and absenteeism. In addition, new machines were installed and new rules implemented. Moreover, the upstairs section was redesigned and the betting area is now isolated, well lit, and does not overlook the race track. #5261

Analysis

Ticket sellers attempt to establish consistency with their model, "I want to make as much money as I can at the race track." To do so various ticket sellers shortchange and short ticket customers, bet on races, print "mistake" tickets, and manipulate ticket machines to print winning tickets for themselves. Ticket sellers also want to conserve time and energy by working less, or goldbricking. To do this they are slow to return to work before each race, and may remain out of sight, sabotage their ticket machine, go to the bathroom or the bar, pretend to be sick, or leave work early. At the same time ticket sellers attempt to establish consistency with their model, "I want to keep my job." Therefore they limit and try to hide their illegal activities and goldbricking. For example, they temporarily place the money they get from shortchanging in their cash box, rather than in their pocket.

Management at the racing track attempts to establish consistency with the model, "We want to make as much money as possible from this business." To do so they pay out a small percentage of the money they obtain from selling tickets to those who buy winning tickets. They also provide bettors with a variety of ways to bet, some of which attract bettors because they could potentially pay out a great deal of money. In addition, the race track sells alcohol, which earns money and interferes with bettors' judgment. When ticket machines are not working, they

are immediately repaired. Management seeks to minimize stealing by employees by hiring workers who do not have a record of shoplifting and other theft, by supervising workers, by requiring ticket sellers to make up the difference between the number of tickets sold and the amount of cash turned in to the bank, and by requiring ticket sellers to send money and mistake tickets down the chute to the bank before each race begins. Management also fires employees for theft and goldbricking, and has redesigned facilities to make it harder for theft and goldbricking to occur.

Bettors seek to establish consistency with the model, "I want to win a lot of money." To do so average bettors study the racing program and place bets. Smart bettors are very knowledgeable and often have inside information. Average bettors also buy the same tickets they see smart bettors buy.

15. UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE BENEFITS

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1. Introduction

Unemployment insurance benefits are an important component of the Island economy and a central concern of many individuals as they formulate and pursue their employment plans. People speak of UI, or unemployment insurance, and UIC, or the Unemployment Insurance Commission. They refer to getting unemployment insurance benefits as getting UI, unemployment, or pogey. Because of the high rate of unemployment on the Island and the large amount of seasonal employment, many individuals are dependent on unemployment insurance benefits for much of the year. In some years unemployment on PEI ranges between ten and fourteen percent. Also, the Island has a long, cold winter and a short, warm summer, and many jobs are available only during the summer months. Tourism, agriculture, fishing, forestry, national and provincial parks, and road and housing construction all require numerous workers who are willing to work for a few months of the year. The Island does not have sufficient winter-oriented industries to absorb most of these employees at the end of the summer season.

Unemployment benefits are paid out by the federal government. People rely on them while they seek other employment, women regularly use the benefits to take maternity leave from their jobs, and many individuals use them as their primary source of income as they take an extended vacation between jobs.

There are many practices and attitudes associated with unemployment benefits. We will examine eligibility for the benefits, different approaches to drawing benefits, attitudes toward those receiving benefits, living on the benefits, and using illegal means to beat the system and obtain more benefits than one is legally qualified for. #5262

2. Eligibility

Most employees are covered by unemployment insurance, and the cost is paid by both employers and employees. The amount of insurance paid to the government is based on the size of the salary received by the employee. The size of one's salary also determines the size of the benefits one receives when one is no longer employed. Benefits are 60 percent of the average amount earned during the weeks one worked. Thus if one had earned $300 a week, one would receive $180 a week in unemployment benefits. However, there is a ceiling on how much one will be paid. In 1988, the salary one had to earn to qualify for maximum benefits was $565 a week, and the maximum benefits one could receive were $339 a week. Those who are self-employed are not eligible to receive benefits. This includes farm owners whose primary occupation is farming. Fishermen who own their own boats, on the other hand, are eligible to receive the benefits for approximately six months.

Those who apply for benefits must go through a two-week waiting period before they can receive benefits. People who are fired or quit their job voluntarily may lose an additional one to six weeks of benefits, depending on the reasons involved. When a person applies to receive benefits, he must submit a record of employment from his previous employer. This record is used by the UIC to determine eligibility. The UIC examines the applicant's employment record over the previous 52 weeks, which is called "the qualifying period." If the applicant received unemployment benefits during the preceding 52 weeks, he must work 10 weeks since then to be eligible for additional benefits. If he did not draw benefits during the preceding 52 weeks, then he must work 20 weeks during the qualifying period to be eligible. There are also other factors in deciding eligibility, such as whether one has already claimed all of one's benefits and how much time one worked during the preceding year. If one worked 20 weeks during the qualifying period, then

one is eligible to receive benefits for 50 weeks. If one worked 10 weeks during the qualifying period, then one is eligible to receive benefits for 42 weeks. Unemployment benefits are also paid for 15 weeks to those taking maternity leave. The government makes changes from time to time in how long one must work to qualify for benefits, how much one receives, and how long one receives benefits. Also, rules are altered over time in relation to the degree of local unemployment.

The local office expects a recipient of benefits to be actively searching for work, and the office may query the recipient as to which employers he has gone to see about a job and may also check with these employers that the recipient was actually there. Recipients of benefits are expected to attend job interviews and to take appropriate jobs located for them. However, during periods of high unemployment the local office of the UIC is aware of the difficulty finding employment and does not put as much pressure on recipients to actively search for work.

A person who receives benefits is sent a form to fill out every two weeks on which he answers questions concerning such things as his income from other sources, how many days he was actually available to work, and whether or not he has started another job. He must sign this form and mail it back by a specified time in order to receive his next cheque. Benefit cheques are mailed out at two-week intervals. A person is required to report any pay that he receives while he draws benefits. His benefits are reduced by the amount he earns which exceeds 25 percent of his benefits. If a person fails to report this income he may be required to repay the excess benefits and may also be fined and prosecuted. A person can move to another province and receive his benefits there, but he is required to be available to work on working days in the province where he receives benefits. #5263

3. Drawing benefits

People make a variety of arrangements in regard to unemployment insurance benefits. Most people have steady jobs, and although unemployment insurance (UI) is regularly deducted from their paychecks, as long as they continue working they have no reason to receive the benefits. Those who become pregnant while they are working normally

take maternity leave and use the unemployment benefits for support. Other people have seasonal jobs, and draw the UI benefits during other parts of the year. Such jobs include harvesting tobacco, working in a fish processing plant, and waitressing in a restaurant which is only open during the tourist season. Some people work only as long as necessary to qualify for the benefits. Others work as long as they are needed at the seasonal employment, often in order to ensure that they will get employment at the same place the next year. When people keep their work experience confined to a specific occupation, they are likely to receive less pressure from the UIC to take another job during the period they are drawing benefits. Those whose primary source of income for the year is unemployment benefits are concerned with making sure that these payments are as large as possible. As a result they try to get jobs which pay enough to qualify them for maximum benefits. Some travel to another province, such as Ontario or Alberta, work at a job that pays well, return to the Island for the remainder of the year to collect benefits, and then go back to the other province to work again the next year. Those who do this are usually young and unmarried. When the government changes the requirements to qualify for unemployment benefits, many people change their employment patterns in order to qualify.

> In order to draw unemployment, you must work a certain number of weeks before you can collect. Until recently you had to work ten weeks before you could draw. For the fishermen this was not hard to do. The lobster season is eight weeks long, so in order to get the extra two weeks they would say that they worked two additional weeks preparing their boat and equipment for the fishing season. There is a lot of truth to this, because there is considerable preparation that needs to be done before the season begins. However, recently the government changed the number of weeks required to qualify from ten to twelve. One would think this would pose a problem for fishermen, but this is not the case. Now it takes fishermen four weeks to prepare for the fishing season. #5264

In addition, many people engage in illegal practices to increase the size of their own benefits and those of their family members. (These are discussed below in the section on "Beating the system.")

If one has a job which pays well over the short term, one can qualify for unemployment benefits during the remainder of the year which are higher than what one would earn if one worked the remainder of the year at a job that did not pay well.

> My husband works and I have a child at home. Why would I go to work all year, plus pay a babysitter, when I can be at home and make more money? #5265

> I have a small business and find it tough to hire people to work for me. I can't compete with the pogey cheques. I can't pay people that much money. There is too much incentive to get pogey. They should lower the rates of unemployment benefits and make people actually work for a living. #5266

> I had a woman working for me part-time. But if you earn too much they deduct it from your unemployment cheque. She decided it wasn't worth her time working and she quit. #5267

Communities differ considerably in regard to the percentage of their population who draw unemployment benefits.

> In my village, life is tied to the fishing industry, and as a result we have an active summer and an inactive winter. In the spring fishermen and their helpers are very busy getting ready for summer fishing. Those who have spent the winter unemployed are much happier to have something to do, and say they are glad to get out of the house, where they were stuck most of the winter. During summer and fall, people put in long hours at their work to make as much money as they can. When people get together they frequently discuss how the season is going from a financial point of view. As winter approaches people ask each other, "Have you got enough stamps?" and "Are they all big stamps?" A "stamp" refers to the evidence one has worked for a week, and a "big stamp" refers to earning enough money to qualify for a large amount of unemployment benefits. When winter arrives many young people leave the village to get work elsewhere, but usually return before spring. Many other young people remain in the village. During winter most people are unemployed and go to the post office every two weeks to pick up their unemployment cheque. Young

> people usually spend their cheques quickly and have to borrow money before their next cheque arrives. In spring there are always a few boys who are tired of going to school. They find the cycle of summer work and winter benefits very tempting and some decide to drop out of school to join the others. Many parents do not mind because they view yearly employment as made up of both fishing and unemployment benefits. Consequently, they encourage their children to get enough stamps to qualify for benefits during winter. Wives and young women also seek to earn enough in the summer to obtain the benefits, or pogey, during the winter. Some of the methods that are used to get big stamps are considered illegal by the government, but most people do not see anything wrong with this. They feel they need the money and should be able to get it. The same people who do not see anything wrong with cheating the government, consider stealing from community members a very serious crime. Therefore, in addition to producing busy summers and lazy winters, unemployment benefits encourage a) certain children to quit school, b) people to work harder in summer so they will qualify for maximum benefits, c) some people to remain in the village in winter who would otherwise leave to find work elsewhere, and d) the attitude that it is acceptable to cheat the government. Villagers I talk with say they enjoy this lifestyle. #5268

In communities in which most people are engaged in seasonal employment, the majority of the adult population can be dependent on unemployment benefits for much of the year.

4. Attitudes toward those receiving unemployment benefits

There is considerable envy and resentment on the part of those who do not receive unemployment benefits toward those who receive them. Many people feel resentment and anger towards those who are getting something they do not get. They also feel that since their taxes pay for unemployment insurance, people who do not truly deserve benefits should not be able to collect them. They feel unemployment benefits should be for needy people, not for those who do not want to work, nor for those who want some additional pocket money for the winter. They consider the UI system unjust, and they are jealous and hostile towards those receiving the benefits.

> Once they get ten stamps, they don't care. They don't want 52 weeks of work. Everyone here is geared for the 10 – 42 system (10 weeks of work and 42 weeks of unemployment benefits). People have to get off their goddamn butts and do some work. #5269

> A lot of people draw pogey because they won't get a job. There is work. But once they work for ten weeks, they won't look for more work. They should be cut off the benefits if they are called in to do work and they won't go. #5270

> Once they get ten weeks of work at the fish factory, they're still on call for work. But they pull a real fast trick. They will come ask a store owner to hire them for maybe one night of work. When the unemployment office calls to tell them to go back to work at the fish factory, they will say they already have a job. #5271

> I pay my taxes and as a teacher I must pay into the unemployment insurance program. But because I am a teacher I cannot draw unemployment like most other people. If I were laid off for some reason I wouldn't get unemployment benefits during the school holidays. #5272

> The unemployment insurance program is set up only to aid seasonal workers. #5273

It does not help that people on unemployment benefits frequently joke or brag about being on them. When asked what they do for a living, they make remarks like "I fill out a card for the government (a UIC card)," or "I work once every two weeks (when I walk to the mailbox to pick up my cheque.)."

Many people who do not collect unemployment benefits see people who do as lazy.

> People get angry because they feel they work hard all year, but those who receive unemployment benefits are only willing to work ten weeks a year. After the ten weeks are over they refuse to work again until their benefits run out. #5274

> Many people are lazy when it comes to working. There are all kinds of people who are offered jobs but simply do not take them because

> they do not want to work. And why should they? If they are drawing unemployment, they have lots of free time, so they can find part-time work and be paid under the table. Some make eight hundred extra a month. They can do better than other people who work every day and have a family to support. #5275

> I live in a small community, and the young guys my age are all lazy. It's sick. Nobody does anything. They get their unemployment cheques and blow it on booze or drugs. #5276

> In my community the worst impact of unemployment insurance is on the kids growing up there. There are a lot of intelligent young people who are smart enough to continue school, but they drop out so they can draw unemployment. Out of about 20 kids my age, only two are going to university. Most of my buddies were lured to the 10–42 system. What could be better than ten weeks of work and free money for the rest of the year? You have to feel sorry for them, because it's not really their fault. Most of them were brought up by parents who both draw unemployment. Naturally they end up doing the same. One mother told me, "If my son wants to live this way, there's nothing I can do about it. It's his choice." #5277

> In my area many of the kids who reach maturity continue living at home where they don't have to pay rent. They just go through the motions and do not care. They work their required weeks to get their stamps, and then use their pogey cheques to spend the winter drinking, partying, and watching TV. This generation is just getting a free ride. #5278

> I have a small business, but I have problems finding people to work for me year round. Most people only want to work for ten weeks, or until they have enough stamps to get unemployment payments. Some people will even start working for me, but as soon as they hit the ten-week mark they quit and say they cannot work for some reason or another. They also ask me to lay them off so they can get their benefits. If they quit voluntarily, it is harder to get benefits. #5279

Permanent employees resent the fact that they are working and the tax money they pay the government is being used to support those who do not want to work.

Many blame the government for what is happening.

> Of course it's the government's fault. They're winning elections with it. #5280

> It's the government's fault because they don't check up on abusers. Sometimes the government promotes it. If you call up the employment office about a worker who is leaving, they will encourage you to leave the space on the form empty, and let your worker fill in his reason for quitting work. They do this so the worker can get his pogey with no delays. #5281

People who have regular jobs frequently group those who collect unemployment benefits most of the year together with those who receive welfare. Often they show little appreciation for their difficulties.

> I've never heard so much about stamps in my life. "I hope I get my stamps," and "One more week and I'll have my stamps." Jesus, it would suit some of them better to get out and get a full-time job like the rest of us. #5282

Often those who make such statements are seldom faced with unemployment and do not know how difficult it can be to find work. Instead they tend to look down on those who receive government support and view them as freeloaders. Normally it is considered much more acceptable for a man with a family to receive the benefits than it is for a single man to receive them. A single man who gets pogey through the winter is usually viewed as lazy and lacking drive, and is often the target of disapproval and gossip. People are not as concerned about women who receive unemployment benefits.

Often people show little appreciation for the social needs of those who receive UIC benefits, and complain about the way they hang out together.

> I just hate to go up to the fast food section in the mall. You see the same faces there day after day sitting around drinking coffee. They should be out on the street looking for work. #5283

> The bar in my town has its regulars who attend faithfully every day. Most of these guys are unemployed and collecting pogey. Another of their hangouts is a low brick wall in front of the post office which people have named "pogey wall." #5284

Many believe those who get government benefits should not waste the money. Those who receive support and are seen drunk, buying tobacco products, or gambling are a popular subject of gossip.

> People who blow the last cent on booze deserve to have no money. It makes me sick when I remember their money is coming out of our pockets. #5285

> I mean if I was on welfare I hope to God I wouldn't be spending it on cigarettes when there's no need. #5286

> Many people spend the money going to bingo and playing video lottery machines, instead of buying necessities. #5287

> My roommate sits around all week doing nothing and eating my food. Then when he gets his unemployment cheque he buys cigarettes and goes to the bars. #5288

Merchants and store clerks often spend a lot of time discussing the shortcomings of customers who are not working for a living. They frequently talk about their purchases and financial situation. Because people often cash and spend their benefit cheques in local stores, store employees know whether they receive a welfare or unemployment cheque, how big the cheque is, and what they buy with their money.

> Did you see the load of stuff she bought? There's no need of all that. #5289

> I just hate to see those welfare people coming. They're always looking for something for nothing. They just make me sick. #5290

There is also resentment of short-term government jobs and projects which appear designed to enable people to qualify to draw unemployment benefits for the remainder of the year.

> Government make-work projects last only ten weeks, and pay good salaries. This is just enough time so people can get enough stamps to draw unemployment. Many people see these projects as a quick fix, and resent the people who work on the projects. #5291

> The government encourages people to be lazy for a living. They give people a job for ten weeks and at the end of this they urge them to collect pogey for the rest of the year. Virtually no attempt is made by the government to find permanent jobs for these people. It's like an assembly line. Get as many people as possible ten weeks of work and then send them on their way. #5292

> The more seasonal jobs the province can find for people, the better for the province. This is because the federal government pays their unemployment benefits the rest of the year. If they didn't, many of these people would need welfare assistance, and this is paid by the province. So really the province is just passing the expense on to the federal government. #5293

> These road construction workers make me sick. Look how lazy they are. They get paid fifteen dollars an hour to hold a traffic sign for ten weeks, and they can't even do that right. It's not fair. The only reason they are paid so much is so their stamps are bigger. #5294

People who do not receive the benefits frequently get upset when they hear or think about those who exploit the system in one way or another.

> It amazes me how angry people get when they talk about the abuse of the unemployment insurance program. Where I live, UI is a way of life for most people. It may be that just a small percentage abuse the system, but it is this small percentage that most people take notice of. Those who don't or cannot collect the benefits get quite angry and jealous. #5295

As a result of such attitudes, people are often embarrassed to be on unemployment benefits or welfare.

> My father was qualified to receive benefits for about ten years and never applied for them. He was a carpenter and although there wasn't

> much work in winter, he managed to get by. When he became older and was unable to work outside in winter weather, he had to give in and apply for benefits. He was very upset because he felt he was getting money he did not earn. #5296

Some people cash their cheques at a store or bank where they are not known, in order that staff will not talk about them. However, in rural areas it is practically impossible to find businesses where one is not recognized, and as a result the whole community learns what one is doing. Another problem is the rural mailman. Because he delivers cheques and bills he knows a great deal about people's financial situations. Many find this quite threatening, and some are even embarrassed to meet the mailman in public because they feel he knows so much about them.

Those who receive unemployment benefits commonly seek to distinguish themselves from those on welfare.

> When I'm in the coffee shop I overhear people saying things like "I don't know why she has to draw welfare. She should get out and work." They see those who draw welfare as lazy. Yet many of those talking are the ones who work for ten weeks and then receive UI benefits the rest of the year. #5297

> I buy the stamps that I need to qualify for UI benefits from an employer. Of course it's illegal, but the people I know, myself included, would rather get caught trying to rip off the government than go on welfare. This town is so small that everyone would know even before you got out of the welfare office. #5298

There is a considerable amount of attention given to fishermen, who both fish and draw unemployment benefits. The fishing industry has its ups and downs. Some years fishermen worry about being able to pay their expenses, and other years they do exceptionally well.

> I enjoy lobster fishing and the maximum unemployment benefits that go with it. Maximum unemployment benefits are equal to a good wage for an ordinary laborer. When a person works for a fisherman who owns a boat, the person can get unemployment benefits after working for ten weeks and draw them for the rest of the year. But if you own

> your own boat, you can only draw benefits for 28 weeks. When you are a fisherman you get no hassles at all from the government about your unemployment benefits. The "system" seems more lenient on fishermen as a group than with others who draw benefits. #5299

During good years fishermen earn more than many non-fishermen, work for less than half the year, and on top of this draw unemployment benefits for the remainder of the year. Many non-fishermen resent the financial success of the fishermen and the fact they can draw unemployment benefits too.

> Why should a person who makes more than me and works for a maximum of twenty weeks be able to collect free money from the government? I have to work all year to make less than him, and I receive nothing from the government. I'm paying for that man's holiday. #5300

People frequently see fishermen make purchases which other people can not afford to make.

> In my community most of the fishermen pay all their bills for the year after the fishing season is over and then bank the excess. They live off their unemployment cheques during the winter months. For the most part they have a high standard of living. There are always new trucks and cars, and of course new snowmobiles, being driven around. Also the majority of their houses are very nice in comparison to the houses in other communities. #5301

> I recently heard two fishermen talking. One said to the other, "I'm getting pretty bored. I think I'll let the government buy me a new skidoo. I've got to spend my money somewhere." #5302

People see fishermen as spending their unemployment checks on new toys, rather than on basic necessities.

Because of their disapproval of the existing system of unemployment benefits, people sometimes suggest alternatives.

> I think the people who draw unemployment should have to put so many hours of volunteer work into the communities they live in. They

> could do jobs like shoveling snow for older people or helping with younger kids. There are all kinds of jobs that the community could give those on unemployment benefits. This would get them out of the house, they would be providing a helpful service to the community, and they would feel they earned the money instead of getting it for nothing. #5303

However, some believe it will be very difficult to change the existing system.

> Whoever's at fault, many people feel that it has gone too far now and there will be major problems if it is ever cut off. It has been in place so many generations now, that it is ingrained in the community's way of life. The community is saturated with it. People have traded in a good honest workday for a pogey cheque. They are so attached now, that if it was ever taken away, they would be lost without it. Then, like always, they would expect the government to bail them out some other way. #5304

5. Living on unemployment benefits

In many communities most individuals and families who receive unemployment benefits are very close-mouthed about the fact. They commonly warn other family members not to say anything to outsiders about their benefits. There are a number of reasons why they do so. Most people do not want others to know how much money the family is earning, because such information provokes envy and is a popular subject of gossip. People who do not receive benefits do tend to gossip about those who do.

> He's sitting up there, letting the government feed him. Why doesn't he get out and earn his keep like the rest of us? #5305

In addition, many families have some members with good sources of income and if other people learn that someone in the family is also receiving unemployment benefits, they may be jealous and talk about the family. Also, people frequently break the rules concerning unemployment benefits, such as by working under the table, crediting

another family member for work they have done themselves, and arranging to have an employer report that he has paid them more than he actually has so that they will qualify for larger benefits. No one wants the government to find out they are doing these things, because they would have to pay the money back, would be fined, would have a harder time qualifying for benefits in the future, and might be prosecuted. Neighbors and others do occasionally report people who commit such offenses to the government. In addition, whether or not they are breaking the rules, those who receive benefits often have misconceptions about whether or not they are qualified to receive the benefits. For example, some think that the Unemployment Insurance Commission will cut off a person's benefits if they discover that another family member is earning a good salary. Another reason why many people are secretive about their benefits is that they are embarrassed that they have to draw unemployment benefits to support their family, because they consider it comparable to getting welfare.

Although people try to keep information about their UI activities from those who might harm them, they often talk openly about the ins and outs of unemployment benefits with those they feel safe with. These may include relatives, friends, colleagues, and others who want to get the benefits. They discuss what it takes to qualify for benefits, how long it takes the UIC to process their claims, how much money they receive, how often a UIC representative checks whether they are actively looking for work, and various ways to beat the system.

> Many people in Charlottetown know exactly when to mail in their UI forms on Friday. If you drop the forms in the chute at the central post office before three-thirty or four o'clock in the afternoon, it goes into the bin that is almost full. Because the post office empties the bin and processes the mail in it shortly after that, you'll get your UIC cheque back from Moncton on Wednesday. But if you put your forms through the chute later on Friday evening, the mail cart is practically empty. The post office won't empty the mail cart again until it is full, so you don't get your cheque from Moncton until Thursday. #5306

A variety of feelings exist among those on UI about receiving benefits. Some people feel they really need the benefits, others believe they should get what is rightfully theirs, others are ashamed to draw

the benefits, and still others want to take the government for every cent they can.

> Unemployment insurance is a good idea for those who need it. My father is a seasonal worker who works during the winter grading potatoes. The main problem is that there are no jobs. Our family of five depends on my father's unemployment check. I hate the term "pogey." It makes a person sound like they are from some backwoods place with outhouses. #5307

> It isn't considered bad in the country to be drawing unemployment. You can't fish twelve months a year, so the only thing you can usually do is go on unemployment. This doesn't make you second class or a lazy bum. It's like the middle class and professional class think there is something morally wrong with getting unemployment benefits. If you've never thought of drawing unemployment and you suddenly saw these men sitting around home all winter you'd probably turn up your nose and criticize them. However, local people would get their backs up and react, "Who does he think he is, coming in here? I'd like to see him try and fish twelve months of the year. I'd like to see him try to supplement his income." Someone is likely to ask, "What am I supposed to do? Go fish through the ice?" #5308

> There's nothing wrong with drawing unemployment as far as local people are concerned. It's money. As for the idea of being bored while one draws unemployment, I don't think people in rural communities would really understand that. They are quite satisfied to sit around all day. A day of getting up, eating, reading the paper, walking around outside a bit, and watching TV, that's seen as a life of leisure, a tremendous thing, and if you can do that and get paid for it, then they think you are really pretty swift. You shouldn't even try to find another job. #5309

People provide numerous rationalizations for drawing UI benefits. A popular one is that they have paid a considerable amount of money for unemployment insurance while they were working, and there is no reason why they shouldn't get back what they paid out, now that they need it. This argument is commonly heard both from those who are actively looking for work, and from those who have no desire to work again until their unemployment benefits run out.

Many who spend long periods of time on unemployment report that they suffer from boredom. They also do not have as much money as their friends do who are working and they are frequently reminded of this when their friends make major purchases or take trips.

> Wayne quit his job when his work week was cut from 40 to 20 hours. He felt he would not be earning enough to pay his expenses. However, since then he has been unable to find a job that he wants, and has had to draw unemployment benefits for almost a year. He states that he finds life without a job very boring. He is unhappy that he has nothing to do in the daytime while his friends are at work. He envies those with jobs and gets mad when others complain about having to go to work. Wayne's friends constantly tease him about not working, and he tries to take this lightheartedly. However, he sometimes finds himself feeling very depressed and lonely. #5310

Many people use unemployment benefits to pursue their interests. This gives them the time and energy to pursue activities that a job would interfere with.

> There are wonderful accounts of people who love being subsidized by UI, because it allows them to do the things they really enjoy. I know artists, musicians, and carpenters who report they do their finest work while on benefits. #5311

> A friend of mine says quite openly that he's paid by UI to do his volunteer work. He draws unemployment benefits most of the time and is quite active in various social action groups. #5312

6. Beating the system

In order to qualify for maximum UIC benefits, a person must be credited with working the requisite number of weeks and earning a sufficiently large salary each week. People want to receive the maximum amount of UI payments for themselves and their family members. In order to achieve this, many people engage in illegal practices to obtain UI benefits and to increase their size. Such practices include 1) crediting another family member with the work one is doing, in order to a) hide the fact one is working while on UI benefits, and/or to b) enable

that family member to qualify for UI benefits; 2) working together with another person and arranging to have the pay for both people credited to only one individual at a time, in order that each individual will earn a larger paycheck and therefore receive larger UIC benefits; 3) arranging with an employer to receive one's pay over fewer weeks than one actually works, in order to increase the size of one's weekly paycheck; 4) arranging to have one's employer claim that one has been paid a higher salary than one actually was; 5) paying an employer to claim that you worked for him when you actually did not; 6) secretly working while one draws UI benefits; 7) hiding the fact that one is not looking for work while one draws benefits; and 8) pretending to be in the province in order to continue receiving benefits when one is actually absent.

People often are working, but can not use the work they are doing to qualify for unemployment benefits. In some cases the person a) plans to continue working at a regular job and therefore will not be able to draw unemployment benefits, b) is in an occupation, such as owning and operating a farm, which is not recognized by the government as qualifying for unemployment benefits, or c) is presently drawing UI benefits and does not want these benefits reduced or cut off because one is working.

In some cases people arrange to credit another family member with the work they are doing. This frequently allows the other family member to qualify for unemployment benefits or for larger unemployment benefits.

> One woman I know takes her two kids, who are twelve and thirteen years old, when she goes blueberry picking. They put everything they pick in the woman's name. Therefore she makes more money during the week and qualifies for larger unemployment benefits. #5313

> A lot of men draw unemployment benefits and cut pulp all winter to make additional money. My father does this too. He puts the wood on the truck and takes it in and sells it in my brother's name. If he put this money in his own name, UIC would reduce his benefits. #5314

> Some of the farmers in my area work at a second job, such as carpentry or driving a truck. They put their farm income into the name

> of a family member. Thus they have the money from the sale of milk and cream or cattle paid to their spouse or one of their children. The government does not allow farmers to qualify for unemployment insurance. But they can qualify for unemployment benefits from their non-farm job. #5315

A common strategy in some occupations, particularly those based on piecework, is for two people to work together and take turns crediting only one person with the work. This greatly increases the pay and the size of the stamps that each person receives. As a result each receives much higher UI benefits when they finish work.

> When you work on crews clearing and thinning woods, you are paid by how much you cut, and even the fastest men on the crews are unable to earn enough to qualify for top stamps. Therefore a lot of the men work together. For example, there were two brothers from Nova Scotia on our crew this year and one needed 20 weeks and the other 10 weeks to qualify for UI benefits. So the two worked together under one guy's name for 20 weeks, and afterwards both cut wood under the other guy's name for 10 weeks. Therefore they both got big stamps. A lot of guys do that cutting wood. #5316

> Walter and Donna are husband and wife and both fish for a living. Each catches enough to earn about $300 a week during the fishing season. This isn't enough for big stamps. Therefore some weeks they sell all their fish in Walter's name, and other weeks they sell them all in Donna's name. As a result both are entitled to big stamps and large UI payments. #5317

Another strategy is to arrange for one's employer to falsify records so that it appears one worked fewer weeks at a higher rate of pay than one actually did.

> I was worried because my unemployment benefits from my previous job would soon run out. So I started looking and found a part-time job on a government project that lasted for 20 weeks and paid $8.50 an hour for 20 hours of work a week. The problem was I would be earning so little each week, I wouldn't get much in the way of UI payments once the job was over. So I talked with the employers and arranged with them that I would work the first 10 weeks for free while

> I was still drawing unemployment benefits from my previous job. Then when my current UI benefits ran out, I would officially start work for them. However, they would fix the records to show that instead of working 20 hours a week, I was working full-time for 40 hours a week. As a result I would be able to requalify for higher UI benefits during the subsequent year. #5318

> I've made special arrangements with my employer about what I'm going to do this year. I'm receiving unemployment benefits until the end of summer. What I'm going to do is work for him in the spring for several weeks, but he isn't going to pay me for it. Then at the end of summer, after my benefits have run out, I'll come back and work for him for ten weeks. These ten weeks will let me qualify for unemployment again. The employer will take the money that I earned when I worked during the spring and distribute it over the paychecks I'll get when I work for ten weeks at the end of summer. This way I'll get an extra $100 or more added to my pay each week which will give me bigger stamps, so when I start drawing unemployment benefits in the fall I'll have bigger payments. #5319

People also arrange to be falsely credited for a higher rate of pay than they actually earn in order to receive bigger stamps.

> I know people who are paid say five dollars an hour, but they are getting stamps as if they were being paid eight or nine dollars an hour. All they do is give the employer back the extra money he has to pay for their income tax and other benefits. Assume an employer has to pay $50 a week in benefits to the government for an employee at a lower salary, and $80 a week for an employee at a higher salary. The employer falsely reports that the employee is being paid a higher salary. In other words, the employer gives him higher stamps than he deserves. As a result the employer has to pay the government $30 more than he should. Then the employee gives the employer back the $30 difference. #5320

> Edward, a 45-year-old fisherman, tells the fish buyer to give him the largest stamps possible. What the fish buyer does is put the fish in Edward's name that he buys from people who don't want their earnings recorded. Edward pays the buyer the difference between the two stamps and eventually gets the largest UI benefits possible. #5321

> Some people really, really want those stamps badly. They'd rather work for you for two months for practically nothing if you give them great stamps. My father has had men come and fish with him for nothing because he gives them good stamps. #5322

> Most of the corks are paid in cash. A cork is a fisherman's helper. Most fishermen pay their corks anywhere from $250 to $500 a week. Some, however, do not pay their cork anything. They just give them the weeks they need to draw unemployment insurance. Others claim they pay their cork more than they actually do. For example, James will actually pay his cork around $350 a week. But James marks down in his records for stamps that he paid his cork $700 a week. This benefits the fisherman, because he can deduct the increase in expenses for the cork on his income tax. It benefits the cork because he ends up with higher unemployment benefits over the rest of the year, because the records show he "earned" more money during the weeks he worked. The cork will have to pay additional income tax for income he never earned, but the additional amount he receives in unemployment benefits puts him ahead. This way of earning money is accepted and is not considered deviant by the fishermen. It is presumed that everyone does it. Very few, if any, have been caught doing this because the fishermen are so careful in their documentation that a discrepancy never shows up. #5323

It is normally in a person's interest to take less salary for 10 weeks in order to receive much larger benefits during the remaining 42 weeks.

Some people have not worked all the weeks that are required to qualify for UI benefits and arrange to buy the extra weeks from an employer without ever working for him.

> One guy I know had completed eight weeks with the armed forces. He knew a contractor who paints houses and paid the contractor to report he had worked two weeks for him. He didn't work for the contractor at all, but this gave him the number of weeks he needed to draw UI benefits. #5324

> Harry has a brother who is a fisherman with his own boat. His brother is required by law to give out labor stamps to his employees. Harry made an agreement with his brother that Harry would work free of

> charge for him the first two weeks of lobster fishing in exchange for ten labor stamps, so he could draw unemployment payments for the subsequent year. While he was receiving the payments, Harry went fishing and put his catches in his wife's name so she would qualify for UIC payments too. #5325

Certain individuals carry this further and simply purchase outright all the weeks they need to qualify for benefits, without doing any work.

Another approach is to create the appearance that a relative or spouse is employed so they will be able to draw unemployment benefits for the remainder of the year.

> Fishermen often pretend to pay their wife and other family members for ten weeks so they can get enough stamps to collect pogey. Their wife probably doesn't even step foot on the boat, and even if she does, she does little or no work at all. #5326

> Tim, a 40-year-old fisherman, works very hard during the fishing season and catches more than he needs to qualify for large stamps. What he does is claim that his wife caught the surplus fish and he sells them in her name. Tim's wife doesn't even go near the water, but this gets her stamps and UI benefits. #5327

> Joe, a 25-year-old fisherman, doesn't work very hard, but is great friends with the local fish buyer. Joe pays the fish buyer $200 and in return receives ten big stamps in his wife's name. This allows his wife to get UI payments, and the highest ones they have. #5328

> A friend of my mother has a contract to plant Christmas trees and plans to hire my mother this spring. It's hard work and pay is based on the number of trees you plant. I'll be drawing UI then, but I'll do the work for my mother and put it in her name. She'll get the checks from planting trees and give me the money I earn. Because the stamps will be in her name, she'll draw UI for the remainder of the year. #5329

> Where I live some men collect Irish moss and give it to their wives to sell in their wives' names. When they have enough moss, the women sell it over a number of weeks, rather than all at once, so they will have enough weeks to draw benefits. #5330

> A friend of mine is a middle-aged homosexual whose lover, a younger man, lives with him. My friend owns an apartment building and pretends he has hired the younger man to do improvements around the building. He pays the younger man's unemployment insurance fees while the younger man does not work at all. This allows the younger man to draw UI benefits during most of the year. #5331

People also work under the table, or secretly, while drawing unemployment benefits, because if they report that they earn more than 25 percent of the amount of their benefits, their benefits are reduced accordingly.

> A friend of mine has a hard time making ends meet because he gets low UI payments during the winter. He only gets $150 a week. Therefore he cuts wood during the winter to supplement his income. He sells the wood under the table so he does not have to claim it. Then when he fills out his UI form, he claims that he did not work during the preceding two weeks. This allows him to continue drawing his regular benefits. #5332

> I often cut wood during the winter while I'm on UI. I can cut someone's firewood at $20 a cord and make $400 or more in a couple of days. #5333

Although those who work under the table usually want to be paid in cash, some will accept payment in cheques.

> I do a lot of work while I'm drawing pogey, and often get paid by cheque. I just don't bother claiming it on my UI form. I guess the government could come back at me about it sometime. #5334

Friends and relatives also cooperate in smaller ways to help those who are breaking the rules so that they receive their unemployment benefits.

> You are supposed to send your form in every two weeks to get your next unemployment cheque. You have to do this on a certain date to prove you are actually here in the province. However, sometimes I'm

> off the Island when I'm supposed to send the form in. When this happens I fill out the form in advance and my mother mails it in for me. If I'm going to be out of the province for a longer period, Mom fills the whole thing in for me and signs my signature. #5335

> A major requirement when you draw unemployment benefits is that you must be available to work. However, practically no one informs the government when they are not available, because they don't want the government to reduce their benefits. A friend told me about a couple who go on a month-long vacation every year while they collect benefits. I asked him how this is possible, and he explained, "Well every year they do the same thing. For about a month they go to Florida or somewhere warm. While they are there they get someone to sign their forms and deposit their cheques in the bank. They usually use a family member or someone they can trust, because they don't want everyone to know what they are doing for fear someone might report them." This is an extreme case, but the majority of people who collect benefits do not report when they are not available for work, and everyone in the community knows this. #5336

> Sometimes a friend asks you to say that she approached you about hiring her for a job, in case someone from UIC checks up on her. #5337

The government tries to prevent illegal practices in regard to unemployment benefits. The information booklets provided by the government on claiming benefits frequently identify specific illegal practices, explain penalties, and give examples of exactly what will happen to people who break the rules. Penalties include repayment of benefits, large fines, the necessity to work for longer periods to qualify again for benefits, and increases in punishments for repeat offenders. Also the government has inspectors who investigate illegal practices. People often tell each other what is being inspected.

> I hear they are checking whether family members actually go out on the boat with the fishermen. #5338

People who break the rules and receive more benefits than they are legally entitled to, rationalize their actions in a variety of ways.

People feel over taxed and under represented by our government. They feel they have to do what they can to get their fair share, even if it is illegal. If others are doing things they shouldn't and getting away with it, people think they should do the same thing just to stay even. #5339

What the federal government don't know won't hurt them. I mean they can't find us work, but they expect us to live off a pogey cheque. But this isn't enough money to live on. I also work under the table and even with that I just get by. #5340

I often can't get enough work to qualify for unemployment benefits, so I buy the stamps from an employer I know. I have to have some money coming in, or I'll lose everything I have, and I pay the man well for the stamps. #5341

Well, it is a risk, but I have a wife and family and they come first. Besides it's hard to get blood from a stone. Maybe if they catch me they'll have to get me a job so I can pay them back. Anyway those fellows in Ottawa (the federal politicians) are too damned worried about the guys who are ripping them off for millions a year to be worried about the one or two thousand dollars I'm taking selling pulp under the table. #5342

Those sons-of-bitches in the government don't give a damn about us. Their only concern is fattening their own pockets. So why should getting extra money bother me? I'm only getting my fair share. #5343

Analysis

People try to maximize the resources that they and their family members receive. Those who do not have year-round full-time jobs, hope to get unemployment benefits when they are not working. The widely held model is "I want to maximize my unemployment benefits." In order to establish consistency with this model, people attempt to get jobs that pay well while they are working, to work the requisite number of weeks to qualify for benefits, and/or to use various illegal means to qualify.

The Unemployment Insurance Commission holds the model, "We want to keep people working." In order to establish consistency with this model, the Commission discourages employees from leaving work voluntarily by making it more difficult for them to receive benefits, checks whether those who receive benefits are actually looking for work, and limits the number of weeks a person can receive benefits. In order to discourage people from falsifying information to get benefits, the Commission applies fines, requires repayment of benefits, makes it more difficult to receive benefits in the future, and escalates penalties for repeat offenders. Violations and penalties are spelled out in the information pamphlets distributed by the Commission.

Many people who receive unemployment benefits try to hide the fact. They want to avoid envy and criticism from people who are not receiving the benefits, they do not want to look like they are receiving welfare, and they do not want others to report them for violations which might cause them to lose their benefits. People who do not receive the benefits are jealous of those who do, and frequently voice their resentment.

16. FINDING OUT ABOUT OTHERS

Collecting and circulating information about others may well be the primary social behavior on Prince Edward Island. People are extremely interested in each other. In the sections below we will consider the following:

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1. Methods of collecting information

People use a great many approaches to gather information about others. In addition to watching others, asking other people about them, and asking them questions outright, people read the newspapers, listen in on party telephone lines and police communications, notice the location of other people's cars, determine the identity of anonymous voices on radio programs, get the help of officials with access to records, and develop special approaches to obtain particular pieces of information.

People commonly recognize others, and at the same time notice where they are going, what they are doing, and who they are with. People usually make connections between the pieces of information they have about a person in order to develop an idea of just what the person is up to.

> Anonymity is nonexistent in a small community. Everyone knows everyone else, and if they don't know they will ask around until they find out. People can recognize strong family resemblances. Many times people I don't know have said to me, "Oh, you're so-and-so's daughter (or sister, or niece)." People in small communities seem to

notice details more than people do who live in cities. Nothing can pass by unnoticed. The slightest change in a house, property, barn, or fishing boat is quickly detected. A few decades ago there was even less privacy, because people couldn't travel as easily as they can today. There were only a few stores close enough for shopping. Everyone knew where you got your clothes, how much you paid for them, the price of your car, and what you got on a trade-in. A teacher in a one room school knew all her pupils and their parents. If you caused trouble in school your parents heard about it before you got home. #5344

Dad always tries to figure out where someone is going who drives along our road. He usually knows the person. But whether or not he does, he considers the direction they're going in, whether they are wearing old clothes or a suit coat, and which car or truck they are driving. #5345

I saw Reggie coming out of the office of the federal parole officer, but he didn't recognize me. It must have to do with that prison sentence he did in New Brunswick. #5346

My friend and I were driving through Charlottetown the other day, when we passed a car with a man and a woman we know. If they had been driving in the opposite direction, he could have been giving her a ride home from work. But they shouldn't have been going in the direction they were going in at that time of day. So I turned the car around and we followed. They went to a motel, so you can imagine what was going on. #5347

In our area, a woman named Joan has a young girl of her own. Occasionally her aunt comes to visit from Montreal and brings her adopted boy with her. When she visits, the aunt leaves the boy with Joan and stays with other relatives. Joan buys lots of gifts for the boy while he is here. People in the community began to wonder why the boy always stays with Joan when the aunt visits, and why Joan buys him so many gifts. Then everyone began to talk about resemblances between the boy and Joan's little girl. They concluded that the boy is really Joan's own child, but was adopted by the aunt. No one knows for sure, but this is the story that's going around about Joan. Joan is also very active in community organizations. Those who used to look up to her because of her contribution, no longer think she's worthy to be so involved, and think she should be hiding her head in shame. #5348

The smaller the community you live in, the higher the percentage of people who will recognize you when they see you. However, even when you live in a smaller community, it is difficult to visit the larger communities, such as Charlottetown and Summerside, without running into several people you know. And then there are all the people in the larger centers who you don't notice, but who recognize you and wonder what you are doing. Even if you live in one of the larger Island communities, you can count on people recognizing you and talking to others about you.

> I was riding in a taxi going up North River Road in Charlottetown when we passed a car pulled over to the side with a police car parked just behind it. The cab driver looked to see who was in the back of the police car talking to the policeman. Then the driver announced, "That's Barry S____. He must have been stopped for speeding. He used to work at the Agricultural Station; then he went to work for the newspaper." #5349

Most cases in which someone sees another occur by chance. However, people also deliberately go to locations where they can watch specific people and events.

> If there's a girl I find really attractive that I don't know, when I see her I'll watch what she's doing and where she's going. Sometimes if I'm not doing anything better, I'll walk in the direction she's going for a block or so. Often I can figure out where she works or has lunch, see if she talks to someone I know, or find out if she already has a boyfriend. #5350

> This elderly nun left the order and made plans to get married. It was quite the story in our area. On the wedding day a number of women I know drove to the church and sat outside to watch from their car. They were really curious whether she'd be wearing a white dress or not. #5351

> I know an elderly couple who regularly sit outside one of the clubs in their car just to watch who goes in. I think that's why the Island doesn't have any houses of prostitution. If they did, everyone would sit outside just to find out who went in. #5352

My friend and I employ the term "sleuthing" to refer to using a car to learn things about other people. She and I often hang out at a local coffee and doughnut shop. We sit in my car, have coffee and doughnuts, and watch people go in and out of the shop. Often we make comments to each other about their appearance or clothing. Thus one of us might say, "Oh, I love your outfit," when a man exits wearing orange overalls, or "That's a nice purse," when a man goes in carrying a leather bag under his arm, or "Move along, Pregnoramus," when a pregnant woman walks by. We've also learned to recognize the regulars who hang out at the counter inside the shop. We've given each a nickname, such as Creepy, One Tooth Missing, The Blond Fellow, and Buster Brown. These names are based on personal characteristics. Thus Buster Brown drives a brown and white van and wears brown sweaters and slacks. We use these nicknames when we talk about them. When I see Creepy drive up, I often chant, "Creepy cracked corn, and I don't care," over and over, and make comments like "Love that strut," and "Bet there's a love nest in the back of his van." My friend and I also talk in our own private dialect in which we mispronounce words in certain ways.

One thing that we never expected is the regulars have noticed that my friend and I are regulars too and have started to speak to us. They sometimes say, "Hi, dear!" or "Why don't you girls ever come inside?" One asked what we were doing, and I told him we were private investigators. I bet they think we are some (very) stuck up. We really want to watch them without being watched ourselves. Neither of us wants to go inside the shop to get coffee and doughnuts when the regulars are there because we don't like the fact we attract their attention. Therefore we've adopted strict rules as to who has to go in. We each take turns and you must go in when it is your turn, unless you are deathly sick or aren't wearing your boots in very bad weather. Sometimes one of us will volunteer to go in when none of the regulars are there, because then the other person has to go in the next time and God knows what scuzz will be there then. Once it was my turn and all the creeps were there. My friend just gloated that I was the one who had to brave their looks.

Once we identify the vehicles that the regulars drive we are able to get other kinds of information about them. We would see their vehicles elsewhere in town and learn where they lived and worked. When we found out that one regular parked his car in front of a particular apartment house, another friend of ours went in and read his name off his mailbox. We also learned several of their license numbers by

heart, and this enabled us to get their names when we couldn't find out by any other means. A different friend of mine knows an officer in the RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police) and he looks up license numbers and addresses for her, and then she relays this information to us. Sometimes the regulars recognize us when they see us elsewhere in town, and this makes us quite uncomfortable. We had foolishly imagined they wouldn't be interested in us. Nevertheless, it's nice to know where the characters live and work that we see so often in the doughnut shop. We've done this only in fun, because it helps pass the time.

Another reason we go sleuthing is to find out more about people we know. The same friend who goes to the doughnut shop with me has a relative who is seeing a middle-aged man. My friend became quite concerned that this man might be married or have another girlfriend. My friend didn't say anything about her suspicions to her relative, but we started driving by the man's house regularly and parking nearby to see what we could learn about him. He turned out to be on the up and up. In my case, I've been involved for several years with a married man. I can recognize his car and his wife's car and know their license plates, and I frequently drive by his house to see which cars are there. When I see his wife's car in the drive, I know he probably won't be able to get away that evening. If his wife's car is gone, the wife could still be home because their son also uses her car. However, the wife frequently visits her sister, so if the wife's car isn't at her own house, I frequently drive by her sister's house to see if it is there. When it is, I know it is safe to phone the man at home. When his wife's car broke down, the garage loaned her another car, and I had to learn to recognize it and the license number too. I've also learned to identify the cars of specific relatives who visit them so when I drive by I can determine the likelihood he'll be able to keep a date that we've made. He can get away when certain relatives are there. I always carry a pair of binoculars under the seat, and get my friend to use them when we drive by so we can see who is at home. This gives me a better idea whether or not it is safe to call and whether I can expect to see him later.

My friend and I are certainly not the only ones who engage in sleuthing. People do so for many reasons. They may sit in their cars outside bars and lounges to see who goes in, they may follow someone to learn more about them, or they may drive past a residence to learn whether a person they are romantically interested in is already involved with someone else. #5353

Finding out about others

The major way in which most people acquire information about others is through talking to relatives, friends, neighbors, fellow workers, and acquaintances.

> We talk about lots of things at home. Family matters are foremost. We talk about what's happening at home and how the kids are doing. How's the farm, how's Dad's health, how's Mom doing? Any problems and stuff. That's number one. Then comes the social life of family members. What the kids are doing with their friends? Next is community affairs. You get the gossip on what everybody's doing. Who's going out with whom, who's getting married, who's having problems? Then there's religion. What's going on in the church and stuff? Who's a Micky (Catholic) and who's a Mac (Protestant)? We scrutinize the local minister and the priest. How well are they doing? Are they going to stay for a year or many years? Sometimes people in the community don't like them and oust them. Maybe they're too conservative or too liberal. Are they too prejudiced? Do they step on too many toes? Maybe they don't want to perform marriages for mixed couples, and lots of couples want to have mixed marriages. There's also politics. We talk about the local member of parliament. Like how good he is, what he's doing, and how he runs his campaigns? Dad always reads the newspaper and comments on the premier and the various ministers. He'll say, "I don't think Gerald makes a good Tourism Minister. He's got his farm and his kids and what would he know about tourism?" #5354

> Mom wants to know about every girl my brother goes out with. My brother doesn't want to tell her, so Mom will start pumping me. I'll say, "I don't know. Why don't you ask him, Mom?" "You must know. You were with him last night." "Mom, I don't know." Mom gets right uptight. She looks closely at every girl that my brother brings by the house, because every girl is a possible wife for my brother. My parents want to know everything about her, every bit of her background. Then come the comments. Mom will say to me, "Why don't you tell your brother that you don't think he should be going with her." And since my parents probably grew up with her relatives, they'll say, "It's because of her parents. It always comes out in the kids eventually, you know." But if the girl is from Charlottetown, they probably don't know anything about her family, and they base their comments on how she dresses, how she acts, and how nice she is. #5355

When my husband and I considered buying our present home in Charlottetown, we were surprised at how much the real estate agent knew about the people in the neighborhood. He stressed how desirable this location was given the occupations of the neighbors, because one was a retired Mountie and another was a school teacher just like myself. When I talked to the people who were selling the house they told me about the neighbors also. They assured me we would have more privacy than we supposed, because the people next door spend the summer away at their summer cottage. When the people where I work learned where we were moving, they told me which neighbors were difficult to get along with and should be avoided and which ones I'd get along fine with. As a result, I knew from the beginning there was one of them I didn't want to meet. Then when we actually met the neighbors, they brought us up to date on the conflicts between various families in the neighborhood and who we could and could not invite over at the same time. #5356

Guys gossip just as much as girls, just about different things. Guys will talk endlessly about a fight at a club on Friday night. They get into more detail than women do about their date on a Saturday evening. You'll hear, "Did you see how he came after him from behind? Mark is one great fighter. He just laid off and punched Ted in the nose. Boy, what a mess Ted's face was. Blood all over the front of Ted's shirt and pants. Mark really gave it to him." Now if it were girls talking, all they would say is "Pretty bad fight at the club on Friday night. It was really gross, so I left." That's all the girls would say, nothing more. Then they would switch to a more interesting topic, like clothes or hair. #5357

If you want to know something about a person, the best thing to do is to talk to those who are close to the person you want to know about. Of course, you never ask them directly. Instead you "fish" around and try to get them to do the talking. The very last thing you want is for them to go back to the person you are interested in and tell them you were "nosing around" about them. #5358

There is a certain amount of finesse required in obtaining and sharing information about other people. If one goes about this properly one is respected by the community for one's knowledge. If one goes about it improperly, however, one is likely to be thought of as a gossip,

a know-it-all, a nosey person, or someone who spreads tales. "One woman in my community is well known as a gossip. She always asks questions about everyone's business, and she is not liked. Sometimes people tell her lies just so they can laugh when she repeats the story to their friends. People like to exaggerate her stories and laugh about her when they get together for a few drinks."

In small communities there are usually a few people who seem to know everything that is going on. These are usually people who know when to keep their mouths shut and when not to. They are able to create a network of sources of information. They know just who to call to find out what they want to know. Also, they know how to best get information from people without being too obvious. One of these women who is in the know told me, "I was wondering if they were having a mixed marriage or if he was turning Catholic. Well I thought for a long time and then I decided to call Sally about a knitting pattern that I was having trouble with. I knew she'd know all about the wedding. We had a great talk and she even brought up the wedding and told me all about it. The groom didn't turn and her people were all pretty upset. Anyway, I got my knitting figured out and I also found out about the marriage too. It worked great." This woman and many like her are highly skilled at working the conversation around to where they want it. Many others attempt this sort of thing and are less successful. The key is to have enough things on the go so that you can call people about other matters without arousing suspicion. Some who use this approach will openly admit it and are quite proud of their skills.

It is a source of status to be considered knowledgeable about the other members of your community. People will seek out your company and listen with full attention to what you have to say. Moreover, they will ask for your opinion about the information they have gathered themselves. Therefore it is a compliment when someone says, "I guess I'll go over to Kathy's to hear the news. She'll know who those Duffys are that moved in down the road. She hears all that kind of thing," or "I know what I'll do, I'll call Gwen. She always has the lowdown on everyone. If she hasn't heard something about them by now, you can buy me for ten cents." It is important, however, that you not talk too freely about what you know. A well-informed person should know enough not to talk out of turn. The general rule is don't display your information to people you do not really know well, or to people at a public gathering. However, you can say what you like if you are with close friends you can trust when you are in your home or at theirs.

If a person reveals what they know too freely, they can get the reputation of being a gossip or know-it-all. Someone who always talks about other people, or does so at parties or other get-togethers, is likely to be considered a gossip. The know-it-all pretends to know everyone and everything about them. I have a relative who tries to give the impression that he knows all the priests on the Island quite well. He will say, "Oh, yeah, Father Charles Smith. I played baseball with Charlie," or "You mean Father Brown? He's quite a boozer, you know. I've seen him drunk lots of times." Those who act knowledgeable about a whole category of people, such as alcoholics, doctors, women, and so on, are seen as know-it-alls. Know-it-alls try to impress others, and rarely succeed.

A nosey person tends to ask overly blunt questions at the wrong time. Thus you would be considered nosey if you came right out and asked someone what he paid for his new car. In the following conversation Tom would be labeled nosey:
Bill: "Did you see the new rig Joe bought? Worth a few dollars, I'd say."
Tom: "Yeah, he paid fifteen thousand for it, wherever he got the money."
Bill: "Go way! Where'd you hear that?"
Tom: "I asked him."
People would assume that if you asked a person something like this, and you weren't particularly close to him, he would lie. He might be offended at your nosiness and would up the cost. Or else he would be afraid that others would think he was acting big if he told you how much he spent, and therefore he would understate the amount.

If Tom had obtained his information in an acceptable manner, he would report that he reached his conclusions through outside information. "Well, my cousin Andrew got a car just like that, and he paid eleven thousand for it. That was three years ago, so you can figure it from there." This type of reply is considered much more likely to be accurate. Thus the information of a knowledgeable person is often a combination of fact and assumptions. A person in the know is likely to put together what he has observed and heard about the backgrounds and current circumstances of those involved. His ability to do this, and do it discreetly, is what makes him a valued community resource.

For the most part, people are quite willing to exchange stories about others as long as they think this won't endanger their reputation. However, some people make a practice of going from house to house repeating what was said about you by someone else. Although they can be quite knowledgeable about others, these people are the least

liked in the community, because they can not be trusted. They enjoy getting people stirred up about what someone else has said about them, and they may even add to it to make it worse. Such a person might say, "Hello, Tom. How is the hay crop this summer? Fred said, 'By the look of those cows you have out in the front field, it had better be good.' I didn't notice that those cows were thin, but you know Fred, always saying something." Of course, when Tom replies, this person will go right back and tell Fred what Tom said. Most Islanders do not like people who spread tales. #5359

Most people find it very difficult to keep a secret. When I'm told not to tell something, especially by those who are closest to me, such as my best friend or my boyfriend, I reassure them, "Of course not. I wouldn't do that!" Usually I don't intend to blab, but I end up telling someone I think I can trust. I believe everyone is like this. I have never come across anyone who can keep a real good secret for long. #5360

If someone tells you something that is to be kept confidential, you are likely to assure him that you will maintain this confidence. However, you may repeat what he told you to your husband or wife, boyfriend or girlfriend, and one or two close friends. At the same time, you will feel you have maintained the confidence, because as you explain to those you tell, "I'm just telling you. I know you're not going to run out and tell it." You are unlikely to tell the person who originally shared the confidence with you that you have told others. There would be no need to, because in your mind, you really didn't tell anyone. When you repeat the confidence to others, you are very likely to preface it with a warning not to tell other people. "Now, I'm not supposed to let on about this," or "Remember, no one is supposed to know about this but me. So don't ever mention it." If someone were to say, "If this is such a big secret, why are you telling it?" you'd probably respond with something like "I'm not out around the country telling it. I know you're not going to spread it around. I doubt if Bill would care if I told you anyway." People have a special circle of friends and family members that they feel safe telling anything. Essentially, this is how people define trust. When they repeat something that has been confided to them to the people in their own circle, they do not feel they are breaking a confidence. I believe many Islanders consider this a very acceptable form of behavior and they expect that their friends do too. However, there are visitors and people who have moved to the Island from away who become quite upset when they learn that the

> person they confided in has shared their secrets with others. Islanders typically find this response difficult to understand. Many arguments and conflicts have occurred because of different expectations over maintaining confidence. #5361

People seem to love to exchange news when they get together. Often when people run into someone they know, they discuss what has happened to themselves and mutual acquaintances since they last saw each other. They frequently ask each other for such news.

> People at home take great delight in knowing what everyone else is doing. When people meet, they commonly ask, "Have you got any news?" "News" refers to any information about goings on in the community, and it wouldn't interest someone who didn't know the people involved. I live in Charlottetown during the week, and go home on the weekend. After I get home, I'm always filled in on the "news," if not by one person, then by another. Last weekend the "news" going around was about a fight between two men, and also a man who lost his car when it fell through the ice on the bay. #5362

> There is one lady who always wants to know "What's all the news up at your place?" as soon as you walk into her house. I swear, she goes through every member of my family, and asks what each is doing at that particular moment. She doesn't like to miss anything. #5363

Although any trivial information is interesting when it is about people one knows, often the more scandalous the information, the better.

> The nurse told me, "When the doctor got back from his vacation last week, the first thing he said to me was 'Don't bother with the other stuff. Tell me the dirt.'" #5364

> Prior to starting my training to become a Licensed Nursing Assistant, I spent six weeks working at a local government institution for the elderly associated with one of the hospitals. By doing this, I was able to cut down on the time I would have to spend in clinical geriatric training later on. At that time all of the institution's staff were called attendants. They received no training and the work consisted of dealing with the physical needs of patients. The female attendants ranged in age from 18 to over 50. Some were from the city, and a few were

wives of farmers and fishermen. The length of time they had worked at this particular institution was from three to twenty-three years.

One room in the institution was set aside as a changing room for the female staff. It was just a large room with a few chairs to sit on and nails in the wall to hang street clothes on. It also served as the attendants' coffee room. There was no canteen or cafeteria in the institution. This was the room where the female attendants did most of their gossiping. On a normal day they would try to arrange that all would be present during the coffee break, except for the attendant left on the floor. As a result, as many as twelve women would be together in the room at a time. Attendants who had worked the most years in the institution were those most willing to overstay the amount of time allocated for the coffee break. Therefore, they were often there the whole time, whereas others came and went during the break.

The first week I was there the staff were quite guarded in their talk when I was in the room. However, they were very friendly. They asked me questions about my previous work, where I lived, and why I was becoming a nurse. They also asked questions about my family. They wanted to know who my father and mother were and where they were from, and if I had any brothers and sisters and what they did. There was nothing unusual about any of this, or so I thought then.

After I had been there a week, I was regarded as just one of the staff and the others returned to their regular gossiping. They gossiped about each other and each other's families. I guess I was rather stupid, because it took me a while to understand what was going on. Gradually I realized they were talking about anyone who wasn't in the room at the time. Thus they might talk about a fellow worker who wasn't at work that day. If someone wasn't in the room yet or had already left the room, they would talk about them or some member of their family. If the person they were talking about entered the room, they started talking about a different staff member. The person who had just entered would join in with various comments and speculations about that staff member too.

This gossip was all malicious. The primary aim was to dig up whatever dirt they could about past and present family problems of the staff members. In a single coffee break they could besmirch the characters of several people who were unfortunate enough to be relatives of a staff member. I never heard them say anything nice about anybody. The worst part, as far as I was concerned, was that they arrived at their conclusions either on the basis of hearsay or when they had only half the facts. Their conclusions were never charitable. And

they did not seem to care what harm or damage their gossip could do. On this basis they would do a thorough character assassination, often of a person they did not even know. Once they arrived at an interpretation suitable to them, that interpretation became fact or truth and would be passed on to others outside the institution as such, instead of as speculation. To say I was shocked by these people and the way their minds worked is an understatement. I was absolutely stunned, not only by what they were doing, but by the casual manner in which they went about it. The saddest fact of all was that these people in no way felt they were doing anything wrong.

In one case the staff member being discussed was a middle-aged woman. Her husband had a farm about thirty miles from town. She kept a room in town and only went home on her days off. According to the others she was having an affair with one of the male staff members who was also married. They had been seen talking together in the parking lot both before and after work. At the end of the day the man would leave to go home in his car and she would ride the staff bus to town. They had a perfect setup as far as the others were concerned. Her husband was stuck way out in the country, she had a room in town, and the other man had a car. Therefore it was quite easy for them to carry on their affair. I made the mistake of asking if anybody had ever actually seen them together, other than at work. They just laughed at me. Really, how naïve could I be?

Then there was the eighteen-year-old unmarried student. It was actually a fact that she had been made a ward of the court when she was twelve or thirteen. However, the remainder of the information was concocted by the staff. According to them she was quite wild. But what could you expect? Her whole family was a bad lot. She wasn't even allowed to associate with her oldest sister, who was a tramp who slept around. Moreover, this eighteen year old had already been pregnant a couple of times.

Another case involved a woman in her forties. She and her husband came from very rough families. According to the staff, neither family had any moral values, nor had they ever had any as far back as you could look. It would be hard to figure out which of the many children within the families were legitimate and which were illegitimate. Not only that, but the kids, nieces, and nephews were just like the parents. In addition, the woman's family kept their cars going on stolen parts.

There was more. Much, much more. They related stories of this type about everybody who worked there or about one or more of

their family members. The staff kept each other up to date on the latest tidbits and news. Not all the staff were scandalmongers, but a good ninety percent were. Male staff members took just as active a part in the gossip as did the women. It was hard not to hear the gossip. I tried not to listen, and made a point of trying not to remember any of it if I could.

Once I realized what the staff were doing, I cleared out. I couldn't take it. Since I did not like instant coffee, I always brought a thermos of perked coffee. I left it in my car and went out to my car for my coffee and lunch breaks just to keep away from the staff and their rotten gossip.

I was glad when the time came for me to start my training, so I could get away from this institution. But I wasn't looking forward to the time when I would have to return to finish my time in geriatrics. When I did return at the end of my training, I felt I was prepared to deal with the situation. I was going to have as little contact with the staff as possible. I was going to avoid them like the plague, except for working with them on the wards. Unfortunately, I had overlooked the fact that this time I would be doing night duty. I ended up having to do four straight weeks of night duty with one of the older women who had worked at the institution for twenty-three years.

This woman was a master in digging, prying, and gossiping. From the very first night it was obvious she was going to pass on to me all the gossip she could, whether I wanted to hear it or not. Also, she was going to find out all she could about me, my family, and my other relatives, in the hope of getting something useful for the staff gossip sessions. When I first worked there, they had asked me questions about myself and my family. Using what they had learned from these seemingly innocent questions, they were able to dig into my private life and that of my parents, their brothers and sisters, and all their families. I have eighteen first cousins, all of whom are older than me and are married with families of their own. Well, they had connected all but one or two to me. I realized from the woman's questions they must have spent quite a lot of time at this. I was really amazed at the amount of personal information they had obtained, and by the fact they had bothered to do so.

Most families have secrets locked away, and my family is no different. There are things which we consider our own business and not for public consumption. Certainly we wouldn't tell them to these people, who would probably twist them all out of proportion. As far as I know, we have no big skeletons locked in any of our closets. A

few of my first cousins did have to change their wedding plans and get married earlier than they had planned. But they did not leave any illegitimate children behind them. One of my first cousins eloped with a man her parents didn't approve of. He had been married and had just gotten a divorce. I don't think any great attempt was made to cover any of these things up. They were just things that you don't make a point of spreading around. None of these things were really any of my business. And they most certainly were no business of these people.

It is hard to explain exactly how the woman went about trying to get information from me. She did ask questions and very blunt ones at times. These were quite easy to deal with, since I knew the direction of her thoughts. She got quite annoyed when I would laugh and tell her it was none of her business. At other times I would tell her that since they were so good at digging things up, I was sure they could come up with an answer, and one much more suitable to them than anything I could say. She even asked questions concerning things which went back before I was born. These questions were all about relatives who were either long dead or quite old. Instead of responding and commenting on who and what she was talking about – in most cases I couldn't anyway, because she seemed to know as much or more than I did – I would ask her how she knew these things, or why she thought they involved my relatives. She would smile and say, "Don't think we aren't discussing you," or "Oh, we have our ways."

The woman was quite interested in the age gap which occurred in three of our families between the first and second child. She was particularly concerned with the first born. She would discuss one and then ask, "How old would they be now?" Later she would ask, "What year were their parents married?" She was trying to establish that the first child was born before the couple had married, and was therefore illegitimate. "My, it is strange there is such a gap between their first two kids," she would say. Well, I didn't think it strange, considering the fact that my aunts and uncles got married just at the beginning of the Depression. Anybody with any sense would know people were not going to have a baby every year when they were losing their jobs and didn't know where or when they would get another one. But I didn't remind her of that. I was getting fed up with her, her talk, and her endless questions and insinuations. I once felt moved to tell her, "I hope I'm having fun when I'm shacking up, according to you. Let me know what you find out. But keep your mouth off my family." I simply couldn't get away from her. I would take my coffee and go off to the sunroom, and damned if the woman didn't follow.

> While I was at the institution, the staff tried to embarrass me with the administration. They changed a patient of mine who was incontinent and placed the dirty clothes and sheets in his night table. Then they went and got the matron to show her the evidence of what I had supposedly done. When the matron accused me, I told her, "Whatever you want to believe, you can believe," and walked away. The supervisor was a cousin of mine, and she probably told the matron I wouldn't do anything like that. The supervisor did make a comment to me about the incident later. I think the staff did it for two reasons. One is that the presence of Licensed Nursing Assistants worried the staff, because they feared LNA's would replace them. The second reason is that I was seen by them as an outsider because I didn't participate in their gossip sessions.
>
> There is no denying that the staff at the institution were good workers. They were very kind to the patients, and I never heard them defame their characters. They did attack certain family members of patients, especially if they felt they weren't writing or visiting the patients enough. And if the relatives weren't around at Christmas and Easter, they would really get going about them. However, to this day when I think of the staff, what I remember is how they tried to victimize me and my relatives with their gossip. #5365

Often people pool information, and are able to feed each other unfamiliar details.

> There are two other communities near ours and we hear the news about them as well as about our own. My father and brother fish out of a neighboring community at the harbor, so they get all of the news at the harbor. Mom gets all the news about the next community, because she goes to Weight Watchers. Mom doesn't go to bingo, but the lady across the road does. She comes over and they swap. Mom gives the lady her news from Weight Watchers and the lady gives Mom the news from bingo. They tell each other who was there, who's pregnant, who's getting married, who's had a baby, who's sick, who has died, and all the rest. #5366

> We live on the main street of our village. My dad is unemployed and spends most of his day sitting in front of the window watching what is going on in the village. He is such a gossip that many people come in to exchange the latest news with him. People are constantly coming and going from our house from eight o'clock in the morning until

about nine-thirty at night. Most are men who are also unemployed, and they range in age from about 19 to 65. If my father picks up information that he hasn't already heard from someone, he discusses it with everyone who comes in and finds out all he can. One man who frequently stops by told me, "I was walking up the sidewalk when your father tapped on the window and signaled for me to come in. He wanted to know if I'd heard anything on a John MacDonald." #5367

A friend of mine from Ottawa came to visit me and went with us to a hockey banquet which was being held to honor all the boys in the minor hockey league in our area. There are about 150 kids who play, and there must have been three to four hundred people at the banquet. Well, my friend Paul was the hot item that night. He was sitting with my family and the place was just buzzing. Everyone was trying to figure out who the stranger was, where he was from, how long he was staying here, who knew him, which one of us he was visiting, and all this other stuff. #5368

If I meet a girl I think is interesting in a club, I find out what community she's from. Then I can ask a few friends and within about fifteen minutes I'll know if there is anything I should know about her, like if she's a wing nut who was in the mental asylum. Meanwhile, she's probably finding out from her friends about my separation and heavy drinking. #5369

People frequently volunteer information about themselves to others.

Melissa, a sophomore in a university residence, had an abortion during the fall semester. She told a good friend about the abortion and the fact she had traveled to another city to get it done because she was four months pregnant. This friend told another friend and within a week about half of the residence knew about the abortion. Melissa doesn't know that all these people know about the abortion. Now a lot of people talk about her behind her back and try to avoid her. Because her pregnancy was so far along, many people feel she murdered the baby. When a guy shows an interest in Melissa he is told about her abortion and loses interest. Some girls are very two-faced around Melissa. They act very nice when they talk to her, but talk about her the minute she leaves the room. #5370

Many people will visit someone when they want to know more about what is going on.

> The woman across the road from us can look right out her front window into ours. If there's a car she doesn't know in our drive, she'll usually come over for a visit. But if it's the usual bunch, she won't waste her time. She also listens to our phone calls on our party line. We know she's there, because she's somewhat deaf and always leaves her radio on loud enough for us to hear. When I get a call from someone coming to visit, especially if it's a guy, she'll come over to visit about ten minutes before he's supposed to arrive. #5371

> If a person orders a new piece of furniture from a department store, the community is alerted when they see the delivery truck outside the person's door. Almost without fail someone will find an excuse to go over shortly after the truck leaves. If the owner of the new item shows it off too much, this is likely to be reported to others too. "Well, I was over to Maud's the other day. I slipped over after the truck from Sears left. What was there, big as life, but a giant-screen television. Maud says it's a waste of time watching a regular TV. Can you imagine? I'd say by the look of those barns, some paint would have been a better investment." #5372

People also use the phone to call someone to find out what they want to know. Depending on the information one wants, one usually knows just who to call.

> If there's a fire up the road, you can call someone who has a clearer view. "Lois, can you see the fire from your house? What is happening? Is anyone hurt?" #5373

> If I want to know what's happening at home in my community, I just have to call my mother. I can ask, "Are Cathy and Mark still going together?" "Is Michael still on a spree?" "Did Freddy's marriage break up yet?" "What did the Smiths do on their anniversary?" "Who is Karen going out with now?" Mom always seems to know what's happening and can give me the answers and more. #5374

Phones can also be used to obtain information surreptitiously.

> I met this really fun, middle-aged guy at a club in town and we had a great time dancing and kidding around. I gave him my phone number and really hoped he'd call. In the meantime I drove by his place repeatedly and phoned a number of times and hung up when he answered. I was trying to find out whether there was a woman at his place he was involved with. #5375

Some people will ask a person outright for the information they are interested in.

> I was getting my hair done at the hairdresser's and she started asking me questions like "When are you getting married?" "Is your sister divorced yet?" "What's her house like?" and "Is her carpet as nice as mine?" I was shocked she could be so nosey and ask such questions. She has a lot of gall. #5376

> We invited a number of children from the local orphanage to spend Christmas with our family. When other people learned what we were doing, some were supportive, some expressed doubts, and some wanted to know all about the children's backgrounds and everything we knew about them. "What are their last names?" "Where do they come from?" "Who are their parents?" Of course, we did not answer them. After Christmas we sometimes brought a child home from the orphanage for a visit. When they saw us with the child, some people always wanted to get any juicy gossip about the child's background. If we revealed the child's last name, they would be likely to say, "I wonder if he is so-and-so's son? Remember that one? She had a boy a few years ago. He would be about this age now." We found such speculations disgusting. Even though we knew very little about the child's background, we would tell these people that this wasn't the child they were thinking of. #5377

> When they go to visit, my neighbors pump questions at you. They feel a piece of juicy news straight from the horse's mouth is much more convincing than something heard secondhand. They'll say, "How are you feeling? How's your arthritis been? Where is all the family? It's

> a pity your girls aren't around when you need some help, you being sick and all." It seems as though they feel they have every right to know exactly what is happening to you. Not only will they ask highly personal questions, but they don't hesitate to give advice. "So, is your son still into those funny pills? You know, if I were you, I would just kick him out. There is no way on God's green earth that he has to be taking those. Him so young and all. You think now that you'd have more power with him than that. My God, I don't know what's become of teenagers these days. That young Howard fella up the road would never think of doing stuff like that. Him so loyal and kind to his father; and look what *your* son is doing." #5378

> If you don't answer when someone starts prying, they tell people you must have something to hide. Then everyone tries twice as hard to find out the news. As time passes and they don't learn what they want, a story is made up and spread around. So you have a choice of telling the truth yourself or keeping quiet and having everyone say something false about you. #5379

People frequently complain about "nosey" behavior on the part of neighbors and relatives. The desire not to appear nosey, or to be labeled nosey, acts as a brake on many people's efforts to find out about others. Consequently many people try to be somewhat subtle so that it does not appear they are making a deliberate effort to collect information on a person.

Children are another source of information. They are often eager to share what they have seen and heard.

> There's a hippie girl who lives in our community. When her little daughter is over at our house, Mom and Dad will ask her loaded questions. Recently they asked, "Who do you sleep with?" When the little girl replied she slept with her mother, my parents asked, "And who does Mommy sleep with?" #5380

Most parents get quite upset if they think someone is "pumping" their own child for information they would rather have remain in the family. At the same time, many people collect information through their own children. One woman volunteered, "It's been quiet over at the Duffy's. So I got Junior to go over and play with their little fella to find out how things have been."

My uncle and his wife have two children, a girl who is seventeen and a boy of fifteen. They are ingenious at using their two children to obtain information about neighbors and friends, and I have watched them do so for years. This does not carry negative connotations. My uncle and his wife as well as the two children seem to view this as a means of staying informed about their neighbors and friends and a pleasant way of interacting with each other.

One Sunday afternoon I went to visit my uncle and his wife. Their kids were just leaving to go visit their next-door neighbors. I chatted with my uncle and his wife for about an hour until their kids returned. As soon as their children were back inside the house my uncle and his wife started asking them questions. My uncle wanted to know if the neighbor, Roger, was doing anything that afternoon. His son said Roger was just sitting at the table playing solitaire. My uncle told his son to go ask Roger to come over so they could play darts in the basement. His son nodded and said he would go over in a few minutes. My uncle's wife asked her daughter if Roger's wife, Rachel, had won at bingo. Rachel had asked my uncle's wife to go to bingo with her, but she had had to work that evening. Her daughter said that Rachel didn't win any money, but had just missed getting a full card by two numbers.

Then my uncle wanted to know if Roger and Rachel had gone out to supper the night before with Roger's parents. His son reported, "Roger's parents wanted to take them out because it was their fifteenth wedding anniversary, but they had to call it off because of a sudden death in the family. Roger's uncle died of a heart attack." My uncle was disturbed to learn this. At the same time he was pleased that this gave them a perfect opportunity to treat Roger and Rachel to a belated anniversary dinner the coming Saturday, well after the funeral.

My uncle's wife asked her daughter if she had seen Trish over at their neighbor's house. Her daughter said that Trish had stopped by for a brief visit. She asked if Trish's father was sober or not. Her daughter said, "He's recovering from last night. He was at a party and came home pretty drunk." My uncle asked his daughter if she had seen Trish's mother in the last few days. She replied that she had run into Trish's mother at the shopping mall on Thursday and saw that she had a black eye. His daughter asked her what had happened and Trish's mother said she had been mopping the floor, accidentally stepped on the mop, and the mop had flipped up and hit her in the face. I could tell from the expression on his daughter's face that this isn't what happened. From the conversation it became clear that Trish's father

has a drinking problem and hits his wife occasionally. Trish's mother never hits Trish, but does starve her of emotional support. I asked what kind of student Trish is in school, and my uncle's daughter said she is extremely introverted. Many boys in class are really fond of Trish and ask her out for dates, but Trish refuses and just remains in her own little world. The daughter explained that Trish looks at friendships, relationships, and marriage from an idealistic point of view. Trish's parents constantly fight with each other, and focusing on the ideal allows Trish to escape the real world.

The son left to go over and see if Roger wanted to play darts with my uncle. He returned ten minutes later and said Roger was glad to come, because he hadn't played for a couple of months. The daughter told her mother she was going to visit a friend and wondered if her mother could drive her there. Her mother agreed and they left the house. #5381

Many communities on the Island still use shared phone lines, and people listen in on each other's conversation. They use this technique as a means of keeping up with what is happening inside their neighbor's homes. Listening to other people's conversations is so widespread that people assume someone may be listening whenever they use the phone, and therefore watch what they say.

One neighbor of ours, a housewife of 65, spends the whole afternoon listening on the phone. When young children talk on the phone, she tells them to get off and then eagerly waits for adults, who provide better news. She has a very long telephone cord, which stretches from the kitchen into the living room and den, so it is quite easy for her to do her cleaning and make the meals while listening. In the evening she calls up all her friends and reports to them the news she's heard that day. #5382

When my mother was pregnant with me and about to deliver, my grandmother called the operator and asked her to phone for the doctor. However, before the operator phoned the doctor, she called her friends to tell them that my mother was going to deliver. #5383

One man listens in on my mother's phone calls. When she asks her friends questions over the phone, the man answers them. Mom says,

> "He seems to get a great kick out of saying goodbye after I say goodbye to the person I am talking to, because he knows there is nothing we can do about it but grit our teeth." #5384

> We have a priest on our party line. If a friend phones me and tells me about a problem she is having with her boyfriend, almost without fail the sermon that Sunday will be on what we were talking about. #5385

> The good old party line! We received a phone call that my grandmother had died, and it wasn't five minutes later that our neighbors arrived to give their condolences. I mean it was very nice of them to come so soon, but the least they could have done is wait until we told them ourselves. #5386

One can frequently tell that people are listening, and often just who it is that's listening in.

> One family in our neighborhood is not very discreet when they listen in on our calls. Often you can hear music or their voices in the background. One day I was talking to a friend on the phone when I heard, "Goodbye Eileen, and drop in again sometime," in the background. I looked out our window and Eileen was just coming out of the door of their house. Occasionally they get overzealous when our phone rings, and pick up their receiver before we can answer ours. #5387

> Telephones were first installed in our local area in the mid-1960's, and most people have been placed on a party line with five or six other households. The phone itself consists of a handset with a cord attached to a box. There is a crank and a button on the box. Turning the crank produces a ring, and if you push in the button as you turn the crank, you ring the operator. You have to call the operator to be connected with people who are not on your party line. If, however, you want to talk to another party on your line, you leave the button alone and turn the crank a specified amount. Thus you might make two long rings and the designated party will know you are calling them. However, any ring on the party line alerts all the families on that line that a telephone call is taking place, and the sequence of long and short rings notifies everyone just who is being called. This gives people the opportunity to listen to their neighbors, and to choose which neighbors to listen to. Many people make use of this opportunity.

Listening in on the phone is a means of keeping up with the news in the community. Although most people engage in this to some extent, usually it is the women who do so. One reason is that they are in the house more than the men. Often women who listen to others justify it by saying they are just keeping in touch with what people are doing. However, one doesn't listen to every phone call. Who you listen to depends on what is going on. If someone in the community is sick, you listen to their family's calls in order to learn how the person is doing. You do the same in the case of an accident, fire, birth, death, wedding, or anything else you want to get the news about. Almost without fail, if the phone starts ringing late at night, someone from every household in the neighborhood will get up to listen. People assume that a call at this hour is surely important and worth knowing about. You might also listen in if a family has relatives visiting and you want to get a good story to tell others about how much they are boasting on the phone about their relatives. There are also certain people you make a point of listening to whenever they receive a call. One family in our community is from Ontario and we always listen to their calls because the woman of the family never knows when to keep her mouth shut. She criticizes people in the community and says they are poor workers and lazy because they won't work on Sundays. She'll say anything. One of her relatives who calls her long distance knows others are probably listening and tries to shut her up, but it never works.

The information people gain from eavesdropping on the party line provides good gossip material and most people use it to the full. A lot of good stories are exchanged about funny things people hear on "the olde phone," as many refer to it. For example, one woman on the line goes on and on about how wonderful the members of her family are, how well they are doing, how successful they are, and how much she is looking forward to their next visit. Her favorite word is perfect. Other women feel she puts on too much, because no one could be that proud and pleased. Once Mom was listening and the woman said her son and his wife would be bringing their infant baby home. She couldn't just say baby, she had to say infant baby, which made everything so special. Mom must have told this fifty times to other people. In another case a neighbor of ours kept getting calls from Cooperative Finance about overdue bills. A representative of the company would ask, "May I please speak to Tom R____?" Once he learned what time of the month to expect a call from them, Tom would reply, "Well now, to tell you the truth, he's not here right now." When asked when he would return, Tom would say, "Well, I can't rightly tell you. But I'll be

sure to tell him you called." Everyone in the community knew about Tom's delinquent account, and enjoyed talking about his telephone conversations with Cooperative Finance and the fact they never caught up to him.

Listening in is not something one wants to be accused of. There is a real fear that the telephone company will remove your phone if they catch you, although I have never heard of it happening to anyone. However, if circumstances are right, some people openly admit to friends and others that they do listen in. But one always has to be careful that the person one tells won't inform the party one was listening to.

When you listen to others on the phone, it is important to stay as quiet as possible. Mom listens on the phone a lot, and she sometimes puts a dishcloth over the speaker so no one will hear her breathing. This is a big concern, because occasionally a speaker says, "I hear someone breathing on this phone." If everyone else is outside putting in hay or something and Mom is the only one in the house, she can keep things really quiet. When you enter the house, you'll often hear the phone click as she hangs up. However, Mom will also want to listen while others are in the house. She is always covering the receiver with her hand and telling others, "Quiet. I'm trying to listen on the phone." Or else she hangs up the phone and comes out to where we are and says, "I'm on the phone." This usually works and everyone tries to be quiet.

Things frequently happen which give away the fact someone is listening to a conversation, and sometimes even who it is. It is difficult for people to be totally quiet. This is especially true of the other family members in the eavesdropper's home, who are busy doing other things. For example, we'll be watching television and the phone will ring and it'll be someone Mom wants to listen to. She'll turn the TV down and my sister will get mad and complain, "That's too low," and turn it back up. Occasionally you can identify an eavesdropper because you hear a sound, name, or voice you recognize in the background. Thus you may hear someone with asthma wheeze on the phone, or hear a family's children fighting in another room. One woman named Alice has a grandfather clock at home and when she listens you can hear it ticking in the background. Once when I was listening, one of the parties said, "We have some company on the line." The other replied, "Yes, and I hear the clock ticking." There was a "click" as Alice hung up. "Well she's gone now. That was too close for comfort," said the first party. Also, people sometimes forget themselves. For example, a husband will come in and be looking for something, and his wife, who is

listening on the phone, might call, "Oh, the paper's on the stove, the corner of the stove." Once when Mom was listening, someone in our house said, "Go in and get the baby." Mom got upset and said, "Now how many houses on this road have a baby in them? Don't be so crazy. We're going to lose the phone over this." Although everyone is supposed to be quiet when someone in your house is listening on the phone, someone often messes it up.

When people realize someone is listening to them on the phone, without fail they mention the fact. They say all kinds of things, such as "I guess someone's in a rush for the line. It's pretty bad when a person can't say a few words," or "What know-nothing is on the line? You'd think people would mind their own business once in a while," or "You can hang up now, Mary. We're not going to say much more," or "Would you snots please get off the damn phone for five minutes, or I'll report you to the phone company. Then you'll be wishing you'd minded your own business." When such comments are made, the eavesdropper hangs up softly, bangs the receiver down, or blows loudly into the phone.

There are certain considerations, other than interest in the conversation, used in deciding whether or not to continue listening on the phone. Some people believe others begin to boast about themselves when they know others are listening to their phone conversation. Those talking will supposedly inflate the price they paid for something or sold something for, or they might add on to their Christmas presents. In such cases those listening in will sometimes put the phone back on the receiver and say, "Well I wouldn't give them the satisfaction of thinking that anyone heard that." People dropping in to visit at home have mentioned this and said, "She just made me sick, telling all they got for Christmas. It turned my stomach. I just hung up. I've better things to do with my time." In addition, people often do not listen in on long distance calls from people's relatives who can't be home at Christmastime. Frequently long distance calls aren't very clear and the more people who listen on the line, the weaker the signal and the harder it is for the parties to hear each other. Therefore, out of courtesy people will hang up and say, "I know they are calling long distance and it's costing them money, so I didn't stay on."

When you are using the party line, there are certain things you are careful not to talk about because you expect others might be listening in. Thus you don't talk about your financial matters. Usually when you want to discuss a loan or bill, you have to call a bank or business in Charlottetown. If you want to make such a call, you are

careful to keep your finger on the button as you turn the crank so others won't know you are calling out to the operator. However, sometimes your finger slips or you release the button too soon, and the phone "dings" in all the homes on the party line, and people pick up their phones. When we accidentally do this, we just hang up and make the call at a later time. Some people say that when they have to conduct financial or other private business they travel directly to Charlottetown or else go to a relative who has a private line and use their phone. I've heard people say, "You can't make a call here; there's no privacy. People are always listening."

Although everyone knows that people listen in on their conversations, and tries to control what they say themselves, it is much more difficult to control what others say who call them. A man from Ontario has a business in our area. I worked one summer in the business and remember a customer who came in really upset. The owner of the business had called him up about an overdue bill, and asked him to pay it. He was quite a good customer and I believe he had either forgotten about the bill or hadn't received it in the mail. But boy, when he came to pay he was mad. He told the owner that you just do not call people about bills on a party line. Furthermore, people just would not put up with that here, and if that was the way he intended to run his business he would have to look for new customers, because he for one would never do business there again. This customer has a food processing plant and my father does a lot of business with him. My father was over to see him a couple of months later and the man went on and on about being phoned about his bill and he advised my father not to deal with them again either.

When you want to use the phone, the proper etiquette is to lift it off the hook and ask, "Is the line busy?" Some people keep their calls short, but others can be quite inconsiderate and get on the party line and talk for half an hour or more. When people monopolize the line, those waiting to use it can get very impatient. In fact my mother and sister get terribly annoyed when this happens. Consequently, people use certain techniques to get others off the line. One of the most popular is called "ringing them off." This consists of making long rings, "Rwwrrrrrr, Rwwrrrrrr," or a whole bunch of short rings, "Stik, tik, tik, tik," on the line. Another common technique is blowing directly into the phone, which makes a sound like the wind. Other methods are used too. The members of one family just keep picking up the phone every few seconds and asking, "Is the line busy?" My sister holds the handset up and drops it into its cradle, which makes a noisy

crash on the line. A technique I use that always works is to do riffs with my fingernails on the voice piece. You can even interfere when using a dial phone by turning the dial to produce clicks. These techniques disrupt people's conversation. When you are talking on the phone and expecting a response, it is very hateful to have someone else blow a loud "Wheeeewww!" in your ear.

On other occasions people try to make it impossible for others to talk even though they have no desire to use the phone themselves. For example, on election night when it becomes clear which party has won, the supporters of the winning party want to talk about their victory and the phones start ringing. However, a supporter of the losing party may get on the phone and try to disrupt the conversation by blowing or cheering. This certainly adds to the division between the political parties on the local level.

At times members of my own family also try to disrupt phone conversations. We tend to react if people start going on about how much they got for Christmas or how gorgeous their grandchildren are. In such cases Mom will sometimes blow in the phone. If I tell her about a particularly sickening conversation I've overheard, she might comment, "Jeez, I wish I'd been home. I'd have blown them right off." At other times we often run and grab something that makes a noise. One thing we use is a toy bird. It goes "Cheep! Cheep! Cheep!" when you wind it up. Another thing is a plastic duck. When you squeeze it, it goes "BAAAKKK!" and sometimes you can make it sound like a fart. You usually use a noisemaker when you are together with one or more other family members and not on your own. Mom and I do it a lot. Now that we have an extension phone upstairs, it is terrific fun. Whoever wants to can pull the prank downstairs and a bunch of us can go listen upstairs.

In addition we frequently disrupt calls of the family that we have the pick on. The reason we got the pick against them is that Mom overheard the woman of the family and her married daughter talking about us. They were saying that my sister and I had disrupted a phone call of theirs. However, that time we hadn't done anything like that. But anyway when Mom heard them talking about us she said, "Is the phone busy? Oh!" and acted surprised to hear them talking about us. Then later that night she called them up and gave them a piece of her mind. She told them if she ever heard our names being used on the phone like that again they would be sorry. This became a major topic of conversation at our house for a couple of weeks. The idea that this family, who knew nothing, would be putting down my sister and me,

> two beautiful little kids, who would never dream of disrupting a call. So after that, we haven't cared what we do when they are on the phone. Boy, we squeak ducks and other things. When we hear their ring on a dull Sunday, we know it's the daughter calling with the news, and they become fair game. Last election their political party lost and they got on the phone to commiserate with others. Even though our family voted the same way they did, Mom wound up the bird and let it cheep into the receiver. She thought it was a big joke. In contrast, their family has never reciprocated in kind.
>
> In recent years the telephone company has installed dial phones in our area which one shares with only one or two other families. I think listening to others on the line has decreased to some extent. With fewer families on the phone now, there is less likely to be a family that you are particularly interested in listening to. Nevertheless, people still listen to others, and this is taken into account. My sister was talking to a relative recently and asked her what tests the doctor had ordered in connection with a minor operation. Her relative said, "Well they gave me an electrocardiogram, and I also took them a bottle of piss." My sister exploded, "Not on the phone!" One never knows when someone else is listening in. #5388

People often get only part of a story when they listen in on someone's conversation. Therefore, the accounts they spread are frequently incomplete to start with, which make the stories even more inaccurate as they go the rounds.

Many people on the Island have scanners for listening to police broadcasts. Some households leave their scanner on 24 hours a day. The scanner is often kept turned on very loud so people can hear it no matter what room of the house they are in at the time. When something does come over the scanner, people stop what they are doing and listen. It doesn't matter whether the information pertains to the listener or not. Instead, they pride themselves on knowing everything that happens, and when they get a piece of information from the scanners, they tell it to others in the community. On Halloween evening many people stay home because of fires and other pranks on the roads. Some make a particular point of listening to scanners on that night. Car accidents are sometimes reported over the scanner, and if the accident is near enough, many will go see it. As one person remarked, "When there's an accident, about forty of them will be down at the scene waiting for someone to

drop dead so they can talk about it." Another stated, "People have the scanners for amusement. They thrive on other people's misfortunes."

When you see a police cruiser race down the highway with its siren on followed about five minutes later by a stream of cars, you know there has been an automobile accident. Many people on Prince Edward Island own radios which receive police broadcasts. When they hear the police notified of an accident in their area, they jump in their cars and race to the scene. Those who make this mad dash are between 17 and 45 years of age. Older people usually remain at home and try to guess who was involved based on the information on the radio.

The number of people who gather at the scene of an accident is astonishing. They crowd in to obtain as good a look as they can. Often they get in the way of the police and ambulance personnel, who barely have enough room to do their jobs. Although the onlookers are usually willing to help out in any way possible, one tow truck operator I know characterizes them as "too nosey for words" and "more bother than good." In one very bad two-car accident, three out of four people were killed. A woman, about 30 years old, arrived while the sole survivor was being placed in an ambulance. She rushed into the crowd and called to a man, possibly her husband, to come see "the excitement." She uttered gasps and shrieks of horror as she surveyed the scene. Then she went to the car containing two dead people and peered in at them. A policeman ordered her away from the car, and she said, "I was just looking." Next she made her way across the road, stared in the face of the dead person lying on the side of the road drenched in blood, and called for her "husband" to come see what she had found. She was both horrified and entranced. Other members of the crowd behaved in a similar way, but not as blatantly as she did. They talked about how awful the accident was, but made no move to leave. When the police tried to push them back they put up a mild resistance. Some expressed annoyance at having to stand too far away from "all the action."

Following serious accidents, a considerable number of people in the community go to the garage where the cars involved are being held. They examine the cars carefully, even opening the doors and peering underneath vehicles. People also go to the scene of the accident and look at skid marks and pieces of wreckage. An accident, especially a serious one, is a major topic of conversation. Everyone wants to know what happened, who was involved, when it happened, why it occurred, and so on. After a few weeks the topic usually dies down, but occasional murmurs may still be heard.

After an accident people become wary of the spot where it occurred, even if the location had nothing to do with its occurrence. They will often slow down or show extra caution when passing by the spot. One afternoon I was riding with another girl who was driving us to Summerside. When negotiating a particular curve she slowed down from about 55 to 20 miles an hour. I asked why and she explained that the previous year three serious accidents had occurred at this location and she wasn't taking any chances.

When people learn of an accident they usually jump to conclusions as to who was responsible. When they first hear of an accident Islanders tend to immediately think that teenagers were involved. And if in fact they were, people assume the teenagers must have been showing off, drinking, high on drugs, or speeding at the time. One frequently hears, "They were likely trying to impress someone," "They must have been drinking," or "They were probably driving like maniacs." This assumption is made by people of all ages, including other teenagers. When the accident involves a teenage driver and an adult driver, adults automatically assume the teenager is at fault. They think the teenager was speeding, drinking, less experienced, or more careless. Those 30 and older assume that teenagers are negligent drivers who tear up the roads and show little consideration for other drivers. Teenagers recognize that they speed and take chances, but feel they are terrific drivers, clearly superior in ability to their elders. When the accident involves an adult and a teenager, other teenagers tend to blame the adult for causing the accident. They quite often say, "That old man can't drive," and "He's so blind he can't see two feet in front of him." If, however, those involved in the accident were all 25 years old or older, then people of all ages assume it was an accident and nothing more. None of the suspicions directed against the teenagers are applied to the adults, unless of course one of the adult drivers has a reputation for something like being a heavy drinker.

When a female driver and a male driver are involved in an accident, regardless of the age of the male driver, the woman is assumed to be in the wrong. Females behind the wheel are generally viewed as "dumb women drivers." The following case occurred on a beautiful Sunday afternoon in the middle of the summer. Two guys had spent the afternoon drinking beer and taking in the sun at a beach. Each had had about ten beer, when they decided to drive to a local takeout to get something to eat. Subsequently they were seen speeding and swerving on the road. A young woman of 18 was on her way to work

> headed in the opposite direction. As the two cars approached, the male driver crossed into the woman's lane. The woman swerved into the male's lane to avoid the oncoming car. As she did this the male driver swung back into his own lane and smashed into her car. People who heard about the accident said that the girl should have realized the male driver could handle the situation, and if she'd had any sense she wouldn't have acted so stupidly and a major accident could have been avoided. The girl was dumbfounded by this reaction. Even after all the facts were brought out, people still blamed the girl. Males commented, "She's just a dumb driver," "What was she doing on the road anyway?" and "Why do they give women licenses? They couldn't drive a wheelbarrow." #5389

The daily newspapers report a great deal of local news. People are particularly interested in death and birth notices, crime and court reports, and who has defaulted on a mortgage, necessitating the sale of their property. Often the presence of a name in these or other sections of the paper ensures that the person and the person's family will be discussed in great detail.

> In rural areas the daily newspaper comes with the morning mail, because there is no separate delivery. Most people organize their day around the time of the delivery. If it is early, they are surprised. If it is late, they are annoyed. "Where the hell is that mailman? He's usually here at 9:35. I've been waiting patiently and I'm getting damn tired of it." On holidays, people are lost without the mail. "It's a long day when there's no mail. Not that we ever get that much; often just the newspaper. And I know there's never anything much in the *Guardian*. But I always think I'm missing something if I don't have it." #5390

> When we go on coffee break at work, we often talk about someone who was mentioned in the paper. It's incredible how much will come out about the person and their family. One of us will know his brothers, another his cousins, a third his parents, and so on, and each will talk for five minutes or more about them. Often people add information or correct "misinformation" reported in the paper, such as what year he was really born, where he lived, and who his children are. #5391

> When I was seventeen, even though I was under the legal drinking age, I could get into clubs without any trouble. I would say I forgot

> my ID, and my older brother would claim I was eighteen. But then I won a speaking championship and my picture and age were printed in the paper. When that came out, everybody saw it, so I couldn't get into clubs for another year. #5392

> Mom and Dad notice when someone down our way doesn't have correct information about them printed in the paper. The other day they saw that the MacDonald boy was arrested for drinking and driving, and they remarked he had given the wrong community as his address. He was just trying to get people to think he wasn't the one mentioned in the paper, because he didn't want to embarrass his family. #5393

Another source of information is the mail. Envelopes can reveal all kinds of information, such as if one is receiving unemployment and welfare payments, if one has outstanding bills, if one is dealing with a lawyer or doctor, and who one's relatives are and where they live.

> We get rural mail delivery and we share a mail box with the man across the road. He is always the first one out when the mailman stops. We can watch him slowly going through our mail, one piece at a time, carefully studying each envelope. #5394

Postal employees too, frequently show considerable interest in the mail that goes to individuals. Those who deliver mail are required to sign a statement that they will not relate information to others that they obtain through handling the mails.

The radio stations interview members of the public about their attitudes on political and local issues. In addition there is a popular call-in show on the radio which selects different topics for discussion each morning. Members of the public who call in do not give their names. Nevertheless, friends and acquaintances frequently recognize their voices. Often after a person calls in or is interviewed, other people will mention it to the person. For example, "I was lying in bed this morning listening to the radio. All of a sudden I heard you talking about the prospects for the Liberal Party."

> We regularly listen to the radio talk show in our office. Often after a person calls in we can figure out who it is. Sometimes there's a relative

> or friend of the caller working in the office. If not, the person's accent helps identify the part of the Island they are from. There are people from various parts of the Island working here. If they aren't listening to the program, someone will ask them, "Who from your area would be calling in and saying this sort of thing?" The expressions and inflections the callers use, and the opinions they express, help you pin it down to a specific family and person. #5395

> The other day I was walking along downtown when I was stopped by a CFCY reporter and asked what I think about building a military factory here. I would have liked to say what I think, but I didn't because people would recognize my voice over the radio. So I said, "I don't know anything about it." But that was almost as bad, because people who recognize my voice will wonder why I didn't have anything to say. #5396

When you call up a place you frequent, such as a bank, government office, restaurant, or laundry, and do not give your name, often the person answering will recognize your voice and say your name.

People normally recognize the cars owned by their friends and acquaintances. Consequently, when people see a car which belongs to someone they know, they also know where the owner is. They might say, "I wonder what old Milton is doing there?" This can cause embarrassing situations. A woman might be asked at work one morning, "I saw David's car parked in front of your place last night. What was he doing there?"

> I always park my car across the street from my boyfriend's apartment. Last week someone I know asked if I've moved there. This morning when I left my boyfriend's apartment to drive to work, there was a booklet about purchasing a Registered Home Savings Plan on my car. A friend of mine works in a bank and is trying to sell me the plan. He recognized the car and left the booklet under the windshield wiper. #5397

Years after a car has been sold to a stranger, it will still be recognized as the car that used to belong to a relative, old boyfriend, or so on. When people do not see your car where they expect it to be, they are often curious where you are.

> Now I wonder where that young MacKinnon's car is? He doesn't need to be going too far when there's work to be done around the farm. He must have a lot to do now, when he can just up and go like that. #5398

> My brother's wife is out of town, and my sister noticed that my brother's car was not in his drive at nine o'clock in the morning, but was there at three in the afternoon. My sister kept after it and seemed likely to tell his wife. I told her he'd probably gone to work and then come home because his cold had gotten worse. Well my sister found out what had happened in a roundabout way, and I was exactly right. I figured my sister was just going to make trouble for the couple. #5399

When people see an unknown vehicle in your driveway, they wonder what is going on.

> If there's a stranger's car in our yard, a neighbor is sure to phone and ask if there's a relative home. The neighbor would already know if we were expecting relatives, so it's a sneaky way of finding out just who is at our house. #5400

> One lady in our community is so inquisitive, whenever she sees a delivery truck at someone's house, she makes an excuse to visit the home as soon as the truck leaves. Therefore, she knows before any of the other neighbors what the family has purchased. She'll say, "Things must be pretty rosy for Bill and Mary. I was up there the other day and a new washing machine had just landed. You know there was nothing wrong with the old one. Just the style, you know, that's all. I guess it must be great to have the money." #5401

If it's a police car or ambulance, someone is sure to call or go over and then report to others what they've learned.

People will go to those who have access to documentary information about others that the people can not get themselves.

> This farmer had noticed a car parked from time to time on a side road. He continued to watch the location and one day he saw two cars drive up and a woman climb out of one car and into a car with

a man, who drove off. The farmer thought he knew who the woman was. To make sure, he wrote down the license number of the woman's car and had someone he knows who works at the license registration office check the number for him. #5402

A friend of mine gets an RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police) officer who lives in her neighborhood to check out several license numbers for her, so she can find out who various cars belong to. #5403

When someone wants information on a subject, the person will often employ a variety of means until satisfied.

I saw this very attractive girl at the health club, spoke to her, and learned her first name was Joan. I tried to find her last name in a list of members at the club, but there were several Joans and a number of members who simply used the initial "J." Thereafter I kept hoping I'd see her around so I could ask her out for a coffee. A month or so later I saw Joan in a grocery store. Unfortunately, I was with a female friend of mine. Joan bought a few small items at the fast checkout counter, so I figured she must be living by herself. I did speak to her, but she was hurrying out, and I became worried she would think I was living with the girl I was shopping with. Then some time after that I went to hear the symphony, and there Joan was, playing an instrument. Because there was only one Joan listed on the program, I was able to learn her last name. At the end of the concert I waited by the lobby door where the musicians exited. I was talking to someone else when Joan came through the door. She didn't notice me, and I went over, told her I enjoyed the performance, and asked how she was. She answered, but was in a hurry to get away. I hung around and talked to another person as I watched Joan look around the lobby and eventually join several people. One of the males in her party seemed infatuated with her and helped her with her coat. Then they left for a room where a party was being held for participants in the performance. Now that I had her last name, I called a friend of mine and asked what she knew about Joan. My friend knew about various health problems she had had, and that she had never been married. She promised to find out more about Joan for me from a colleague of hers who knows Joan's family. So I expect to know more in the near future. #5404

> The other day my father was sitting by our kitchen window, looking outside to see what was happening, when a police car drove by. He jumped up and dashed onto the front porch to have a better look. The police car drove up and down the street, and Dad became very excited trying to figure out what they were doing in our village. Then he rushed upstairs to his bedroom to listen to his scanner, and continued watching from his bedroom window. There was no helpful information on the scanner. A few minutes later he raced downstairs and flung open the porch door just seconds after the police car went down the street again. Cursing because he had missed them, he dashed into the kitchen to watch from that window, but they were too far away by then. Dad spent the rest of the day trying to find out what the police had been doing. He asked everyone who came into the house. The next day someone told him what he wanted to know. A policeman in the car was looking for a particular address in the village so he could visit his friend who had been taking a police training course. #5405

If necessary, people will devise their own means of getting the information they want.

> After I moved into an Island community to work I became good friends with Julia, who lived in the community. Because I never brought an escort to any of the parties or community events, Julia began to ask many pointed questions about my private life. I was quite evasive, but eventually I admitted to Julia that I was involved with a married man. I refused to reveal his name, and Julia assured me she was not at all interested in knowing it. In fact, she said she would prefer not to know it. Julia said she had suspected I was seeing a married man and she would always be there for emotional support. She also told me that even though she was morally opposed to extramarital relationships, she still considered me a friend and this would not come between us. I was quite relieved by what Julia said. Now that things were in the open between us, I no longer had to make so many excuses to Julia, and she would not ask so many questions.
>
> What followed was an all-out campaign by Julia to discover the married man's identity. That summer I rented a place in Charlottetown, and I told Julia to call before she came over because the married man might be there. Instead, Julia started dropping in unexpectedly. I got upset with her about this, but this didn't stop her. Julia also started hanging around my neighborhood. One day Julia told me she had

> seen my "friend" drive down my street. I asked how she could possibly know this, and Julia said she had previously seen him leave my place when she happened to be in the neighborhood. On another occasion Julia said she was sure that he belonged to the same charitable organization I did because I was always so happy after the meetings. Then Julia discovered where he worked, and she got the yearbook from his place of work and identified the man. She claimed, "I just happened to be looking through the yearbook and recognized this man. He's the one I saw leaving your house that day. Then it all made sense. It all happened very innocently, really. I would never spy on you." I did not believe that she had figured this out innocently, but there was no sense alienating her. Even though she knew about the man, I was still on good terms with her. If I dropped her as a friend, she might well tell everyone. Of course, there is no guarantee Julia won't tell everyone anyway, but I hope if we remain friends it is less likely. What this shows is that if someone wants to find out something about another person, it can be done. This is particularly true on the Island where many people know each other and we all live within a rather small area. #5406

2. Locations for collecting information

People can obtain information about others in almost any location. However, certain locations are more productive than others. These include one's home, other people's homes, one's place of work, church services, bingo games, card plays, the garage, stores, school, the doctor's office, and the bootlegger's.

One's home is a major vantage point for seeing what others are doing in your community. Not only can you watch neighbors and other people from inside your windows, but you can also go outside in your yard to get a better look.

> Our neighbors know practically everything we do and when we do it. Everyone knows everyone else's car, so they know who is visiting us. They know what time we get home, and usually know where we go when we leave home. They know what time we go to bed, and what time we get up. Once my sister was sick at three o'clock in the morning. Later that day the neighbors asked if someone was sick because they had seen the light on. #5407

> Neighbors know everything that goes on in a household. My elderly aunt lives next door. Every time I walk by her house I can look out of the corner of my eye and see her peeking through her curtains at me. On the other side of us is a family of six. Day, evening, and late at night, whenever I come home, they spread open their curtains and stare out of their window to see who it is and what I'm doing. #5408

> Many of the houses in my area are within eye view of each other. People know what time you get up, and when you go to bed. Being a teenager, it's difficult to get home at night without having the neighbors know who you were out with and what time you got home. My next-door neighbor has a dog that barks whenever I get back. I think she got the dog for the sole purpose of telling her when we get home. After the dog barks, you can look out our bathroom window and see her pantry light go on. So you know she's checking to see who it is. #5409

> When my father comes to visit us in our suburb in Charlottetown, he will jump up and rush to the window whenever a car drives by our house. He does this at home in the country, but here in town he finds it very frustrating because he doesn't recognize any of the cars or people. #5410

> I moved into an apartment building next door to a middle-aged divorcée. Whenever I talked to my friends outside my apartment she would crack her door open about an inch. One night I had a disagreement with my boyfriend in the hall just outside my door. After we said good night I heard the woman's door click shut. I was disgusted and embarrassed. However, I suspect I was just one of the many tenants she spied on every day. #5411

At home, one can also share information and interpretations with other family members. In many families, discussion centers on gossiping about the people they know.

> At home we talk about members of the community. We may mention how Bill's drinking problem is affecting his marriage; how Joe doesn't know how to care for his horses; how Emily might be pregnant and probably is, considering what her family is like; how Sarah has dyed her hair; how Tina is supposed to be a bit "loose;" or how Alice just

> hasn't got it when it comes to attracting boys. I find when a family discusses their friends and neighbors, they aren't displaying any open hostility toward them. Instead they are gently degrading them. #5412

> People get on the defensive when they think someone is acting "above" them. When someone else buys or does something that they can't afford to buy or do too, they may discredit them by saying they are spending their money foolishly. For example, "Terrance (a relatively wealthy community member) got a new car alright, but for the life of me I can't understand why he bought a Ford. The thing will only rust out on him, and won't start worth a damn in the winter. He's only wasting his money." #5413

All of these comments at the expense of others identify points in which the family can feel they are superior to other people. By criticizing others, they are praising themselves.

People collect a great deal of information from their visits to other people's homes. They can talk to the people who live there about what is happening to them as well as to their relatives, neighbors, friends, and acquaintances. They can also see how they are living, and they can observe the family's interaction with each other. Visitors can obtain answers to some of their questions concerning the family members. In addition, some families are caricatured by members of the community for various behaviors, such as stinginess, messiness, and various mannerisms. Visits enable one to gather additional information to add to the stories people tell about the family, and some visits are made intentionally for this purpose.

> Our house is the last one on the road that goes past our place. We have a horseshoe-shaped driveway, and this gives nosey people a great excuse to gawk at our house and yard as they creep along our driveway when they turn their car around. Sometimes they just sit there for ten minutes or more before they drive away. Even the other people who live along our road always slow down and stare when they drive by. They continue to crane their necks around when they are long past our gate, and it is a wonder they don't drive off the road. #5414

> There are people who think they have a right to look into every room, cupboard, cabinet, closet, drawer, and nook and cranny in your home

whenever they come to visit. My aunt comes to visit me twice a year. I'm glad she lives so far away. As soon as she walks in the door she immediately runs over to anything new or interesting to examine it. Then she asks what it cost. One day she opened my cupboard door and told me I shouldn't keep my butter in the cupboard, but in the fridge. I nearly had a fit and I told her to stop snooping so much. #5415

I inherited several fur coats and a jeweled broach from a relative. I kept the coats in the back of my closet and the broach in my jewelry box, and I never told anyone about them. One day my neighbor found an opportunity to snoop through my bedroom. Several weeks later I overheard two women gossiping about me in the local supermarket. One told the other that I had several valuable fur coats and a whole box of precious jewelry hidden in my bedroom. She told her friend that I couldn't possibly afford such things, and therefore I must have gotten them illegally. I was so stunned that I couldn't remember what I had come to buy at the store. #5416

When I was about eight years old, my mother was asked to collect for the United Fund in our area. At first she was quite hesitant about "begging from the neighbors," but eventually she became convinced that the money was for a good cause, and besides collecting would give her an opportunity to get out and see people. I was very excited about the idea because I knew I'd be allowed to go along. It turned out that Mom very much enjoyed the job and it became an annual task of hers. Over the years she or someone else in the family, usually her daughter-in-law or myself, took on the task of collecting for various charities and fund drives in our area. As a result we also collected for the mentally retarded, the arthritis society, and the local fire department.

Collecting was a very significant undertaking for our household. It gave us an opportunity to visit people throughout the area. One never asked for the money right away, but took time to chat and perhaps have a cup of tea and something to eat. People we visited were just as eager to hear any news we would share with them. If we were collecting outside our community, they would want to know what was happening to families on our road. The best thing about fund raising was that it enabled you to get into other people's homes and see what was going on. You would learn if the place was clean or not and how the people were getting along with each other. Because there

were so many homes to visit, you often started to collect at suppertime and could also see what kind of food they ate. Dad never participated in the collecting, but he was as interested as the others in hearing about each place we had visited. When we got back home, family members would start in asking about each place. "Well, were you at McKay's?" "Yeah," we'd reply. "What's going on there?" "Were you at the Howard's?" "Yeah." "Anything going on there?" You always mentioned the places which were known for unusual behavior, like the only Protestant family in the neighborhood or the family which was considered particularly sloppy, or "rough." There might be the odd place where they gave you the money and didn't talk to you and nothing really unusual was going on. However, there was always some place that was worth talking about.

I think a lot of people would have been just as glad if we hadn't come asking for their money. However, they were in a no-win situation and had to contribute. If they hadn't, it wouldn't have hurt us, because we had the power to tell. Everyone we told would have considered them either cheap or ignorant (rude). In fact, we were almost glad on the very rare occasion that someone refused, because it made a good story. People always seemed somewhat flustered when we told them we were collecting, because they were uncertain how much to give. They were always afraid they would give too little and surely look cheap. On the other hand, they didn't want to give too much and appear they were trying to "act big." It would look like they wanted you to think they could afford to give a lot more than other people. If they had made a large contribution, others would have said, "Well, Jeez, they can't afford to give that much. Who are they trying to impress?" As a result people would often ask, "How much is other people giving?" and based on that information make a comparable contribution. Sometimes, however, the person collecting would be placed in an embarrassing situation. If you knew the family didn't have much money, you were uncertain whether to canvass them or not. If you were to go in and they didn't have any money, you would feel bad for making them feel ashamed. A couple of times this happened to me. The people would try to cover up by saying something like "We haven't cashed our cheque yet." On the other hand, if you didn't drop in and they heard you had been out collecting, they would have felt worse or angry. They would assume you hadn't come by because you knew or thought you knew they were short of money.

You could always count on collection night being a night of fun because you were sure of bringing back one or two good stories. For

example, one night we went to the only Protestant family on the road. This family was always looked on by the rest of us as being a bit crazy. However, one of their sons was thought to stand out as being particularly "different." He talked really loudly and said outlandish things. At the time this happened, he was unemployed and receiving Social Service relief because of a back problem. People in the area believed there was nothing wrong with his back, and would say, "There's nothing wrong with Thomas other than foolishness." Anyway, when I went in I didn't expect Thomas to make a contribution. His parents did so, and as I was writing out their receipt, Thomas said, "Make out one of those things for me too." At that time everyone was giving a dollar, but Thomas gave five, which was big money. He then stated he would give a hundred if he had it. Everyone I told marveled over this.

Another funny incident occurred when a friend and I were collecting for retarded children. We went to this elderly couple's home. Their home had a reputation for being "rough," or dirty, and it certainly was. Both the man and the woman were in their eighties and their hearing was poor. The man was very nice, but the woman was grouchy as could be. Well, I indicated what we were doing and the woman began to rant and rave. Finally she said, "What is it that they want, Charlie? Are they collecting for Thanksgiving?" Charlie was exasperated at this and replied loudly, "No, Annie, they're not collecting for Thanksgiving. They're collecting for the contarded children." Everyone got a great charge when we told that.

Families from away were also good for stories. When a woman from Ontario moved into the area, we thought she would be a great contributor. She owned a considerable amount of property and had a good deal of money. However, when we went by, her contribution was just two and a half dollars. Moreover, this rich woman paid us in pennies. We almost died! Afterwards everyone said, "What else could you expect? That's why she has money and the rest of us have none." One evening we went to collect from the Protestant minister, who had moved into the area from the United States. It was dinner time and they were frying a squirrel for their meal. People we told found this repulsive. We viewed it as comparable to eating a pussy cat. By and large, only those things that were somewhat out of the ordinary made for a good story, but there was no shortage of noteworthy incidents when you were collecting. #5417

An important location for acquiring information about other people is work. People talk to and about co-workers and clients, exchange information, and discuss articles in the newspaper. They spend a large part of their day at work, and talk with others while commuting, during work, in meetings, and during lunch and coffee breaks.

> During our coffee breaks and lunch breaks at work we always talk about fellow workers who aren't present at the time. If someone shows up we stop talking about her, and if someone leaves we start talking about her. #5418

Whether or not one has a job or business, and the type of job or business one has, determines the nature and amount of information one obtains about other people. Also, this can change over time.

> At one time small grocery stores were widespread throughout rural Prince Edward Island, but by now most have disappeared. My sister owned and ran such a store in a small community until 1978. In addition to providing the most convenient place for local people to obtain groceries and many other goods, the store served as an important community center. People would congregate and visit with each other. They would discuss family matters, politics, prices, other people, and many other things too.
>
> My sister's business enabled her to interact with a wide variety of people, both Catholic and Protestant. She was in a position to get all "the news" of the area and became quite knowledgeable about community members. She always knew who had money and who didn't, who was dating whom, who had a jealous husband or wife, who was mean with their money, who bought what for Christmas presents, who put up good meals, who was in debt for how much and to whom, who was on welfare and why, who had a drinking problem, and who bought pure vanilla extract to drink. Such things may seem trivial to outsiders, but they are the matters that count within a rural community. As a result my sister became quite a prominent member of the community.
>
> In addition, many people chose to confide in her and tell her their secrets. She made many close friends this way. At times this placed her in a difficult position. A conflict could develop between two women, and each expected my sister to take their side in the dispute. In such a situation, no matter what she did she was likely to lose a "friend" and a customer.

> One of my sister's biggest problems in operating the store was collecting her accounts. Because she knew her customers so well, she found it almost impossible to refuse them credit. Because they knew her equally well, they were fairly sure she would not go to extremes if she did not get her money on time. The difficulty in collecting debts was one reason for the demise of her business. Another was that people were in the habit of traveling to Charlottetown to buy their groceries when they had money, but would shop at the local store when they were short on cash. The small rural grocery stores could never match the greater selection and lower prices of the supermarkets in the larger towns and cities. Therefore, my sister was forced to close her store.
>
> My sister finds quite a change in her life without the store. Now she sees most people far less often. Many people no longer confide in her, and she is less in touch with what is happening in the community. The other members of the community have also felt the change. They can no longer use the store as a community meeting center, and therefore many people see each other less often. Community members must travel to the larger centers to shop, and there they find little sympathy or willingness to provide credit. The community has also lost a counseling center, because clerks in the larger centers have little time or inclination to listen to problems, stories, and hopes for the future. #5419

Another primary location for collecting information about others is at church. In addition to providing a good opportunity to exchange information, people notice what others are wearing, who sits where and with whom, and who is there and who is not.

> People go to church to catch up on the latest gossip. I often have to strain to hear the priest because so many of the people around me are talking. Women talk about who is wearing the latest styles and who is pregnant. Men talk about cars and hunting and who did one thing or another. People laugh and carry on, and sometimes they eat candy and even make out during the service. #5420

> Sunday Mass is a great place for noticing details about others and then discussing them on the way out. By mistake my mother bought some hair coloring which was a shade darker than she'd used before. After church that Sunday, one of our neighbors, a twenty-two-year-old

male, commented to my sister, "Your mother must have used a different bottle this time." #5421

I went to church last Sunday. This is a very small Baptist church and there were only about twenty attending that day. I had frizzed my hair, because I did it in tight rollers. I went in with my brother and everyone assumed I was his girlfriend because they didn't see my face. All they saw was my different hair. They weren't listening to the message, because everyone was turned around looking at me. After church everybody commented on my hair, and I'm sure they went home and talked about it. #5422

Once my sister came home from away and I wore her jacket to church. The next week I wore a new coat of my own. On the way out a lady said to me, "You had on a different jacket last week. Where'd you get all the money?" #5423

People who rarely attend church are talked about in a negative manner. After a Mass, I once overheard one man say to another, "Well the roof didn't fall in when Johnny arrived." My sister and I sometimes go to church in another community because the sermons are shorter. Once we did so for three weeks and someone asked my mother if we were sick or had quit attending. #5424

If you miss church one week, your neighbors want to know why. If they can't learn why from your friends, they will come straight to visit you, and say something like "I just thought I'd stop by to see how you're doing. I was just out for a walk. Since I didn't see you for ages and ages, I thought I'd take a little scoot in." #5425

In rural areas, many events take place at the community center, and it is an important location for obtaining and exchanging information.

The old one room schoolhouse in our area has been remodeled into a community center with a kitchen. Several communities in our area use this community center. Bingo is held on Monday nights and Weight Watchers on Tuesday nights. The women's organizations of the various churches hold suppers there to raise money. This may be potluck or a lobster supper and all the communities go. They have dances every two or three weeks to help raise money for the community center. These are adult dances with country and western

> bands. During the winter you can take a community school course at the community center in whatever they decide to put on. This lasts for eight weeks and you pay $10 for the whole course. It may be on weaving, pottery, typing, Island history, organic gardening, belly dancing, or something else. The number of people who take a course at our center ranges from two to ten. Just somebody in the community teaches it. #5426

Bingo provides opportunities for people to exchange information about others. Often people go early just to get plenty of time to discuss people in the community as well as the people who are present.

> Women go to bingo to play the game, but more importantly to get the latest gossip. One girl who goes says, "You can't hear the numbers being called because of everyone gossiping." On numerous occasions I've been sitting in the bingo hall with my friends, when some woman will come over and begin asking me all sorts of questions, such as "How are you getting along in school?" "How's your mother and her new husband doing?" "Do they fight much?" and "I heard your father was drunk the other night. Is that so?" #5427

> When I was in high school a bunch of us would go out on the weekends. A day or two later my mother would go to bingo with the ladies up the road. They would talk about everyone, including what every young person had done on the weekend. One of our friends would tell his mother everything that had happened. When Mom came home from bingo she could tell me what we'd done, although situations were often quite exaggerated. #5428

In many communities males gather at the garage, store, or bootlegger's. There they exchange the latest news among themselves and with others who are just passing through.

> In my community the garage is a local hangout for the men and boys. When my brother worked at the garage he would hear what happened to people in the community before any of us. He knew everything. This year I share an apartment in Charlottetown with some other girls. We recently had a party in our apartment, someone broke our sink, and the place flooded with water. The next day, someone from home, about fifty kilometers away, told us the story he had heard

> at the garage about our party. He'd been told that there was a fight in our bathroom, the sink was broken, the place filled with water up over our ankles, and we were kicked out of the apartment. We were furious when we heard this, but what could we do? We had to tell our parents because bad news travels so fast. The apartment did fill with water, but not nearly as high as our ankles. There wasn't any fight at all. And we weren't kicked out of our apartment. #5429

Another location where people find out about others is school. Children often tell other children what their own families are doing and what they have heard at home. They also take back home what they hear in school.

> Our family decided to go on a trip to Boston, but hadn't made any definite plans yet. I told my best friend at school that we were planning to take this trip sometime in the future. By suppertime that night at least seven people had phoned to ask when we were leaving. #5430

The doctor's office is another location for getting information. One can see who is there, talk to others, and more significantly, get very interesting information concerning why they are there. Also, one can listen in on conversations in the waiting room, overhear telephone conversations, sometimes see patient files with names on them, and hear various comments, questions, and answers by patients, receptionists, nurses, and doctors.

> Most of the people in my community go to the same doctor. If one of your neighbors sees you there, they are likely to plunk themselves down right next to you and try to find out why you are there. It would be a fine piece of news to share with people at church the next day. "Did you hear? Sally was at the doctor last night. Wouldn't tell me why, so it just *had* to be something really personal. I just bet she's having emotional problems. That's got to be it. After rearing such a big family like that, it gets to you after a while, you know." #5431

> A teacher in our area went to the local medical clinic for a pregnancy test. While there she spoke to the mother of one of her pupils. The next morning her husband was with her when she went into her

> classroom and saw that her students had written "Happy Pregnancy" on the blackboard. Both were shocked, particularly her husband, because his wife hadn't told him yet that she was pregnant. #5432

> I was sitting in the waiting area at a clinic in Charlottetown when a nurse called out, "That drug for Craig M___ has arrived." She stated the person's first and last name and the name of the drug, which was for increasing sex drive. There were three or four people waiting there and we all heard what she said. #5433

There are numerous other locations that are good sources of information about people. These include hairdressers, barbershops, meetings of clubs and organizations, coffee shops, restaurants, bars, taxicabs, garage sales and flea markets, the farmers' market, gymnasiums and health centers, the (Royal Canadian) Legion, Laundromats, and various types of stores. In fact, anywhere one finds people that one knows is a potential gold mine of information.

3. What people are interested in

People are very interested in what the people they know are doing.

> I was traveling from Charlottetown to the eastern end of the Island with several people I know, when we passed a car headed in the opposite direction. A woman in my car stated, "He's supposed to be doing the rounds selling merchandize for our store. And there he is out joyriding with his wife." She had had no trouble recognizing the occupants of the other car. #5434

> A large percentage of what people talk about is just what everyone is doing. Things that people get, like new clothes and cars; cattle they sell; and things they do in church. Another thing is alcohol. Who's been drunk, and what they did when they were drunk, like if they broke anything or beat their wife. And, of course, who's pregnant. Another thing is deviant families. People who act strange or do unusual things. They also talk about what happened in the past, like old stories. #5435

In a small community, interest extends to most, if not all, of the other members of the community.

> Everybody is just so nosey in my community. They know what time you get up and go to bed, when you go out, what time you get home, who you go out with, and what kind of car they drive. When we buy a car, our neighbors always come over to inspect it. They ask where we got it, how old it is, what kind of motor it has, how fast it will go, and how much it cost. #5436

> At home I want to know who's coming and going. I want to watch. I want to know what they're doing. If I walk into a club up home, everybody turns around and says, "There's Janie." And they wonder and ask, "Where's she been?" and "What's she doing now?" I do the same thing. If I'm sitting in the club and I see Alice Sue come in, I say, "I wonder what she's up to?" and "I wonder where she's going to go to university?" I notice that she looks kind of thin and that she's changed her hair. So I'm as bad as everyone else. I know everybody who comes in. In a rural area you're too close to the people around you. You know too much. Also, you know they watch you and talk about you, so you are concerned about what they may hear, and see, and say about you. They matter to you. And they know you watch them and talk about them, so they are concerned about what you may hear, and see, and say about them. So you matter to them. But if I walked into a club in Charlottetown, I could be purple and red and nobody's going to care. And if someone else comes into the club in Charlottetown, I never notice. I don't know them and I don't care. A friend of mine at home got pregnant and didn't get married. She stopped going out socially and she doesn't go to any of the dances. She's about six months along now and looks very pregnant. She'll go to Charlottetown and go into a club because nobody knows her. She can go out and feel OK because people don't know her and they're not saying things about her. In Charlottetown I don't know who lives across the street from me. I don't even know the lady who lives downstairs except to say "Hi!" to her. People come and go in Charlottetown, and that's OK. I couldn't care less, you know. #5437

People are very interested in any changes in other people's lives.

> When there is a falling out between people, it is never difficult to find out why it occurred. Someone always talks. They might say, "The

Browns aren't even speaking to each other these days. They are fighting over their father's will." #5438

Often people are tipped off that a person is sick by seeing house lights on late at night. When someone notices, they will often phone around to share their news. "Oh, did you see Tom Smith was rushed to the hospital last night? I think it was a heart attack." Sometimes their speculations can cause unnecessary concern, because instead of a heart attack, the person may have the flu. #5439

Before a woman starts "to show," people notice signs she may be pregnant. If a woman leaves church before the end of the service, everyone assumes she is pregnant and has taken "a weak turn." I heard of two elderly aunts who believe they can tell a woman is pregnant by her eyes, and a man who claims he can tell by the back of her neck. #5440

Weddings in my community are definitely not restricted to the invited guests. Many people who aren't invited watch from the store across the road. They talk about what people are wearing and wait for the appearance of the bride and groom. When the congregation leaves the church some cross the street and mix with the guests. One woman commented, "There are a million nosey people watching. They're standing around waiting to see if the bride's pregnant or not." #5441

Our family had a large outdoor party for invited guests. A few uninvited guests came over to snoop. They saw all the cars and dropped in to find out what was going on. One person even phoned us up and asked why we were having a party and who it was for. They are really nosey about some things. #5442

There have always been cases of children born out of wedlock, and situations in which families tried to hide this. In the past the discovery that an unmarried girl was pregnant would disgrace the whole community. People would talk about it incessantly and the girl was unlikely to participate in any social gatherings because of the gossip this would generate. Today, however, this great disgrace of bygone years has become more acceptable to some extent. Perhaps the big difference today is that fewer people try to hide the fact that an unmarried girl is pregnant.

Initially, of course, there is a lot of talk among the neighbors about the girl's moral standards, her choice of boyfriend(s), her parents' lifestyle, and so on. For the most part, however, this dies down within a week or two after the news breaks. There is always some speculation about what the girl plans to do with the baby. That is, whether she plans to marry, keep her baby on her own, or put the child up for adoption. There is seldom any talk of getting an abortion, because most people consider it murder and therefore not an option. Whatever the girl decides to do, the community usually comments on it. "She's a fool to marry that fellow. She'd be better off raising the child on her own. God knows, she's not the first to get in trouble, and she won't be the last." "It's too bad that it had to happen. She won't have much of a future now, trying to raise a baby on her own." "I don't know how she ever did it. I know I could never give up my baby, no matter what. I'd have to keep it. I'd always wonder where it was and if it was being looked after."

Once the decision has been made what to do with the baby, people are usually quite supportive of the girl. Often they will criticize her parents if they think the parents have imposed their will on the girl. "Cheryl made Amy give up her baby. Don't you know? Oh yeah, it would be an awful disgrace to Cheryl and Charles. It's really too bad. They say she was just heartbroken too." Sometimes, too, the fact that a pregnant girl is from an "uppity," or more successful, family is the occasion for a little vengeance. "Well now, that will bring the Smiths down a peg or two, won't it? They always thought they were so big. Just goes to show, it can happen to anyone. Every dog has his day, or so they say."

People react strongly when a person (usually female) starts to really put down someone who is pregnant or who has had a child out of wedlock. Most people find this kind of thing very hard to take. Although the person is toeing the line morally, her condemnation comes off more like acting big and implying that she is better than others and that it could never happen in her family. "Did you hear Grace going on about the poor little MacDonald girl? That just made me sick. After all, Grace has lots that she'll have to answer for, and her own daughters aren't raised yet. She should remember that too."

For the most part then, girls who get pregnant out of wedlock do not suffer greatly in Prince Edward Island society. They may, of course, have to take a lot of criticism within their own family, and this may come to the attention of the community. Nevertheless, it is a topic of prime interest and discussion within the community, and an event the community will never forget. #5443

People are particularly interested when anything out of the ordinary happens. This is the case when there is a mixed marriage in the community. Most people do not consider it a great sin to marry someone from another denomination. Of course, most people would prefer not to have any mixed marriages in their own family, but they can accept them quite readily in other families. When invitations are sent out for an upcoming mixed marriage, there is a lot of speculation about the marriage. Guests are curious how the ceremony will be performed, whether the minister or the priest will have the most input, and if the ceremony itself will be more Catholic or more Protestant. Some people watch these factors very closely and make a point of commenting on them later. "I was totally disgusted. Poor Father Jones hardly got a chance to say anything. The minister completely took over. There was no Mass, no Communion. In fact, I doubt if they're actually married. I really do."

People are just as interested when one party converts to the other party's denomination. This is particularly true if the person who converts comes from an upstanding family which is deeply identified with their own denomination. "It was a great comedown for the Edwards, such Black Protestants, you know. Their girl turning Catholic. I was glad too. It might bring them down a peg or two. Perhaps they won't think they're in charge of the United Church now." (Black Protestants are staunch Protestants who are quite outspoken against Catholics.) The side that a person converts to views it as a victory. Thus if a Catholic girl decides to turn Protestant, the Protestants in the local area see it as a success for their side. People are quick to notice anything out of the ordinary. In one case the groom was in the process of converting to Catholicism, but had not completed the process by the time of the wedding. Many guests were unaware of this, and assumed he was already a full-fledged Catholic. Therefore, most were quite surprised when he did not take Communion. "No, he didn't. Because I was sitting near the front and I was watching. He didn't take the Host. He went and stood with her when she received it, but he did not take the Host. That's a fact." If neither party is converting, more emphasis is placed on watching the form and content of the wedding ceremony to see which side had the most influence.

People are just as curious about any other types of "irregular" marriages. One marriage involved a couple in their late thirties. Both had had previous marriages and children from those marriages, and in both cases their original spouses were still living. "Now just explain to me how you can get married in the Catholic Church like that.

That all goes against the church, but they got away with it. Yes, and both took Communion. I don't understand, it's none of my business, but I wish someone could explain it to me, that's all. The Protestants will certainly have a great laugh over this one. But what can we do about it. Nothing, not a thing."

Public interest in mixed and irregular marriages is focused on what it means for the local denomination, as well as on the amount of embarrassment that is caused to the families involved. It is clear that competition between denominations and between families is of greater concern than the happiness of the couple involved. #5444

In rural communities it is not unusual to find a young married couple living with either the husband's or the wife's parents. Normally this produces a tense situation because the new person in the household often feels very ill at ease and the parents may find it difficult to totally accept the new member into their home. What is interesting is that neighbors are quick to form their own opinions about any supposed problems. "Things have really changed around the Green's place since Robert married that girl Teresa and they moved in with his parents. Ed and Ann don't have a say at all now, you know. Robert and Teresa run things. Teresa mostly. I never thought I'd see the day when someone else would take over Ann's kitchen. I guess a person never knows, do they? But you'd think Robert would speak up and not let his mother be told what to do in her own house." Such a situation or arrangement can quickly become neighborhood gossip, and the young couple can easily be privately scorned by the whole community.

There is the idea that one never outgrows one's obligations to one's parents. Therefore the community remains interested as the parents become elderly. There is the general expectation that children should care for their aging parents. Thus when a person becomes old and frail, senile, or even sick and bedridden, it is seen as honorable for children to provide care at home for them. Placing them in a nursing home or a senior citizens' home is very unpopular. Certainly a young couple would be criticized for doing that to their parents. "They have a grand home there, with lots of room. Why couldn't they take her in? It's not as if she didn't do everything possible for them, God bless her. And now look, she's in a strange place all alone and they are sitting around doing nothing. Oh, they had time for her when she signed the farm to them you know, but not anymore. Not much gratitude."

Up until recently it was viewed as a real sign of disrespect to have one's parents waked at a funeral home when they died. It was proper

to have the wake at home. Naturally the neighbors take an interest in these arrangements. "Well, you can say what you like about Fred, but at least he took his father home to wake him." "You'd think the least they could have done was have the wake at the house. My goodness, I don't understand people. Bill probably wanted to have his father waked at home, but you know what Ellen is like. She'd lay down the law and he wouldn't have a word to say in it." Today it is uncommon to have a wake in a private home and people use the funeral homes.

Thus one's relationship with one's parents is an item of community interest, especially if you and your spouse live with them. Most older people have no wish to be a burden on their children. At the same time they want to retain their independence and remain in their family home if at all possible. There is always the concern that a new daughter-in-law or son-in-law will take over things when she or he moves in. Stories are told about the young couple who made the mother's life miserable after her husband died, and the couple who insisted that their parents live in a small room in their own house, so the couple could enjoy the whole place. The community watches to see what will happen in your situation. #5445

When there's a fire in our village, it's like a community fair. Everyone goes to see it. If you watch the people you can see the look of excitement and almost happiness in their eyes. My father was very enthusiastic when he returned from a recent fire, and exclaimed, "It was a good fire! There was a good crowd there!" Days later people were still talking about how this one laughed and another one cried, and they said, "The old bag deserved it, because she's nothing but an old gossip anyway." This is also true of the members of the fire department. I'm told, "When there's a fire, they (the firemen) run and rush and exaggerate. They're crazy. They act so big-feeling (self-important), they really make fools of themselves." #5446

People are also very interested when a person does things which they or others do not approve of.

Everyone wants to get the dirt on their neighbors. #5447

I am related to practically everyone who lives in my community, which has a population of about 250. It is hard for me to do anything without it getting back to my parents. For example, I had a

party when my parents were away. My uncle kept walking past the house looking in the window, wondering what was going on. He did tell my parents, and I was grounded. It was my last party. Not only that, but the things that the other kids do are always getting back to your parents too. Every week there is a high school dance, and by early Saturday morning everyone knows who took who home, who was drinking at the dance, and who was fighting. This annoys me, because my parents question me about what they hear, and I don't want to tell them. #5448

Even though separation and divorce are quite common today on Prince Edward Island, many people still show an unusual interest in the people affected. This includes people who have had separations and divorces in their own families. When there is a separation or divorce, most people in the community, both males and females, are very curious and want to learn what happened. "Now, I wonder what happened there. Did you ever hear the rights of the story?" Of course, as soon as one version is provided, another one is offered. Before long people who originally had no idea what had happened will have enough pieces of "information" to create a version of their own. For the most part these people are not being malicious gossips. Instead, they are trying to understand a situation which makes great conversation material. One should note that although people make a deliberate effort to get the story about others, they are not without compassion. Indeed, the same people who search out the private details of a person's failed marriage would likely be more than willing to lend the person a helping hand.

Although most people are very interested in discovering the details, few would ever ask the separated or divorced person point blank. Some are brave enough to ask a relative, but only if they have a fairly close relationship with that relative. Most people who have had family members divorced or separated are very protective of them and of the information about them. Many are on the lookout for those who are "fishing for news." "Yeah, she came over here last night. We hadn't seen her in a month or so. I could tell she was just busting to ask about Helen. But I never let on. Just looking for news, that's all. I hate that."

Despite the fact that few people are able to collect the entire story about the separation or divorce, most are able to get enough fragments to piece together a workable story. Much is said of the apparent reasons for the breakup and the events surrounding it. Even though

everyone has a different story, the community usually sides with one partner or the other. “Of course, he was always a devil to drink, you know,” or “Well, they say she was running around with that other fellow for a long time before he ever caught on.” Whatever the consensus, most people talk the issue over repeatedly. It is likely to come up wherever the separated or divorced individual goes to socialize, whenever his or her children go to visit, and whenever the individual gets involved with a new person. Many people seem capable of fitting this issue into the conversation, regardless of the context. In any case, this is usually done quite carefully, without the individual being aware that he or she is the topic of conversation. Separated and divorced women get much more attention than men, particularly from other women. Women appear quite threatened by the fact a woman’s marriage did not work out, and sometimes feel threatened in the presence of separated or divorced people. #5449

When people do something that is not socially accepted, others express their opinions as to what they think about it and why it happened. This frequently occurs when there is a divorce. Some just recount what they know about the situation. “The neighbor next door took a very bad heart attack. He was paralyzed and couldn’t work anymore. His wife wasn’t working and couldn’t handle the pressure after he came home. She said he wasn’t the same man. Three months later she left him. I heard she moved to Nova Scotia to work for her father and is happy as a lark.” Some are very critical. “I couldn’t believe this couple down the street got a divorce. I always thought they had a great marriage going. I guess they didn’t have the guts to keep working at it.” “Mom thinks that divorce is worse than death itself. She swears that people who get divorced will have a big black mark against them when and if they get to heaven.” “After Mass on Sunday we started talking about a woman who had just taken communion even though she got her divorce only a few days before. Dad said it is as big a sin to receive communion after you have been divorced as it is to take communion after you were out drinking the night before.” Others try to understand why a divorce happened. “They were so different, it’s no wonder they couldn’t live together. On the day they were married, Mom said if they could make the marriage work, she’d never understand how they did it.” “God bless those two. They tried so hard to live on the little they had. But I guess they are better off divorced than quarreling over their money problems all the time.” “I knew my brother should never have gotten married. I knew he wouldn’t be

> home as much as a married man should be. He liked going out with his unmarried friends way too much. I knew this would cause trouble, but I never thought it would end in divorce so soon." #5450

> At the time of World War II, I knew we would have to go and defend our country eventually. Most people on Prince Edward Island considered it their duty to go to war. I also knew that some Islanders did not think this was the right thing to do. Many of them were viewed as rats, rebels, and cowards by other Islanders. They were few and far between. However, they were easily recognized, because most of us lived in the countryside so we knew each other pretty well and gossip spread like wildfire. #5451

Some news is particularly "hot," for example, that an unmarried girl is pregnant.

> An unmarried friend of mine no sooner found out she was pregnant than it seemed the entire city of Charlottetown caught wind of it. The story became stretched considerably, and one heard differing accounts. One person said, "Did you hear about Valerie T____? She's only sixteen years old and pregnant. Do you know who the father is? It's a shame she couldn't have better morals. I knew she'd turn out bad because of such a bad rearing from her parents. I wonder why her mother never talked to her about things like that?" That same day someone else told me, "I heard Valerie T____ is pregnant again. Only seventeen years old and having her second baby. She has such wonderful parents, I always thought she'd be a nice girl." #5452

> My aunt says that in her community some people circle the date of a marriage on the calendar. This allows them to see if the couple's first child is born in less than nine months, which would mean it was a shotgun wedding. #5453

If the "guilty party" comes from a respected or successful family, many feel it is "good enough for them" for thinking they are "better than the rest of us." The better the reputation of a family, the more that people revel in any scandals about them.

People are also very interested in how much money others have and earn. Often they speculate among themselves as to how much money neighbors and relatives have, based on the jobs they hold and the possessions they acquire.

> People in my community want to know who has money and who doesn't. They often state they don't think a person can afford to pay for his new car, truck, or whatever, when they learn he's bought it. #5454

> I've been working in the fish factory for the last several years, and am often amused at how word spreads about the catches of specific fishermen. I rarely see the fishermen weigh in their lobsters, but I always hear how many each catches on any particular day. Often wives of the fishermen work in the factory, and they take great delight in announcing how many lobsters their husbands catch. People know that the more lobsters and fish a fisherman gets, the more money he makes. They try to estimate a person's worth based on the size of his catches. #5455

> A friend of mine works in a convenience store where lottery tickets are sold. She can give me a five-minute account about each of the people who has ever won a lot of money from a ticket bought at that store. When we pass by such a person on the street, she'll say something like, "Oh, that's that MacDonald fellow. He won all the money in the lottery. Bought a house and spent the rest on booze. Can you believe that? His wife used to come into the store before they won any money. She always bought wieners and Coke (Coca-Cola). What a supper. And them with two little kids." My friend can give this kind of presentation about any winner she knows. Her information is pieced together from bits of gossip from a variety of sources. It is clear these people are closely observed and much is added to their "story" to make it more interesting. #5456

There is a great deal of interest in politics and in the political views of those one associates with. In rural communities people know with a fair degree of certainty which political party each household votes for. Many people take great pride in belonging to and supporting a specific party, and do not care who knows it. One man stated clearly as he left the polling booth recently, "There are two damn good Conservative votes." (Voters select candidates for two positions in each riding.) Young people are expected to and usually do support the same political party as their parents. People show who they support by working for a party in the polls, helping raise funds for a party, attending political conventions, showing up at public meetings or social events organized

by a party, obtaining jobs which necessitate having connections with the party in power, and participating in victory celebrations.

> In my area, immediately after the election results are announced, people who favor the victorious party drive around blowing their car horns. They blow especially often when they pass the house of someone who backed the losing party. #5457

People are particularly interested in how their rivals and competitors are doing.

> Fishermen know how much each other's boat costs, where they got it, what kind of gear they use and what quality it is, the kind of bait they have and how much they use, and what kind of motor they use and what shape it is in. They always know how much the other fishermen catch and how their catches compare to other years. Very few fishermen tell their catch, especially if it is a poor one. If they have a good catch and say so, it may look as though they are bragging, and if they have a poor one, it may give the impression they are poor fishermen and use bad judgment in their choice of spots to put their traps. If asked, a fisherman may say, "Oh, I got a pretty good catch today. Not as good as yesterday, but better than the day before," yet not tell how much he got on any specific day. Although the fishermen don't come out and tell, people find out anyway. #5458

Farmers want to know each other's acreage and all the details about their crops, livestock, and production. People know how much land each has and where it is located.

> When my father goes to check his fields which are some distance from home, he sometimes finds a neighboring farmer there taking a look too. #5459

Farmers notice each other's crops and how they are doing, and if they do not already know, they wonder when they were planted, when they will be ready for harvest, and what problems they are having with them. They consider it very important to know who was the first to start putting in their crop, to finish putting it in, and to harvest it.

> In my community the farmers walk into each other's fields and go through their crops like they own them. Most don't think this is at all wrong, but rather the most natural thing to do. When one farmer was asked why he trespasses, he replied, "Who's trespassing? I'm just checking to see if anybody's potatoes got hollow heart, and how clean their drills are compared to mine. That's not trespassing. It's just keeping up with your neighbors. And when you meet them somewhere, you'll know what to talk with them about." The farmers take it for granted that the others are curious about their crops and it makes them feel important. "Hell, no. I don't mind if Dick walks through my grain fields. It just shows he's interested in how I'm getting along." #5460

> Whenever the farmer from across the road comes to visit Dad, he wants to know all about the farmer nearby, who is my father's friend. He asks questions to find out how many cows he's milking and how much milk they're producing, how many acres of potatoes, oats, hay, and corn he has in, and how many pigs he's keeping. #5461

A farmer's machinery is also well known. Many farmers borrow machinery from each other, so they know what each other has and the shape it is in. They also notice another farmer's new machinery, and wonder where he got it, how much it cost, how he paid for it, and how much he has gone into debt to get it.

> Whenever you see farmers driving slowly along the road, you know not to pass. They are so busy looking at the crops, farm machinery, and livestock of the other farmers that they are likely to wander all over the road. #5462

4. Talking about others

> I think there are a number of reasons why gossip is so prevalent on Prince Edward Island. First is the small size of the Island population and the province. There are numerous small communities, and it is quite possible to get to know every family that lives within a specific area. Therefore people know the same people and are interested in what others have to say about other people. Second, there is not much mobility and people tend to remain in the same community for much

of their lives. Therefore anytime you hear someone say something about another person, he or she is likely to be talking about someone you know too. Third, houses in a community are not far apart and neighbors frequently visit each other. Fourth, many people who live in the same and neighboring communities go to the same school and church, attend events at the same community hall and Legion, and buy at the same stores. Fifth, many people on the Island are related. There is always a great deal of communication between members of the same family who live in different communities. Sixth, many of the people who live in the larger communities were born in small rural villages and like to keep up with the latest news on their friends from their original area. Seventh, because the Island is small and communities are close to each other, it is easy to visit relatives and friends who live in another part of the Island. #5463

If you are going to get along with other people in the community it is very important to know certain information about them. Some of the things you must know are their religion, their politics, their family situation, their family history, their occupation, and their relation to alcohol. If you know this, you know what is going on and you won't make foolish mistakes and step on people's toes. I know who the Catholics and Protestants are, so I don't say anything critical about a person's religion when I talk to that person. I know who all the bootleggers are, so I know who you don't talk to about bootleggers and who you can talk to. I know who you don't mention shine (moonshine) to. You don't want to be outspoken or shoot off about something that is a touchy subject to the person you are talking to. It's very important to know who is related to whom, so you don't say something that will upset the person you are talking to or that is likely to get back to the person you are talking about. Therefore, you don't want to say something negative about the person's cousin or uncle or aunt. Blood is thicker than water. For example, there are a lot of MacDonalds living in my area. There are the Tommy K. MacDonalds. There's Alex Tommy K., and Laurie Tommy K., and Tara Tommy K., and Eddie Tommy K. They are all MacDonalds, but people don't mention the name MacDonald when they talk about them. Instead they call them after Tommy, their father's first name, and his middle initial. That's because there are other families of MacDonalds, and their kids are named after their fathers. There is Allen John, Sarah John, and Amy John, and their father is John MacDonald. Then

> there's Mark David, Charlie David, Patricia David, and Sarah David, and their father is David MacDonald. By including their dad's name you can keep them all straight. So you wouldn't say anything negative to your neighbor about Tommy MacDonald, because your neighbor's daughter is married to Alex Tommy K., one of Tommy MacDonald's sons. It's also important to know what has happened in each family. You don't want to start talking about suicide, or divorce, or an illegitimate pregnancy, or abortion, or alcoholism, or physical abuse, or juvenile delinquency with someone who's had a problem with this in their family. You don't want to bring up a subject that makes the person you are talking to feel unhappy or embarrassed. Also, you don't want to say something that makes you look like you are trying to get a dig in at the person's expense and putting the person down because you think you are better than him. #5464

People talk about others for a variety of reasons. Often they repeat what they "know" in order to get attention from those they are talking to. They are likely to get more attention if a) people know the person they are talking about, b) people have not heard the information before, c) the information affects the people being talked to, and d) the information is scandalous.

> I can go to a club in Charlottetown and dance any way I please. And if I see people looking at me, I can just look at them and say, "Well, they don't know me." But out home in the country everybody knows me. Therefore they are going to tell others, "I saw Robin doing this, that, and the other thing." And the first thing you know, it is going to be all out and people are going to say all kinds of things about me. So I really worry about what other people say sometimes out home. And I'm sure if I worry about this, some other people must worry twice as much. If I wasn't doing something that drew attention, they wouldn't look at me. But if they are looking at me, they are going to say something about me. Well, when I look at somebody, I usually turn and make a comment. If I notice people, I usually make comments about them to others. I'm as bad as the rest of them. And if you know the person you're watching and you make a comment, somebody else in the group probably picks it up because they know the person too. And then it might grow and grow and grow. For example, Reggie dances really funny. He is up there trying to be a disco king and he

has about as much rhythm as this desk here. So I'll say, "Oh, my goodness! I'm glad I'm not dancing with Reggie." And Philip is sitting by me and agrees. So the next day Philip is at the garage and he says to Reggie, "Ha! Ha! Robin won't dance with you because you're such a fool." Or else he's over at Reggie's place and he says to Reggie's brother, "Robin wouldn't dance with Reggie because he's so stupid on the dance floor." Well, eventually it gets back to Reggie, which makes Reggie feel bad, so one thing leads to another. #5465

People are very eager to get information on others that they can use to get attention, and they can get quite excited when they have a "juicy" or "hot" item to tell others. At the same time, people have little interest in verifying the accuracy of this information. Recently my niece proudly told me that she was the first of her friends to determine that a male member in her group was having an affair with a married woman. I asked how she had arrived at this conclusion. "Well, his car is always there; it's never home. And whenever the woman and her husband are at a dance or just out somewhere, he's always sitting with them." I suggested that maybe the guy was a friend of the couple. But my niece dismissed this. "No, there's no doubt. Everyone noticed it; it's just that I was the first to say it." When I pointed out she could get in trouble spreading gossip, she was unconcerned. "Don't be so crazy. No one knows except our gang. They're not going to say anything." In another case, when I mentioned the death of a taxi driver that I knew to a friend of mine, she said, "Yeah, I recognize the name. He had more women than you could shake a stick at." I pointed out that the only woman I had ever seen him with was his wife, and they seemed to get along very well together. His wife would ride with him in his taxi and the two always joked and laughed with their customers. My friend continued, "Well, I don't know, but he always used to be parked outside Mary Smith's house. I never saw him going into the house, just waiting outside." I suggested that maybe the lady was a family friend or a relative. She may even have been a fare who had arranged to have him pick her up on a regular basis. "No, I don't think so," insisted my friend, "Even my aunt mentioned there was something going on between them." In another instance, someone told a friend of mine that all the members of a popular local band were gay. "Really, *all* of them?" asked my friend. Her source replied, "Well, I don't really know if all of them are, but some of them certainly are." When I pointed out to my friend that this story

> was inconsistent and therefore could not be trusted, she was unconcerned and told me, "Well, it's a pretty well-spread rumor, so it must be true." There is little incentive to verify rumors and hasty conclusions, because if the information turns out to be false, people can not use the information to get attention from others. #5466

People also talk about others in order to get more information from the people they are talking to. When a person introduces a topic or states an opinion, those they are talking to feel compelled to correct any facts or interpretations which they feel are wrong, and this provides the person with more information.

Another reason people talk about others is to get back at those who make them feel envious.

> At school it is very common for students to gossip about someone who is popular and attractive and seems to have everything going for them. A girl in my high school was quite pretty and smart too, and everyone recognized this. She was a very nice girl. A lot of other girls were envious of her. So whenever she made a mistake they blew it all out of proportion. #5467

> During the past three weeks I have spent most of my free time in the TV room at my university dorm. I have never heard so much cutting up people or talking behind their backs in my life as I hear in that room. A person may enter the room for a few seconds and as soon as he or she leaves, people in the room will find something to criticize about the person. I find the girls really bad for doing this. If a girl says she was out with a guy the night before and had a good time, when she leaves most of the girls in the room will call her "a slut" or "a bitch." If a guy passes by and he isn't highly liked, the girls will call him either "a jerk" or "an asshole." I have to wonder if they are talking about me the same way. #5468

Occasionally people will say something that indicates to an individual that they know exactly what the person is up to. Some of the things individuals do are very upsetting to others. People may say something to release some of the tension they feel as a result of the inconsistency between their own models and the models of the person they disapprove of. At the same time, the person's response can make a great story to tell others.

A female friend of mine, Laura, was living with a guy, Terrence. Then she broke up with Terrence and started living with a friend of his named Peter, who was much younger than Laura. Then she left Peter and moved back with Terrence. People made a big fuss about this because they thought she was living with two men. People talked about it a great deal, and said she had just used Peter and had wrecked Peter's life because he was so much younger than her. Sometimes someone would bait Laura with it. For example women would ask her, "How is Peter?" or "How is Peter these days? I haven't seen him around." The women asking knew full well that Laura was no longer living with Peter, but was living with Terrence instead. Laura would respond, "Well Peter's not around. He's living in Charlottetown." And a woman would continue, "Oh! You must find it so lonely." "Well, it's not too bad," Laura would say. Then afterwards Laura would comment to me, "Those bitches!" #5469

5. Feelings and concerns

People express a variety of feelings and concerns about the efforts of people to learn about others. Many are surprised by the ability of others to learn what they themselves are up to and the speed at which news travels.

A friend of mine and some buddies rented a room in a motel and partied that night. They were careful not to tell anyone what they planned to do. However, early the next morning my friend's father was there to pick him up and take him home. He still doesn't know how his father found out. #5470

Shocking news, such as an unmarried girl getting pregnant, always travels the fastest. Everyone likes to hear a major piece of gossip and in turn wants to tell others and see their reaction. If a girl gets pregnant and word gets out, within a week practically the whole school knows about it. #5471

Many feel they have much less privacy than they would like.

The major occupation of everyone in my community is knowing what their neighbors are doing or have already done. No matter how hard you try to hide what you are doing, they still find out. #5472

> There is definitely no such thing as privacy in a small community. Everyone knows what their neighbors are up to, where they are going, and why. They know each other's problems, and if someone gets in trouble others are sure to hear about it. Everyone just *has* to know what others are doing. It is quite annoying to be spied on, and when one is continually being watched, one can never relax. #5473

> People here notice details, and nothing passes by unnoticed. The slightest change in a house, property, barn, or fishing boat is quickly detected. Our neighbors know practically everything we do. They know who visits us and where we go when we go out. Sometimes it's annoying and bothersome. But it used to be worse when people couldn't travel as far as they can today. In the past we had to shop at the few nearby stores, and everyone also knew where we bought everything, what we bought, and exactly how much we paid for it. #5474

> There is no privacy in a small community. It's really terrible when you think about it. There is absolutely no one who can do anything without someone knowing about it. #5475

These concerns are not limited to the smaller communities. Most people in the larger communities of Prince Edward Island have also suffered from having others know or think they know embarrassing things about them. Many people are surprised and often upset when they learn people are talking about them.

> I can't believe there are stories circulating about me. There must be, but I find it so hard to believe, just preposterous. I wonder if other people feel this way? Because I work so hard so that there won't be any stories. I don't do any of the wrong things. I've never been any place where people could incriminate me. I don't even go to places where they serve liquor. Someone asked me out to a club the other night, and I said, "No." I'd feel so cheap if anyone ever saw me there. If it got back to home, people would say, "Oh, she's in there now. Running with a bad crowd." #5476

However, everyone is talked about, and everyone has rumors going around about them which have no basis in fact.

> I was out shopping one day before Christmas. It was a warm day, but because I am always cold I had on my thick Hudson's Bay Company coat. I ran into Eddie, a friend of mine, who told some more friends that he had seen me. Later these friends asked my boyfriend if I was pregnant. Maybe the coat made me look like I was. When I heard this, I was furious. My boyfriend, on the other hand, found it funny. It hurt to think that Eddie would start something like this. #5477

> Someone told me that Allison, this girl in our university dorm, was pregnant. I didn't believe her at first, but the girl told me that Allison slept all the time and was gaining weight. The girl repeated this to a lot of people and they told their friends. A couple of months later, when I had forgotten about the whole incident, Allison found out what was being said about her. Allison yelled at everyone for a whole hour. It was awful. But this didn't stop anyone from gossiping. #5478

Most people assume you are just as interested in and busy collecting information and talking about others as they are. Nevertheless, some people are too busy or disinterested to spend much time gossiping about others. Often when people move to the Island from large urban areas in other provinces, they falsely assume that they will continue to have as much anonymity on the Island as they did where they were before, and therefore can do what they want and no one will notice or care.

> Many Islanders are terribly worried about doing anything that others might disapprove of, because they know the news will go right back to their home community and embarrass and hurt their parents and other relatives. They recall how upset their relatives were in the past when they heard what others were saying about them. You do have some immunity from this if you "come from away," because you don't have any local relatives to be hurt by all the gossip. I think you should realize that no matter what you do, even if you are perfect in every respect, other people will be talking about you and creating all kinds of erroneous stories about you. The other day someone said they'd heard I'd gone out to California with someone's son. There wasn't a word of truth in it, I had never considered anything like it, I had no desire to go to California, all I want to do is to stay on the Island with my family, and I don't even know the person I was supposed to have gone with. It's as false as saying I'd eloped with a Martian. I think

> the only healthy approach is to decide you don't care what others say about you and go ahead and do exactly what you want. #5479

Sometimes people comment on all the fabrication and distortion that takes place in the stories which circulate through the community. One man stated, "If you cut off your finger here, in the next community they're calling a crew to dig your grave."

> News travels like a flash of lightning around my community. The worst part is that as it travels it gets twisted so badly out of proportion you can't believe a word of it. Each person who repeats it adds a little here and there. Every month you hear the stories about all the unmarried girls who are pregnant, and all the teenagers who are peddling drugs. What really ticks me off is that ninety-nine percent of the time the stories aren't even true. Every young person around our community has some story going around about them. According to the busybodies, I've been planning to get married about seven times now, have been pregnant nine different times, and am moving out west with my new husband. I do keep my boyfriend's car at my place and use it when I want to. According to some neighbors, I have the car because my boyfriend lost his license, and according to others, my boyfriend has been kicked out of his home and is living at my place. And none of this is true. #5480

> One night I was in a car which was involved in a high speed chase with the police. After traveling about fifteen miles, we succeeded in talking the driver into stopping before he killed someone. When I got home my parents already knew about it and more. People were telling others that the car was smashed to pieces and there were no injuries other than a few broken arms and legs. Three or four days later I still had to sit down and tell people the real story about what had happened. Then just the other week a young man was involved in a car accident and died inside the car. However, a variety of accounts were doing the rounds. Different people said, "They were thrown out of the car and crushed to death when the car rolled on top of them," "The driver was thrown out of the car, and died when he struck his head on an electric light pole," "He had his head taken off when the car rolled over," and "He was thrown out of the car and the car rolled on top of his body, so only his head was showing. The pressure from the car on his brain kept him alive. But when the car was lifted off his body, he died instantly." #5481

> People always imagine the worst, and can destroy a reputation on very little evidence. A girl in our community has never gotten into any trouble and her family are very active members of the church. However, she hangs around with a girl with a bad reputation and goes with a guy with a criminal record. She and her girlfriend were seen leaving the guy's house at six o'clock one morning and everyone imagined the worst. When she went to Montreal a month later, everyone assumed it was to get an abortion. Even though this is all the evidence they have, the girl's reputation is ruined. #5482

However, often the same people who object to distortions in the cases they are familiar with, fail to question cases they are unfamiliar with.

Nevertheless, there are situations where people appreciate having others find out what is happening to them. These include times when they receive favorable recognition, such as getting an award or holding an anniversary party. This also applies to certain instances when people are given community support, such as when there is an illness, death, or someone's home burns down.

> Speaking about her silver wedding anniversary, a woman said, "I'm glad there was a big turnout at the party last night. I never dreamed so many people would hear about the celebration and be so nice as to come. Some of those people were friends I haven't talked to in years. Word sure did travel fast about our anniversary party." #5483

> People in my community give money or help to households which are experiencing bad luck. When I was small, my mother was very sick and in the hospital, and my father was either at work or at the hospital. Members of the community knew this and that we had no one else to cook for us. So they brought food by the baskets to our house. This year two families ran into bad luck. One family member was sick and another was injured. People collected hundreds of dollars to help them. #5484

> Neighbors alert each other in times of danger. Once our flue caught on fire. Our neighbor noticed it before we did and phoned to tell us. Another time our neighbors had poached some lobster. The cops were on their way, and someone found out and notified our neighbors. They hid the lobster before the police arrived and were saved a great deal of money and embarrassment. #5485

> A man in our community had his car stolen. It was driven to town and burned, and the police could get no fingerprints from it. However, some neighbors had seen his car going down the road at a strange time of the night with a familiar truck following it. Someone told the police who owned the truck and the police put pressure on the owner of the truck and found out who had stolen the car. #5486

> When my cousin, Debra, lost her mother, she was quite surprised at how quickly word of the death reached people she hadn't seen or talked to in years. Some of these people did not read the newspaper notice, but learned by word of mouth. Debra says she felt like a great load was lifted from her when she had so many people to lean on during the difficult times. She continues to receive phone calls of condolence from friends and relatives she had lost contact with, and finds the calls very supportive. I've heard Debra say, "You really know who your friends are in times like these." #5487

Many people can relate instances in which they were helped or helped others simply because people in the community knew what was happening to them. Consequently many feel that the advantages of having others help you outweigh the disadvantages of losing your privacy. As one elderly man put it, "Yeah, my neighbors are nosey, but they're the best damn neighbors you could ever get."

6. Why people want to find out about others

People are very interested in knowing about the people they are in contact with. People have a strong vested interest in knowing about their environment. They need to know what is present, how it acts, why it does so, and how it is changing, in order that they can recognize threats and opportunities and survive. The more they know about and understand their environment, the more likely they are to survive. This includes the people in their environment. Often other people are one of the most important components of a person's environment, because they determine the person's ability to acquire and keep resources. Also, when you know things that others do not know about the people they are familiar with or in contact with, others will pay attention to you in order to hear what you have to say. This is one of the primary means

that people use to get attention, or positive reactions, from others. When people can learn things that others do not know yet, they can use this information as currency to obtain attention from others.

Other people are a highly significant part of our environment. People act as potential resources for each other. They determine whether or not we obtain resources and whether we satisfy our feelings. However, individuals differ considerably in their ability and willingness to provide us with resources and satisfy our feelings. It is important that we know in what ways and to what extent individuals differ, and how their lives are changing. This way we know what we can expect from specific individuals and to what extent they can and will satisfy our needs. The more we know about the individuals in our environment, the more predictable they are, and the more intelligently we can act. It is noteworthy how much more interested we are in the people we know and interact with, than we are in the people we do not know and do not interact with. Information flows toward those who are most affected by it. The more we know about the individuals in our environment, the better we can estimate their usefulness to us. Their usefulness to us is also determined by those they are associated with. Therefore it is also in our interest to know about those they are associated with and to learn what changes are happening in their lives too. Marriage, births, financial gain, financial loss, illness, and death within a family can have considerable impact on the individual members of a family and alter their potential as resources for us.

At the same time people constitute highly significant threats. They can take our resources, prevent us from getting resources, and stop other people from providing us with resources. They compete with us for scarce resources, and they can ruin our reputations so that others will want to avoid us. It is in our interest to know if a potential friend, mate, business partner, employee, or tenant is lazy, unreliable, reckless, foolish, dishonest, a thief, an alcoholic, or violent. We often acquire the same reputation as those we associate with. It is important for us to know exactly what the reputations of individuals and families are and how these reputations are changing. We need to know who will and will not cheat us, return a tool in good condition that we loan them, or be a good parent, teacher, or role model for our children.

Other people have as strong an interest in knowing about the individuals and families in their environment as we do. Therefore there is considerable interest in exchanging unfamiliar information with others. By increasing the amount of information we have, we improve our chances of understanding its actual significance. Our ability to obtain this information from others enables us to increase our knowledge of our human environment and to get information we can use.

When we learn what other people experience, we also learn what we could experience. This knowledge helps us recognize and act on threats and opportunities. If I learn that a neighbor's basement flooded in the spring, that a person lost his driving license because he was drinking and driving, that a cousin found a good job when he went to Toronto, or that someone met their spouse through the Internet, I also learn that it could happen to me. The more knowledge I have about what happens to other people, the more knowledge I have about what could happen to me. The more knowledge I have about what could happen to me, the more likely I am to recognize existing threats and opportunities and act on them.

In addition, knowledge of the embarrassing foibles and the family skeletons of each specific person provides us with psychological protection if that person does something which upsets us.

> If anyone outside your family says something that can be viewed as negative about your family, your family will just be raging at them. My brother and his wife live with my parents in the family house. When we built an extension on our house, someone said to Stacy, my brother's wife, "It'll be really good. You'll have your own kitchen." Stacy thought they were implying that she and her mother-in-law didn't get along. Stacy got really angry and replied, "No, I won't. I don't need my own kitchen. We've managed the way we have for eight years, and I think we can go on managing." And Stacy came home and told this and the family was just raging at the woman who said this. They drug up everything they could think of about the woman and her family. She happens to be separated from her husband and they were saying that she's just a damned thing that her husband wouldn't live with. Because she has made such a mess of her own life, she shouldn't be directing other people's lives. And Stacy was going around making references to other things. That's the way they are, and

that's the way I find lots of people are here on the Island. If you get angry at someone, you drag up everything you can think of about their past, and some of the things are so malicious. You don't say this directly to the people you are mad at. You say it to the people you are with. #5488

You really want to have information on someone else as a form of protection. This doesn't protect you from having people gossip about you or do things to you that you don't like, but it protects your ego because you can always run them down if they say anything bad about you or do anything bad to you. It's a way of protecting your self-esteem. When you know negative things about the other person, you can think of yourself as being better than this shit who is saying or doing these awful things. It makes you feel that what they said about you or did to you doesn't matter. In other words, I'm not going to worry about what the person said or did, because the person doesn't even count. It discredits them. This is also applied when a person says or does something you don't like to someone else. I had a teacher in school and whenever he reprimanded a student, people would say he was married to his first cousin and had no room to talk. People would say it about him, never to his face. Thus you might mention a person's affair, or drinking problem, or the fact he is just like his father or uncle with the bad reputation. I had another teacher whose uncle had hung himself. Every time someone mentioned that this teacher had said something to someone, Dad would say, "Ask him what happened to his Uncle Edward." People also trot out this repertoire of negative things as a leveling device when a person shows signs of being more successful than they are. #5489

17. HIDING INFORMATION FROM OTHERS

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People frequently try to hide their behavior and information about this behavior from others. We will consider what people hide from others, who does so, who they hide their behavior from, how they go about hiding things, how successful they are, and why they do so.

1. What people hide from others

People try to hide so many activities from each other that any list must be a very partial one. We will list some of the behaviors that children try to hide from parents, that parents try to hide from children, and that adults try to hide from each other.

Children of various ages hide their use of cigarettes, alcohol, and drugs; accidental breakage; playing with matches and knives; picking on smaller children; sexual activity; looking at pornography; taking physical risks, such as climbing on roofs and riding ice cakes; skipping school; illegal activities, such as shoplifting; deliberately destroying other people's property; cheating in school; stealing; fighting; persecuting pets and other animals; staying up past their bedtime; using air guns and regular guns; swearing; chewing gum where they are not supposed to; using certain personal possessions of their parents, such as cosmetics; poor performance at school; how they spend their money; staying out past their curfew; going to certain parties; holding parties that their parents do not know about; having certain friends; dating certain people; hickeys; certain behaviors of their friends; attending clubs under age; living common law; showing off and speeding with the family car;

hanging out in certain locations; getting drunk; telling dirty jokes; failing to do assigned tasks; consuming sweets when they are not supposed to; seeing forbidden movies and television programs; going to forbidden sites on the Internet; sending e-mails their parents would disapprove of; sending nude photos over the Internet; wearing certain items of clothing; using cosmetics; holding unfavorable opinions about their parents' hygiene and appearance; attempting to disassociate themselves from their parents in public; looking through their parents' personal papers and possessions; and revealing information about the parents and other family members to other relatives and outsiders.

Many parents in turn seek to hide certain things from their children. These include marital problems, severe illnesses, deaths of relatives, undesirable behavior by friends and relatives, use of contraceptives, sexual activity, affairs, swearing, income, debts, financial status and difficulties, office politics, behavior when young, illegal activities, family skeletons, and alcoholism.

Many adults hide certain things from each other. These include their age, birthday, prior and current relationships, romantic interests, sexual activities, pregnancies, illegitimate children, abortions, alcohol and drug use, financial standing, sources of income, amount of income, debts, failures, smoking, gambling, lottery winnings, acts of violence, physical problems, physical illness, mental illness, certain behaviors of their children, marital problems, job difficulties, immoral activities, illegal activities, criminal records, yawning, belching, scratching themselves, masturbating, farting, picking at and cleaning various parts of their body, negative opinions about the other person, and criticisms they have received from others.

Many married and unmarried couples hide numerous things from each other, including flirtations; affairs; sex-related activities, including fantasies; looking at pornography and going to strip shows; going to bars and clubs without the other; gambling; drinking; certain purchases; the cost of certain items; certain activities of their children; automobile-related fines and accidents; certain activities before marriage; and unsuccessful investments.

Many people try to hide their true appearance by using cosmetics, contact lenses, padded brassieres, padded shoulders, toupees, flattering

clothing, cosmetic surgery, and cosmetic dentistry. Also people frequently try to hide the fact they are watching a person, or talking about a person behind their back.

In addition, because people do not want to be viewed in a negative light, or criticized, or gossiped about, they want to hide information from others that might be misconstrued. #5490

> I am a female teacher, and this past school year the school principal and I had to visit all the elementary schools in our local area. The principal insisted on the two of us traveling in his car. However, he was extremely uncomfortable about the cracks some of the students made as we went to his car. Students would comment, "What time will you two be back?" or "Sure, I bet you guys aren't going to another school at all." Instead of simply joking along with the students, he would get quite flustered and would pretend not to hear them. On one occasion he got so flustered he hit his head on the roof of the car as he was getting in it, which of course amused the students who were watching. On another occasion, he asked me to drop him off at the school where his wife teaches. On the way there, we passed his wife in their car. I didn't notice their car at all and was quite startled when he yelled, "Oh, my God, there's Janie!" I was never quite sure whether he was concerned about being seen with me, or that his wife was not where he thought she was. In any case, these examples indicate that he is very conscious about not wanting people to talk about him. #5491

2. Who hides information

Everyone is engaged in hiding things from others. People work singly and together to keep certain information under cover. Family members, friends, fellow employees, the police, courts, and the mass media are just a few of those who cooperate in various situations to help keep information from other people.

Family members often help each other out in keeping information from other members of the immediate family.

> My closest girlfriend had an abortion when she was sixteen. Her mother gave her the money to go to Montreal to have it done. They never told her father, because he would have been so upset. #5492

A school friend of mine became pregnant when she was working in Vancouver, and the baby was born dead. She wrote her mother about it, and her mother replied she should return home to Prince Edward Island as soon as she could travel. However, they told her father and sister that she had been sick, and said nothing of her pregnancy. Her father was suffering from high blood pressure and they feared the knowledge might kill him. They also felt her sister couldn't be trusted with the truth. They thought if the sister was in a spiteful mood she would blurt it out, either at home or outside the house. After my friend returned home, she would only leave the house to get the mail. One day a card arrived officially acknowledging the registration of her stillborn child, father unknown. It was what my friend was waiting for. She had been going to the mailbox every day to make sure that she, rather than her father or sister, received the card. She showed the card to her mother and they burned it together. After that she began to relax and started to go out of the house and do things with me. #5493

It is always difficult getting money from Dad, because he acts like he doesn't have any. You'll ask him once, "Do you have any money?" and he'll respond, "No, I don't. I don't have that kind of money. What do you think I am, the Royal Bank?" And then he'll enumerate all the bills he has to pay. So you'll go to walk away, and just before you leave, he'll give you some money and say, "Now, that's it. That's the last. That's the end of it." Mom always hides from Dad how much money she gives me. Mom will give me a lot of money, but always on the condition I don't tell Dad. "If he knows I'm giving you some, he won't give you any." I always feel guilty lying to Dad about it, but that's the way Mom insists on doing it. I think Dad has started to catch on, because he has begun to ask, "Did she give you any?" I'll try to lie and say, "A little." My niece is also very close-mouthed about how much money she has. My family says she's just like my Dad, because you'll never find out if she has any money. She is also successful at getting money from the rest of us. She'll rarely come out and ask for money. Instead she'll go on and on about how broke she is. It works too, because we give her money. However, when someone does so, she doesn't tell the other family members. Recently for her birthday I gave her a ticket to British Festival Night in town and enclosed some money in the ticket envelope. I figured there's no sense going if you can't buy drinks. Later her mom gave her money for the

same event. My niece made a big thing of warning me, "Now don't tell Mom you gave me some money too." #5494

Family members also cooperate together to keep other members of the community from learning certain information about one or more of the family members.

I've been on sick leave from work for the last two days with a very sore throat. I'm better now, but I'm taking another day off. I was supposed to call my boss to tell him whether I'm coming in today. But had I done so, he would hear that my voice sounds normal. So I had Mom call in for me and say I'm still sick. #5495

On the Island the season for hunting ducks and geese starts in early October. However, some hunt them in the spring, when it is illegal. This past spring two of my cousins were able to shoot a couple of geese on different occasions. One of them thought he was seen by the game warden and in a panic threw his gun in the woods and left the goose on the marsh. He called his mother from a nearby house and told her what had happened. She came and picked him up. She did not see a game warden or the police, and together they retrieved both the gun and the dead goose. Although her son was quite anxious, his mother was proud of his achievement. #5496

It is illegal to leave your children unsupervised, but most parents do so occasionally. If nothing else, children get home from school at three o'clock, but many working parents don't get home until after five. Then there are other reasons you leave them home alone. For example, I have choir practice every week, and leave my two girls, who are eight and twelve, alone for about three hours while I am gone. If someone calls and asks to speak to me, the girls know to say that I can't come to the phone just then or that I'm downstairs putting the laundry in the machine. If there is an emergency, my kids know to call a friend of mine, who also leaves her kids alone occasionally. My kids prefer being by themselves to having a babysitter. Besides I can't afford a babysitter and it's almost impossible to get one where I live. #5497

A woman I know married a second time. Her daughter from the first marriage and her new husband got along just fine, and the family

> spent every weekend together visiting relatives and friends. After a few years the stepfather began to molest the daughter, who was now nine years old. The daughter told her mother what he was doing, but her mother refused to believe her. The mother questioned her husband about this, but he denied it. The mother attributed the daughter's statements either to a desire for attention or to a dislike of her stepfather. Then one day the mother returned home early from work and found her husband engaged in the act. She called the police and they took him away. The immediate family were the only ones told about this, and the problem was kept quiet for almost twenty years. It was only recently that anyone outside the family learned about it. #5498

Friends also provide a great deal of help to each other in hiding information. An important part of friendship is that friends can reveal to each other what they are hiding from others, and also elicit help from each other in covering things up and in planning how to do so more effectively. Over the years friends are likely to help each other hide many different activities from other people.

> I have had a close friendship with a woman for over ten years. In addition to helping each other out in all sorts of ways, like loaning money, providing jobs, writing letters of recommendation, and listening to each other and being supportive, we frequently help each other hide things from other people. For example, I provide her with excuses when she wants to get away from work, and I loan her my house for her affair when I am out of town. When she needed to show she had some money in a bank account, I loaned her some money. She in turn helps me do business deals I don't want others to know I'm associated with by letting me put them in her name. She also gets moonshine for me when I want it, and just the other day mailed a package for me when she was in another province. I didn't want the recipient to know where the package was coming from. #5499

Employees who work together will often cooperate in covering up for each other vis-à-vis the other employees and people outside the office.

> When my boyfriend's father died I decided to go to the funeral, which was held in another province. I needed a couple of days for this, and wanted to take them off work as "bereavement leave," rather than as

"holiday leave." However, there is no way my employer was going to let me have bereavement leave for someone else's relative. So I told another employee to tell people at work that it was my uncle who had died. Actually an uncle is too distant a relation to qualify for bereavement leave, but my boss authorized the leave without specifying the relationship, and he told me if questions were raised they would question him instead of me. #5500

The senior administrator called me into his office and told me that Eddie, a close colleague of mine, had just had a blackout at work and was taken to the hospital in an ambulance. The senior administrator told me so I could leave work and go to the hospital to be with Eddie. Eddie had been drinking pretty hard at lunch that day, and we could tell he was half-cut. The senior administrator and I suspected his blackout was alcohol related and we agreed not to tell anyone else. We didn't want the other employees to know anything about it. If they knew, Eddie's position would be jeopardized and people would start to consider him an alcoholic. We really didn't want Eddie's immediate supervisor to hear what had happened. When this supervisor thinks others are not making him look good, he feels threatened and makes trouble for them. He just doesn't handle things well and would have hit the roof. Actually Eddie's immediate supervisor never did learn anything about the incident. However, there was another employee who loves to see people get in shit, and he went to the senior administrator and asked in a smirking fashion, "What was wrong with Eddie?" The senior administrator replied in a very cutting tone, "Why? What do you know about it?" This shut him up like a clam. The administrator was just raging that this employee had the audacity to try to find out. #5501

My wife hates for me to go to the horse races. She wants me to stay home with her when I'm not at work driving a taxi. So when I go to the races in the evening, I tell my dispatcher that if anyone calls to speak to me to tell them I had to take a fare across the Island. #5502

Various community services and agencies also cooperate in helping individuals and families hide information from others.

A friend of mine was busted for carrying drugs. He went to the newspaper to talk to someone he knew to try to keep his name out of the

paper. When the article was printed, his name was changed somewhat and the article stated he was from a different community than he is actually from. But I knew the particulars of the case and that he was the person they were referring to. #5503

When I worked at the radio station, we would never say that someone had committed suicide. It just wasn't done, because we had a code of ethics. A suicide is an ugly thing in the first place, and not mentioning it saves everyone embarrassment. Occasionally the radio or newspaper will report information which allows you to draw your own conclusions. For example, they might say that someone had a serious accident with a gun and then mention he had been relieved of his duties at work earlier that day. Usually, however, all you are going to get from the radio or newspaper is a regular death notice. Anything else you have to get through word of mouth from other people. #5504

I work as a police dispatcher and much of what we deal with is never reported to the media. For example, we don't report a break and enter unless it happens to a business and a lot of people are likely to learn about it. The media blow things out of proportion. They'll put a huge spread on the front page, and then if there's a retraction they'll just stick a small note in the middle of the paper. We also try to avoid embarrassing people, and report all suicides as accidental deaths. #5505

I'm a lawyer, and I get clients facing criminal charges who are very concerned about keeping their names out of the newspaper, because they want to save themselves and their family embarrassment. When this is the situation, I go speak to the judge first and arrange to have the case heard in traffic court where no reporters are likely to be present. One can also try to have the case heard first thing and hope the reporters won't have arrived yet, but this is quite chancy. #5506

Ministers and priests are considered bastions of confidentiality in the community. Parishioners approach them to get their help with situations which they would prefer to keep others from knowing about. For example, parents with a pregnant daughter sometimes go to the clergy to get help in relocating her temporarily into another community. The minister or priest will usually approach a family welfare agency, which arranges accommodation with a family or in a house for other girls in the same situation, and also finds a couple to adopt

the baby. Thus girls living in the country have often been relocated in Charlottetown. Clergy also help families avoid embarrassment. I have attended several funerals for individuals who committed suicide, but when the minister gave a detailed eulogy, he made no mention of the circumstances of the death. #5507

3. Who people hide things from

People hide information from those they deal with. Because one normally interacts with one's family members more than with anyone else during much of one's life, it is not surprising that one tries to hide a great deal of information from them. This is particularly true in the case of one's parents and the other members of one's immediate family.

I used to lie to Mom left, right, and center, because I felt what I did was none of her business. She never wanted me to go to clubs, and when I went I would tell her I was going somewhere else. Once she told me, "I know you're going to those dives." Today I only lie to her in exceptional circumstances. For example, even though I'm engaged, sometimes I go visit Chris, this other guy who is interested in me. When I do so, I tell Mom I'm going to see someone at the day-care center where I used to work. #5508

One day when I was a kid in grade school I happened to be home for lunch. I had to use the phone and I was in a hurry to do so, because I had to get back to school. However, another party was on the line, and I had to keep lifting the receiver to see if they were finished talking. Finally, it seemed like they were off the line, and I asked, "Is the line busy?" which you're supposed to say. One of the people who had been talking was still on the line. "You were listening on the phone," he said. "I was not," I protested. "I'm going to call the operator." "Well, I wasn't listening," I argued. "Well, I'm calling the operator." I really wasn't listening, and the last thing I wanted was to cause the phone company to take our phone away for eavesdropping. I was just terrified, and I never told my parents about the incident. #5509

Some of the couples at my high school were so indiscreet, the principal threatened to cancel all social events. He told us he was walking through the gym during a recent dance and came across a pile of coats in his way. When he began moving the coats he discovered a

young teenage couple underneath heavily involved with each other. The girl scrambled guiltily to her feet, straightened her clothes, and with tears streaming down her face begged him not to tell her parents. The principal told us he was caught in the middle. He didn't want this kind of thing taking place at his school and at the same time he didn't want to be labeled a tattler for telling the parents. #5510

If my mother ever found out I am on birth control pills, she would know I'm sexually active. So I make sure she'll never find out. I put my pills in my underwear drawer, because she never goes into that drawer for anything. When I get my prescription filled to get pills, I make sure I take someone with me to serve as lookout. If they see my mother or someone she knows coming, they tell me and we both just casually walk away. We come back later when the coast is clear. #5511

I get my girlfriend to keep our rubbers. Her parents are a hell of a lot more liberal than mine are. If her parents found them, they wouldn't have a fit. But if my parents found them, they would ground me until I was thirty-five. #5512

My parents have forbidden me to see Ryan, because they think he is bad news. I don't agree, and I resent being told who I can and can not see. Ryan and I meet each other in school and arrange to meet somewhere at a certain time. Then we drive to a real quiet place, and well, you know. If my parents ever found out I am still seeing him they would kill me! Who knows what they would do if they found out I'm sleeping with him. But it kind of adds to the excitement. #5513

Even though my brother and I are in our mid-twenties, there are all kinds of things we don't tell our mother. These aren't bad things; just everyday things. It's because she has such a big mouth. We don't want what we tell her to go all over the community. We don't want everyone else minding our business. I tell her not to tell anyone what I say, but she tells Annabelle, the woman across the street. There are things she's told Annabelle that I just want to hit her for. I get so mad about it I just get really savage. Let's say I'm going to be working for four nights in Charlottetown this week. Mom will ask, "What are you doin' that for?" And I'll tell her, "I'll take in a couple of hundred dollars. It'll put me a couple of hundred ahead." So Annabelle will come over to see my mother, and she'll ask, "What's Terri up to?"

And Mom will say, "Oh she's working. She makes so much money at that job! She's gonna take in a couple of hundred dollars. She's gonna work four extra nights this week." Well I don't want Annabelle to know I want two hundred dollars for something. Maybe I want the money to buy something or do something. Then Annabelle starts to pry. And if Mom knows what I want the money for, Annabelle usually gets it out of her. Then Annabelle will go to bingo and somebody might ask what my mom is doing and what I am doing. And Annabelle will say, "Oh Terri is workin' and gettin' all this money together so she can do this, that, and the other thing." A friend of mine, Joan, took a second job so she wouldn't have to take a student loan to go to university. Joan also wanted to buy her mom and dad some things. But my mom wanted to know why Joan was trying to work so much. I wouldn't give Mom the satisfaction of knowing why Joan was doing it. It was none of Mom's business what Joan wanted to do with extra money. Mom decided that Joan was gonna do this, that, and the other thing and that she didn't need the money. Both Mom and Annabelle condemned Joan. "She has no right to have two jobs. Other kids in the community have none." Annabelle's daughter couldn't get a job, but here Joan had two of them. You don't want what you are doing spread all over the countryside because people will want to know or try to guess why you are doing it and start making all sorts of critical judgments at your expense. (Amount in 1983 dollars.) #5514

People often try to make sure that certain information is hidden from relatives who are not members of the immediate household.

My friend has been busted for possession of a small amount of pot. He is extremely worried his cousins will read about it in the newspaper when he's sentenced. His cousins live in the country and are very strait-laced. He says he is willing to do anything, even go to prison, to keep his name out of the paper. The public defender said he would see what he could do. #5515

When I had to go to the local prison for a year for selling drugs, my parents told everyone I was out west working with a friend. My parents were the only ones who knew the truth. All my other relatives, including my brother and sister, believe I was out west. #5516

> Relatives never understand if you don't go visit them when you are in their area. One friend of mine returned home to England, but then went on a hiking tour and never even told his relatives he was there. I hardly ever tell my relatives when I travel through their area on my way to foreign countries, because they would be hurt that I didn't spend what time and money I have visiting them. I recently went to visit some relatives for a week, and told them I had stopped off to visit a friend on the way there for a few days beforehand. In actuality I spent a week and a half with my friend, but had I told this to my relatives, they would have been upset I didn't spend a lot more time with them. #5517

In addition to one's family, people hide a great deal of information from their girlfriend, boyfriend, or spouse.

> I have a steady girlfriend and I see another girl on the side. It can get pretty tricky at times. I have to find out where one is going and then take the other one somewhere else. So far, I have really lucked out. I haven't run into anyone who knows me. If things keep going this well I might even pick up a third. #5518

> I like modern Scandinavian design, but my girlfriend wants to furnish everything in colonial and Victorian antiques. I never tell her when I buy something I like for my apartment, because she's likely to disapprove and get bothered that it isn't suitable for "our" future home. Therefore, I usually keep it out of her sight until I get it home. I put it in place and don't say anything unless she notices it. #5519

> A close friend of mine took the money he and his wife were saving to get a microwave oven, and used it to speculate in silver. Silver had been running up and he kept kicking himself for not having bought some earlier. When he finally did buy, the price of silver was as high as it was going. Then it fell and fell and he lost most of his money. He was very concerned that his wife would discover what he had done, and he kept asking me not to tell her. #5520

> When you are seeing someone on the side, there are a multitude of things you have to hide from your girlfriend or wife. These include where you go, who you see, what you do, how much money you spend, phone calls you make, letters you write, letters you receive,

your emotional feelings about the other person, and your emotional reactions which stem from the ups and downs of the other relationship. #5521

People also frequently hide things from their friends.

My best friend's husband sees other women constantly, but I've never told my friend about it. If she already knows about it, then my saying something wouldn't accomplish anything. If she doesn't know about it, then it wouldn't do any good either. It would only make her unhappy. #5522

Becky and Tanya, two girlfriends of mine, were out at a party recently and had too much to drink. When they returned to their apartment they got in an argument about something that had happened at the party. As the argument continued, the two girls got madder and madder. Finally Becky lost her temper completely and smacked Tanya in the mouth. There was a great deal of blood and tears and Tanya had to go to the hospital to get two stitches in her lip. The next day the two girls resolved their differences, but Tanya was left with a fat lip to explain to her boyfriend and their other girlfriends. Tanya told people she had slipped on the ice on her apartment stairs and fallen down six steps in the dark. Others believed the story and this enabled the two girls to remain friends. If the others had learned the truth and gotten involved, they might have caused more conflict. Although it wasn't very funny at the time, now we all laugh about Becky's "left hook." #5523

Normally one wants to hide a great many things from neighbors and other community members.

I use the automatic teller at the bank, because I don't want the bank employees to know about my finances. #5524

My sister is part of the punk movement. In order to try to hide this, my parents turn off her New Wave music whenever visitors come to the house. #5525

When I take liquor into the house, I wait until it's dark outside so the neighbors won't see what I'm doing. I don't want them to think I'm sitting home boozing. #5526

When I took a trip to Europe for two months, most people didn't know I was going until I was gone. It was none of their business. If something had happened and I hadn't gone, I would have been in a bad position. If someone in my family had died or gotten sick or something, I wouldn't have been able to go. And if I hadn't gone, everybody would have said, "Well, why didn't you go? What's the problem?" And I didn't want them talking about me. Also, a trip like that is expensive. And they did talk. Neighbors asked me, "How can you afford to go over there? Where are you getting all this money?" And they said to my parents, "You guys must be doing good to send your daughter to Europe." My parents replied, "We're not sending her to Europe, she's going on her own. In fact she's been working about twenty hours a week waiting on tables in Charlottetown to pay for her trip." I was the first kid in our community to go to Europe, and the neighbors just saw dollar signs. Once I boarded that plane, I didn't care if they knew or not, because I was on my way. But once I got back, I didn't talk about it. You'd have to ask me and keep asking. If someone wanted to know, "Oh, you went away this summer?" I'd say, "Yeah." And if they asked, "Where did you go?" I'd say, "Oh, I took a vacation." I didn't want to mention it. If I'd talked openly about it, people would have said, "Oh, she's around making us all know that she went to Europe, flaunting it." #5527

I'm involved in an affair, and it's difficult. There is virtually no place on the Island where you can go and be certain you won't meet up with or be seen by someone who knows you. A sizable proportion of the people are either acquainted with you or else recognize who you are. I live in Charlottetown, and we sure can't go to a local motel to spend time together. Without fail we would meet a friend of a friend, someone who goes to school with one of our kids, or someone similar. Eating together in a restaurant is out of the question. Inevitably one of us will be known by an employee or someone else eating there. It isn't even safe to travel together in the same car. We found we were unable to buy gasoline anywhere in Charlottetown when we were traveling together. There was someone working at every gas station in Charlottetown who knew one of us. If we were in the same car and stopped at a red light, I can imagine what could happen. My wife's bridge partner might be in the next lane, and she'd be only too pleased to mention that she saw us together. Therefore we have learned to take our separate cars. However, even when we avoid being seen together,

> there are problems. We used to take turns picking up coffee and doughnuts at a doughnut shop. We would each take our own car, and one of us would go in while the other waited in a parking lot elsewhere. However, we had to stop taking turns because we both knew individuals who worked there and they started to notice we always ordered the same thing. We feared they would eventually realize that both of us placed the identical order. But the problem isn't restricted to Charlottetown. Even when we go to isolated areas in the country, we occasionally run into people who know us or recognize one of our cars. #5528

Another group one tries to hide things from are those in authority positions, such as at work or school.

> When I had a minor operation on my face, a friend was visiting me at the time from Ottawa. The day after my operation I looked perfectly normal, but I wanted to spend time with my friend rather than return to work. However, my boss insisted on coming over to see how I was. So I put some bandages around my nose and lay down on my bed. When my boss saw me he insisted I take as much time off as I needed, and I stayed away from work for the rest of the week. #5529

> It's just fascinating what people include and do not include in their résumés when they apply for jobs. Some pretend they have finished a degree which they never completed. My friends never mention the jobs they were fired from, and no one mentions their health problems. Others leave off the dates when they did things or belonged to certain organizations in the past, implying that they are still active in them. #5530

People may also want to hide information from strangers, particularly if they think the strangers could cause them harm.

> When I discard financial information, like statements from a bank or broker, I tear them up or shred them. I don't want anyone to see my trash and learn about my financial situation. Also, with all the identity theft going on, you don't want anyone to learn who you are or where you have money. #5531

4. How people hide things from others

An enormous variety of methods are used to try to hide information and activities from others. These include keeping things out of sight, acting as though nothing has happened, not telling the whole story, denying, preventing access to information, destroying evidence, giving false information, disguising or misrepresenting what is going on, and avoiding people one doesn't want to have learn certain things about oneself. The general principle is "What they don't know, won't hurt me."

The ideal state of affairs for the person trying to hide something is to keep everyone else from knowing anything about it. People regularly try to keep others from seeing them engaged in certain activities or otherwise learning certain information about their activities.

> I was just in the ladies' room of the club, and one of the girls there asked if she could have a couple of puffs on my cigarette. She said she was desperate for a cigarette, but hadn't brought her own, because she didn't want the guy she was out with to know she smokes. I used to do the same thing when I wanted to make a good impression on my date. #5532

> When my sister was out of town, I had to drive to her house every day during my lunch hour to take in her mail. She didn't want her nosey tenant to see her monthly welfare check when the tenant came home in the evening. #5533

> My father really disapproves of my boyfriend because he rides a motorcycle. In order to get together with my boyfriend, I sometimes tell my parents I'm going to the library. When he takes me home, I have him let me off down the street so my father won't know we were together. #5534

> I work at a bar in a small town on the Island. The men who go there agree that a primary attraction of the bar is that it is secluded. Because it is hidden out of sight, they feel safe. If you are a professional or a married man and spend your afternoon at the local bar, people will talk. This bar is out of the way, and people do not drive by and notice the cars in the parking lot. #5535

I got my girlfriend's mascara on my shirt. So I put my shirt on inside out so no one would see the stain. #5536

Eric and I have been seeing each other for quite a while, but I don't think it is anyone else's business if we are sleeping together or not. I won't even sleep in the same bed as Eric when my roommates are home. It gets pretty tricky to find opportunities to be alone, but we manage. My roommates go out quite a bit, and Eric and I just stay in. Sometimes when it has been a while since we've been together, the girls barely get out the door and we are racing for the bedroom. So far, we have been pretty successful. The girls all suspect, but they don't know for sure, and I, for one, intend to keep it that way. #5537

I was visiting my girlfriend, and her two kids were out with her ex-husband. When he brought the kids back home, I had to hide in the basement, because she didn't want him to know about me. #5538

While my husband was out of town, I went out to a club with my sister. This traveling salesman came over to our table and we danced together. We hit it off and he wanted to get physically involved. "But I'm married," I told him. "Well, I'm engaged," he replied. So we arranged that we would meet over at my apartment after I drove my sister home. This is what we did and my sister was none the wiser. #5539

I'm involved with a married woman, and we decided we'd take a trip to Halifax together in my car and leave her car here. Her husband thought she was taking her car, so we had to make sure no one around town would see the car and mention it while we were away. So I had a friend of mine keep it in his garage while we were gone. #5540

Whenever I have people over for dinner, have someone stay at my place, or the landlord is coming to make a repair, I made sure certain items in my apartment are hidden away. Depending on who is coming, I go around the place and put things away and reposition items in drawers and cabinets so they are hidden underneath things or completely out of sight. The things I hide include books and magazines on sex, contraceptives, my girlfriend's clothes, information on my investments, certain bills, income tax files, and very personal letters. I don't think others would go looking for these things, but if I or they open a drawer or cabinet while looking for something else, I want to make sure these things are out of sight. #5541

The people I know would do many things differently if they did not have to worry about someone influential or in authority over them finding out. But their concern is legitimate, because someone would tell, or tattle, on them. While growing up in a residential area of Charlottetown, one of my primary worries has been people telling my parents about the things I do. Even though I am now over twenty-one years old and a male, I have to be just as careful as I was when I was a child. There are many things I do not do, have stopped doing, or try to hide, because I might be tattled on.

I remember when I was younger and started smoking cigarettes with my friends. We would go down to the woods near my house so that our neighbors wouldn't see us and tell. Once in the woods, we walked around so people wouldn't see smoke rising at one spot above the trees. When we sat or stood still we would wave our arms through the smoke to break it up.

As I became older many of my problems were associated with using the family car. When I first got my driving license, I was like most other sixteen year olds, because I wanted to show off by driving fast and burning rubber. One day when I was seventeen, I had been burning rubber for about twenty minutes in the parking lot of a shopping center when one of my friends came up and told me a lady had taken down my license number and was going to call the cops. I left the parking lot immediately and drove home. I then worried for two days that the cops would call my parents. To make sure I wouldn't have to worry about this again, I stopped burning rubber. On another occasion I was driving home one night from my girlfriend's house. It was late and to get home quickly I purposely drove the wrong way down a one-way street. My next door neighbor happened to be turning onto the road at the time and saw what I did. When I parked, he pulled up behind me and yelled, "Young man, don't you ever do that again!" I thought for sure he was going to tell my parents, and that I would be forbidden to ever use the car again. I worried for several days, but he never tattled. However, I didn't drive the wrong way on the street again.

Drugs are a real problem for young people, especially since so many adults are strongly opposed to their use. Once my basketball coach caught me smoking marijuana. Fortunately, my parents refused to believe him when he told them. I also wore a jacket with a marijuana leaf on the front for a couple of years. I told my parents it was a carrot leaf and they believed me. However, I was scared someone would tell them what kind of leaf it really was.

I find some people are much more likely to tattle on you than others. Many neighbors don't seem to care and leave you alone unless what you do disturbs them personally, such as holding a noisy party. Others, like the woman across the street, are quick to tell on you. One night some kids my age who live a few houses away held a really big party while their parents were out of town. There were as many as forty cars parked along the street, and the next morning countless cases of beer bottles were stacked at the end of the road waiting for garbage pickup. The kids didn't figure anyone would tell on them, but the woman across from me did so. Later I heard from the kids who had told. I was extremely careful afterwards so that the woman would have no reason to tell on me.

Parties are always a big problem. The big worry I've had and still have is how to have a party at my house while my parents are away. Every time my parents leave for somewhere, the last thing they say to me is "No parties!" When I've had parties I've always had to make sure very few kids know about it. If a lot of kids hear, then there'll be cars lined up, up and down the street. As a result the neighbors will know, someone will tell my parents, and I'll get in shit. Noise is another big problem when you have a party. Too much noise will bug the neighbors and greatly increase the chance that they will tell. On my eighteenth birthday my friend had a party for me at his house. The neighbors knew and they told his parents. He got caught because the stereo was so loud that one side of his neighbor's house vibrated until two o'clock in the morning. That was three years ago, and he hasn't had another party since. One problem with a party is how to deal with drugs and alcohol. Since the smell of drugs is quite strong and tends to linger in a house, you want people to smoke outside. However, if the neighbors see what you're doing outside, they'll tell for sure. A lot of people who've attended my parties use drugs, and they smoke quite a lot during the parties. Therefore, we've gone outside to smoke. But we couldn't stay near the house because if the neighbors saw ten or so people standing in a circle, it would be obvious what was happening. Therefore, we walked down to the woods. But I always worried that the neighbors would know something was up if they saw us all headed for the woods carrying our beer with us. Other problems arise at the end of a party. One is what you do with the beer bottles. There are several solutions. You can wait until two or three o'clock in the morning after the party and carry them down to the woods. It usually takes three or four trips, and you have to be

very careful doing this, because you don't want anyone to see. However, to avoid carrying all the bottles to the woods, I get people to take some with them as they leave the party. But if there aren't many bottles, I just throw them out into the field near our house. After a party dies down, there are always people who end up staying overnight. Some of these are girls, and the problem is how to get them out of the house the next day without the neighbors seeing. If the girl doesn't have a car, there usually isn't a problem. This is because if the neighbors see her leave they'll normally assume they didn't see her arrive. You just have to be sure the neighbors don't see her early in the morning, say about nine o'clock, because then they'll figure she spent the night. If the girl has a car which has been sitting in your driveway all night, you can get the girl to leave between six and seven o'clock, or before the neighbors get up. One weekend when my parents were away I wanted my girlfriend from Halifax to come over and stay at our house. However, my girlfriend drives a sports car which has a Nova Scotia license plate and both the car and the license plate would have been highly noticeable. Because everyone knows everyone else's business, the neighbors know I have a girlfriend in Halifax. They would have mentioned "the strange car from Halifax in the driveway all weekend" to my parents, who would have realized immediately what had happened. As a result my girlfriend had to remain in Halifax that weekend.

Almost everything I take precautions for, I've been tattled on in the past. Whatever you do, you have to operate from the perspective that there's sure to be someone who'll see and who'll tell. For example, one day I had my girlfriend's car at the university. After class I left for a meeting on job placement and gave a ride to a girl in my class who was going to the same meeting. Right after the meeting I went back to school, and as my girlfriend got into the car she said, "So, you're driving around with females in my car, are you?" She'd been told within ten minutes what I was doing. If the woman across the street was out of town on a weekend that I was holding a party, I'd still go through every precaution to hide the party. There's sure to be someone else who'd tell. I think that when people tattle on you they often take a subtle approach. They want to tattle, but don't want to look too obvious. They don't want you to think they are a tattletale, who runs over and blurts out the news the second you get back home. Once some neighbors passed me when I was driving really fast toward town. They called up my parents and probably dropped a few remarks

into the conversation, such as "My goodness, where was Michael going? He was in an awful hurry. He zipped by us going fifty miles an hour." Often they don't have another reason to call, and they start off the conversation with something stupid, such as "Hi! What are you doing?" or "What's going on?" They don't want to look like busybodies who are minding someone else's business.

Young people don't hear many cases of adults tattling on other adults, because parents seldom discuss such things in front of their children. I can just imagine how it must be. Someone will call up and say, "Hi! What's going on? Blah, blah, blah. Gee, your husband's got a new secretary, eh? Well I saw the two of them having lunch."

It makes such a difference when I'm staying in another province, because I don't have to worry about a thing. I can do whatever I want and don't have to think about someone telling on me. However, it's really hard to remember that the people who live there have to be so damn careful what they do. I'll say, "C'mon let's do this." "Ah, I can't." "Why not?" "Aw, I just can't." They're scared they're going to get shit. For example, I was visiting someone's home and we'd all had a few beer. I said, "Let's walk down to the store." "No, can't walk to the store. Someone might see me stumbling down the street." "Who cares? Let's go!" But, no way. I have to understand, because I would respond the same way if we were in my parents' home in Charlottetown. #5542

When one is engaged in hiding something, one usually tries to act as though nothing out of the ordinary is going on.

It's embarrassing when you forget someone's name or face you should know. It's even worse when the other person remembers your name. Then you're forced to pretend you really do know who the other person is. I know two girls who are roommates who kept running into the same guy on campus, and every time they met, the three would stop and have a short conversation. He remembered their names, but they couldn't remember his, and this made them uncomfortable every time they talked to him. Then one day he mentioned he'd just gotten a new student identification card. One of the girls realized the card would have his name on it and she asked if she could see how his picture turned out. He handed her the ID card, and she read his name and passed the card to her roommate. The girls complimented him on his photo and didn't forget his name again. #5543

> When I fart in my office, I'm always concerned someone will come to see me before the odor dissipates. So I open the window as wide as possible and open my door. Sometimes I swing the door back and forth a few times to help clear the air in the office. If someone comes before there has been time for the odor to disappear, I'll meet them at the office door and go out in the hall to talk to them. That way they never enter the office and discover what I've done. Other times I go into the front waiting area to do something else, so if someone comes to see me I can talk to them there and not in my office. #5544

Sometimes one puts oneself through an ordeal just to maintain appearances.

> We live in Charlottetown, and on Friday my sister and I drove to Summerside. We'd told my parents we were going shopping and that we'd probably stay at a hotel and not come home that night. However, the real reason we were going was to meet a couple of guys. But after we'd gone clubbing with them it was too late to get a hotel or motel room. All the lobbies were closed. So my sister and I had to try to sleep in the car. However, I found it impossible to get to sleep because I couldn't get comfortable. We didn't dare go home at six in the morning, because Mom would have been very upset we had stayed out that late, and we'd be in shit up to our ears. Before we went home we had to buy something to show we'd been shopping, and after the stores opened I bought a blouse. When we finally arrived back home that morning the two of us were just dead. But my sister stayed up and cleaned house because that is what she would have normally done. She said she almost fainted while she was vacuuming. That night she went to bed at seven o'clock, and Mom had trouble waking her at eleven o'clock the next morning. I had to go to work Saturday afternoon, and complained to Mom later about a headache. Mom said we must have really had a night that Friday considering the condition we were in the next day, but we didn't tell her we'd been up all night. #5545

Often other people can tell when a person is bothered about something. If a person wants to hide what is bothering him, a common method is to blame it on a cause which is safer to admit than the real one.

> When my girlfriend gets bitchy or acts insensitive to others, I ask myself, "Why am I going with this girl?" and I become less communicative with her. When she asks what the matter is, I usually tell her I'm tired or worried about my work, which satisfies her. She does the same kind of thing. Recently she went to Halifax to visit a relative, and while she was there she got involved with an old boyfriend again. When she got back she was quite upset about being involved with the two of us at the same time. She avoided me for most of the week by attending meetings of different organizations every night, and I didn't think anything of it. When we did get together she acted preoccupied and I wanted to know if she was OK. She replied she was upset because she hated her job so much. Her answer fully satisfied me, and it wasn't until later that she told me what the real problem was. #5546

One can also try to cut off information to others which one does not want them to have.

> When my brother was given a ticket for speeding by the RCMP, he was scared to tell my parents because he had just acquired his driving license a month before. Also, he was driving my parents' new car at the time, and was afraid he wouldn't be allowed to drive the car again. Therefore he said nothing to my parents about the ticket. When the case was reported in the Provincial Court section in the newspaper, my brother hid the paper from Mom and Dad. This would have worked, except a neighbor read it in his own paper and made a snide remark to my parents. #5547

> I've noticed mothers at church will sometimes try to make a lot of noise when one of their children is in the confessional booth. They rattle their rosary or shuffle their feet so others can't hear what their child is saying. #5548

> The local newspapers normally do not print certain types of personal information which would embarrass others. For example, when they report cases of incest and rape, they don't print the names of the victims. Recently, however, a paper did report that a young woman who was killed in an automobile accident was engaged to be married and "a co-worker confirmed she was five or six months pregnant." It is quite unusual for newspapers to print information of this kind, and

readers were upset the pregnancy was mentioned. In the next issue of the paper there was an apology from the editor on the front page which contained the statement, "Too many details of a personal nature were included in the story, and these should not have been published. I apologize to the families for any embarrassment we might have caused them." #5549

A common means of hiding information is to lie to others.

I wish my mom wouldn't ask me where I'm calling from, so I wouldn't have to lie to her. I tell her I'm calling from the post office or somewhere else. I'm certainly not going to tell her I'm calling from my boyfriend's apartment. #5550

I always keep a rubber in my wallet, just in case. Well, one day I put my jeans in the wash and forgot to clean out the pockets. My mother took my wallet out of the pants and in the process the rubber fell out. When I got home from school she asked what I was doing with it. Well, I had to think fast. I told her the guys had put it there as a joke. I think she believed me, because nothing else was ever said about it. It was too close for comfort. #5551

Jennifer, an eighteen-year-old friend of mine, comes from a very strict household. Her parents are quite religious and feel she is too young to smoke, date, or stay out late. Jennifer doesn't agree with her parents about this, but she wants to fulfill their expectations. However, she gets fed up when her friends are out on dates or at a party and she's not allowed to go with them. At such times she tells her parents she is going somewhere they consider acceptable, such as to a movie or to her girlfriend's house for the night. In actuality she and her boyfriend go out together, sometimes to an all-night party. She tells me, "My cover-ups have been successful, and I haven't been found out yet. I feel a little guilty about having to tell my parents stories all the time. But there is nothing else I can do. It's the only way I can have a social life. My parents treat me like a little girl and refuse to let me grow up." #5552

I tried to hide the fact my marriage was over. My husband was out seeing different women, and I stopped completely going out socially. When other people wanted to get together, I made up excuses. I'd

say, "Miles and I are going to spend the weekend together," or "Miles isn't feeling well and needs to stay home." Eventually I realized I was kidding nobody but myself. #5553

When my girlfriend asked about the scrape marks on my wrists, I told her I'd gotten them helping my father move some boxes. I sure wasn't going to tell her they were rug burns I got while making love to another girl on the floor. #5554

This friend of mine, named Mike, was really interested in me, but I had no romantic interest in him. Anyway, Mike asked me out probably a month in advance for a big dance on New Year's Eve. I accepted because everybody goes out New Year's Eve and I didn't want to be stuck at home. But then the night before New Year's Eve my girlfriend and I were in a club and met two guys who asked us out for the next evening. They were real duds, but nice guys, and we accepted. Actually my girlfriend was in something of a bind. The guy she was going with worked as a disk jockey in this particular club, but instead of asking my girlfriend out over the holidays, he had brought an old girlfriend in from Moncton. The result was that my girlfriend was desperate to get a date for appearance's sake. She wanted to go to the club and show her guy up for doing such a rotten thing to her. He had to work at this club on New Year's Eve. But there I was with two different dates on the same evening. I figured it would be more fun to go out on a double date with my girlfriend than to go out with Mike. So I called up Mike and broke the date with him. I didn't really want to go out with him anyway. When I called I used the excuse that my sister was back from Winnipeg, and because she was home our family decided we would all spend the evening together. Then on New Year's Eve I had to drive my sister all over Summerside looking for this party she had heard about. She wanted to go, but didn't know where it was being held. When I got back home Dad told me, "Mike called and wants to talk to you. I can tell he's been drinking and is kind of down." My dad had answered the phone and had to make an excuse for me. He had told Mike I was out with my sister and didn't know when we'd be back. Later on the phone rang again. By now my girlfriend and I were standing there in our evening gowns and the two guys were in the living room. Mom answered the phone and said it was for me. Of course it was Mike. The phone is right next to the living room and everything I said could be heard by the others. So I'm trying to talk to Mike and hide the

> fact from him that everyone else is there. And what Mike did was invite himself over. Since I was home with my sister and my parents, he wanted to come over and be with us. My God, I don't even remember what I said, but there was no way I could let him come, because I was going out and wouldn't even be there. I must have told him it was just going to be a family affair. I knew there was no chance he would show up at the club without a date. You don't go anywhere New Year's Eve without a date anyway. But it turned out to be a terrible night. These guys were such duds. We were never so bored in all our lives. I knew what I did to Mike wasn't right. I'd never done it to anyone before. From then on I decided I wouldn't allow myself to go out on a date with someone I didn't want to go out with. That's because you are going to do rotten things to people you don't care about. That's the truth of the matter. And although I've always liked Mike as a friend, I've never cared about him romantically. We have been friends for years since then, but he has never to this day known the truth about that date. And I never would tell him because it would hurt him so much. #5555

One can invent elaborate stories to hide information.

> Christine is in the sixth grade of the local school. Her parents are recently divorced and Christine lives with her mother. When Christine makes new friends she tells them her family was very close and her father loved her and her mother a great deal and was the world's greatest dad. Then she informs them her father was killed in an automobile accident three years before. Christine was taught that divorce is a sin. Her story enables her to gain sympathy and hide the fact her parents are divorced. #5556

When it is impossible to deny something, people sometimes try to hide what is happening by understating its seriousness or the degree to which it occurs.

> I was seeing a Black student at university, but my parents refused to accept the fact. When people in the community asked my parents, "Is it true your daughter is going out with a Black guy?" my parents denied it or said, "They are just good friends." When I tried to bring him home, my parents didn't want to meet him. #5557

> This man I work with has had a severe heart attack. Half his heart is dead and he has to spend a lot of time in the hospital in Halifax for tests and operations. His kids are in grade school, and he and his wife haven't told them just how critical things are. #5558

> I'm involved with this man in his late 30's. When his wife discovered our affair, he told her we had only been together for a few times and that it's all over now. However, things haven't changed at all and we continue to see each other practically every day. #5559

One can also omit certain key details or provide a slant that puts one in a better light.

A person who is trying to hide something may also joke that he or she is actually up to something. The fact one jokes about it makes it appear less likely.

> A friend of mine, a married man, gives me a ride home from work at lunchtime every day. We were leaving work together and one of our colleagues looked over and said, "Are you two going steady?" My married friend replied, "Yes, we just started Saturday." Another day a different colleague asked, "Where do you two go every day at lunchtime?" My friend said, "Never mind. We find places." Everyone knows he wouldn't answer this way if there were something going on between us. But the truth is we are seriously involved together. #5560

People use a variety of techniques to try to disguise what they are doing. One technique is to try to remove suspicion by altering the time or place of an event.

> My mom really disapproves of this man I'm going with because he is separated from his wife. She questions me and acts hurt every time she thinks I'm out with him. So I have to be really careful she doesn't suspect we see each other as often as we do. When I have an organization meeting to go to in the evening, I often arrive late at the meeting or leave it early just so I can take the time to see my man. This is usually safe, because Mom knows I've gone to the meeting. When I have to leave the province for a conference, I tell Mom what ferry I'm catching and then go see my guy and take a later boat. I often leave the conference a day early so I can come back and spend

> the time with him. When I do this I drive down side streets and park my car out of sight rather than in his driveway, where I usually park. This way Mom will be less likely to see I'm actually in town. I really worry a lot Mom will find out. If she does I'll get grief for the next six months. #5561

> I held a birthday party for the married man I'm involved with. Our mutual friends were there, and we had a birthday cake and presents. However, we held it a week before his actual birthday. He suggested we do it early because it was easier for him to get away from home and his wife wouldn't be as suspicious. #5562

> When I was a child my parents held a birthday party for me each year and invited the other children in the neighborhood. One year another child pointed out that my birthday was the same as Adolf Hitler's and that I must be Hitler's bride. This upset me considerably and I cried. When my father learned what happened, he changed my birthday by several days. Ever since then, for the past forty years, I have celebrated my birthday on this other day, and sometimes I don't remember that it isn't my true birthday. #5563

Another technique is to use words or signs that convey a message to some people but hide it from others.

> There is a guy that we nicknamed "Windy" who visits three different farms every other Sunday or so. "Windy" is just a bullshitter from Ontario, who thinks he knows everything. He and his wife will hit one place at lunchtime, another about three in the afternoon, and another about five in the evening. So they'll get their Sunday lunch, noon tea, and supper meal. When he comes to our place Mom will say, "I have to go call somebody," or "Oh, I have to give Pat a ring." And she'll go call Pat and say, "Well not too much going on today. Kind of 'Windy' around here. Bit of a breeze blowing among the trees here." And Pat will know exactly what she means, and that "Windy" and his wife will be headed their way. If they want the visit, then fine, they'll stay home. And if they don't, they'll get out of there quickly. #5564

One can also direct another's attention to the wrong person.

> This man told his wife he is having an affair with my married friend. There is no truth to it, but he said this to keep his wife from suspecting the woman he is really having the affair with. My married friend is quite upset about this. #5565

One can also try to use a safe odor to cover up an odor that would get one into trouble.

> I shared a room in the hospital with a woman in her mid-fifties, who was recovering from a heart attack. I always noticed a very strong smell of perfume in the washroom after she used it, but was surprised I could never detect the smell of perfume on her. One morning I entered the washroom immediately after she left it. The odor of perfume was staggering, but intermixed with it was the smell of cigarette smoke. I suspect she'd been told to stop smoking, and didn't want others to know she hadn't quit. #5566

> My ex-boyfriend had a real drinking problem. He knew I didn't approve, and promised to stop. I was working at the time and he wasn't, and sometimes I would return home after he had been drinking. He would eat mints to try to hide the smell of the alcohol on his breath. #5567

People also pretend they are doing something which is more acceptable to others than what they are really engaged in.

> When I'm in a bar or club I use an approach to be noticed by a particular male. I get up out of my seat, pretend not to see the male I'm interested in, pass by him, and go to the washroom. On the way back I look his way or notice him in a casual way. This is a good way to "run into" another person. I use this a lot and always see other girls doing it too. Of course this only works when I have to pass his table, or where he is standing at the bar, in order to get to the washroom. #5568

> I teach a class of slow students in high school, and a number of girls keep asking, "Can I go to the bathroom, sir?" Then a short time after they return they ask to go again. They always imply they are having their periods. Once I replied, "You were just there," and the girl

> claimed, "That time of the month, sir." What they really want to do is go in the bathroom and have a smoke. Many probably aren't having a period at all. #5569

> When I reached my 30's, I decided I would go to university, where I am majoring in sociology. However, my husband doesn't like me to read sociology books because of their influence on my thinking. So I keep two books handy at home; one's a romance, the other's a sociology book. When he's nearby I pretend I'm reading the romance. #5570

> When one has something specific to hide, one can become quite paranoid. For example, if you have a secret drinking problem or if you're having an affair, you may go to great lengths to keep people from finding out. The most important thing for you to do is to try to maintain good relations with others so that no one will set out to build a case against you. Naturally, others will talk about the normal things, such as your clothes, your possessions, your efforts at leadership, and so on. But that is what you want them to talk about if you have something you want to keep secret. You do not want to seem unusual, as though you have no features at all worth talking about. The last thing you want is for someone to start looking for things to say about you. If they look too closely, they may learn your secret. So you must give them a little bait to distract them. This is the best way to protect your secret. #5571

People will also go to considerable trouble to maintain a pretense.

> At times I'm embarrassed over the fact I have to go to the toilet so often. The other day I went just before a friend and I left for a movie. But as soon as we sat down in the theater I had to go again. So I told my friend I was going to get some candy at the concession stand. After I went to the toilet I purchased something at the candy counter on the way back. I really didn't want the candy. The only reason I got it was to hide the fact I was going to the toilet again so soon after I had just gone. #5572

In order to restrict access to information, people frequently tell others not to tell what they know.

> My friend is retiring from work this month. His colleagues at the office told him they would get together to have a pizza to celebrate. But they are planning a much bigger party for him with a Hawaiian theme and all his best friends included. They are telling everyone to keep this secret so he won't suspect. #5573

People will also use blackmail to get others to keep information quiet.

> When my parents were out of town for a couple of weeks my sister and I had our boyfriends stay over. The next door neighbor, who is a very nosey woman, took it on herself to come over regularly "to check that we were alright." When she was in the house she would mention all the ashes in the ashtrays and go look in the fridge and comment on all the beer. I couldn't believe the gall of the woman. It became increasingly clear she intended to give a full report to my parents when they returned. So my sister told the woman's husband to make sure his wife didn't say anything, or else my sister would tell some of the things she knew about him. She had seen him out clubbing when his wife was out of town. His wife never did say anything to our parents. #5574

As part of hiding activities, people frequently try to avoid others who know too much or who are likely to ask embarrassing questions.

> I had an affair with a woman several years ago, and didn't think anyone knew. The woman has now moved away from the Island. However, I was talking to her closest friend the other day and it became clear she knew all about the affair. Moreover, the friend is very interested in my feelings about the woman and any future plans I might have involving her. I find myself trying to avoid her friend whenever I see her. All she wants to do is sit and talk about the situation and I find it difficult discussing it and would rather leave the subject alone. #5575

People will even avoid associations with certain people who are in a position to learn certain things about them which could harm them.

> There is this man where I work who is really nice and would make a good friend. However, he used to go to school with the man I'm having an affair with, and if I spent any time together with him, he would

be in a better position to see and recognize the man I'm involved with. Therefore, I avoid any association with him. #5576

I work for the federal government. I get along well with a number of people in my department, but there are certain of them I won't socialize with. This is because they are aligned with an opposing faction in the office. When I socialize with people, I relax and am very open about myself. I think if I were around these other people, I would talk too freely and tell them too much about myself. But I don't dare let them or their colleagues know very much about my personal life, because they might use this information against me someday. Several times I've considered socializing with them because it might help break down the factions within the department, but I've always decided it's best for me if I don't. #5577

Some people enjoy teasing or taunting others about the information others wish to hide. Clearly those who are teased or taunted would like to avoid those who do this.

Whenever I see this jock that my roommate brought home to spend the night with her, I wink at him. I'm amused by his reaction. He's embarrassed and tries to avoid me. #5578

My best friend went to bed with this guy named Jeff one night. The next day she learned Jeff was living with a girl, so my best friend didn't have anything more to do with him. Sometime later she was downtown one afternoon and this other guy asked her, "How's Jeff?" This asshole was just trying to throw the fact he knew she'd slept with Jeff in her face. #5579

People are constantly inventing new ways of hiding things from each other. Each situation tends to be unique, and many of the techniques people develop they have never seen or heard of before.

I got this bill from a collection agency. It was just for twenty-two dollars and I'd never gotten around to paying it. I couldn't believe that the business I owed the money to would bother giving it to a collection agency. The return envelope had the address of the collection agency on the front and my own name and address on the back flap. Now there is no way I want anyone at the post office here to see

my name in connection with a collection agency. The post office workers know everyone in town. A friend of mine works there and tells me they read the post cards and the addresses on the mail to learn what's going on. So when I sent the collection agency a cheque, what I did was put the back flap inside the envelope so no one could read my name on it, and then because I couldn't seal the envelope, I stapled it shut. #5580

A friend of mine woke up one night and discovered his wife looking in his wallet. He pretended he didn't see this and didn't say anything to her about it, but he devised a way so she won't know how much he actually has in his wallet or how much he has spent. He folds his paper money as small as possible and hides it in various corners or inside a picture or license holder within the wallet. As a result all the little compartments in his wallet contain money. When his wife looks inside she'll see he has $35 or so in the compartment for paper money. Actually he may have an extra $100 hidden away. #5581

I am single and have been having an affair with a married man for several years. In order that we could have a vacation together off the Island, he pretended to attend a professional conference which was being held in Vancouver. Actually we spent that time in Banff in Alberta together. I used a photocopier machine to copy the letterhead used by the convention organizers in Vancouver, and then I used the letterhead to type letters and receipts to the man. These were supposedly from the conference organizers, and I even faked some signatures on the letters. This was so that the man could show the correspondence to his wife. Then when everything was set up, we decided we would like to have a couple of additional days together in Montreal. So I wrote another letter, again supposedly from the conference organizers, stating that because of the demand we were organizing site visits of professional facilities in the Vancouver and Seattle areas and encouraged participants in the conference to attend these prior to the meetings. #5582

My girlfriend and I like to fool around outside as well as inside my apartment. Sometimes we get to petting when we are driving down the highway. However, when a car passes, my girlfriend doesn't like to take the chance they can see what we're doing. We've found if she takes off her panties and leaves her dress or her shorts on, and if I put a jacket over my lap, we don't have to scramble to get clothes

back on when others can see in the car. Another place we like to fool around is at the beach. The other day we went to a beach where not many people go, and put our blanket down some distance from the others. Nevertheless, others could still see us from a distance and there were always a few people walking along the beach who passed nearby. So we lay next to each other and tried out various positions which allowed us to pet so others couldn't see what we were doing. However, whenever someone passed nearby we stopped. We really wanted to have intercourse, but there was no way with the others around. Later my girlfriend had to pee and the water was too cold for her to do it there. So we walked further down the beach and climbed over the dunes out of sight of everyone. We had to step carefully through the sharp grass that covered the dunes. After she peed, I noticed a small bare patch within the grass and suggested she get down on all fours there. She took off her bathing suit and got down. I knelt behind her, entered her, and reached orgasm. There was no room to lie down anywhere because of the sharp grass, and if we had stood up we could have been seen from the beach. Afterwards we walked further down the beach until we were too far away for others to tell what we were doing, and I masturbated her in a standing position, which we'd never tried before. Anyone who noticed us probably thought we were hugging. I didn't go down on her, because others would likely have figured out what we were up to from a distance. I wonder how many others fool around on the beach? My girlfriend says she has done so with previous boyfriends, but neither of us has ever seen anyone else doing it. I guess they are just as good as we are at hiding what they're up to. #5583

5. Relative success at hiding information

People obtain a great deal of experience hiding their behavior and covering up information about it. As a result they become quite accomplished at hiding things from others. Hiding activities seems to come quite easily to people, and taps their substantial problem solving and acting abilities. In fact, people frequently prefer to hide what they are doing, rather than engage in the behavior openly or stop doing it altogether. When caught out, they frequently continue the same kind of behavior but find new ways to hide it.

Many attempts at hiding information are successful, and other people do not find out what the person is trying to hide.

When Karen became pregnant, she left Montague and stayed with relatives in Ontario until she delivered. She did a wonderful job of keeping her pregnancy secret. Her friends and the neighbors all seemed to believe she was taking some pre-nursing courses at the University of Waterloo. She also gave her baby up for adoption. Obviously the whole effort would have been wasted if she'd returned to Montague with a newborn child. #5584

Islanders are very touchy about how much they earn. It is very private information, and they don't want others to know. I wouldn't even ask my brother how much he earns. #5585

I have been physically involved with a friend of mine for a number of years. I've never told anyone about her and never would, because I really care about her and if word ever got out it would blow her marriage away. #5586

In other cases, people fail to hide things from others, or succeed only partially.

When Colleen became pregnant her parents were very upset and ashamed. They sent her to Quebec to live with an aunt until the baby was born. Although Colleen wanted very much to keep her baby, when she saw how ashamed her family was and how little they wanted her to keep the baby, she agreed to give it up for adoption. However, the rumor did start to circulate around the community that Colleen was pregnant. When Colleen's younger sister was asked by her friends if there was any truth to the rumor, she replied, "Of course not. Colleen's not even married." When they pointed out Colleen had gained a lot of weight lately, the sister replied, "Colleen was getting awfully fat, so she decided to go to a fancy weight-loss camp." Her friends didn't buy this crazy story, but they did drop the subject since it really upset the sister. #5587

My sister told people she was "going down south to bask in the sun" when she left the province to get an abortion. That was two years ago, and she is still deeply upset by the fact her cover-up failed. She says, "It was bad enough going through the trauma of the abortion itself, without having to put up with all the heated talk and gossip that went along with it. I still can't understand how everyone found out.

> I guess it just reached the wrong ears. Going south seemed like a legitimate story at the time. It's so hard to keep the truth quiet around the Island. I'll never forget the additional anguish I went through, just because I was unable to hide a personal event in my life." #5588

Sometimes people work at cross purposes to each other.

> Dan informed his parents that he and a woman had bought a house and were going to live together. They had no interest in getting married at this time and wanted to live together for a while to see how well things worked out. Both of Dan's parents were shocked. They greatly disapproved, and were so ashamed they kept the news to themselves and told no one, not even other family members. This was made easier by the fact Dan and the woman were currently living in another province. However, unknown to his parents, Dan had already told the news to his other relatives who lived in the same community as his parents. The other relatives said nothing to his parents because they guessed how they felt. #5589

A primary means by which people learn what a person has been hiding is by being told directly by the person. Often individuals tell others what is on their mind in order to release some of the tension they feel and get it off their chests. They frequently want reassurance that despite their "transgressions" they are still accepted by those they tell. Sometimes they want moral support, and sometimes they "fess up" and reveal things because of a sense of guilt. In other cases, they want to share with a good friend what they have hidden.

> Kevin was failing university badly, and knew he would get in trouble when his father found out. When his marks arrived in the mail, Kevin forged better marks and resealed the envelope. Kevin's father was so pleased he gave Kevin a new stereo. This gift was completely unexpected, and Kevin did not know what to do. A week later, feeling a considerable amount of guilt and shame, Kevin confessed the whole thing to his father. #5590

Over time relationships and loyalties change, events and feelings become more distant, reasons for keeping something hidden can dissolve, and people may feel less hesitation in telling others about something that took place.

> Even though we were very close, my best friend didn't tell me she had had an abortion until two years afterwards. If others in high school had found out, she'd have been labeled a slut. #5591

> No matter what promises people give each other that they won't reveal secrets, people frequently do reveal secrets to their best friends and to those they are physically involved with. Moreover, relationships change over time, and people develop new best friends and become physically involved with new people. As a result, many secrets are spread around. The only way to keep a secret is to tell absolutely no one, ever. But few people are able to adhere to this. #5592

As one becomes older, the things one hid as a child from one's parents can often be revealed and become a source of amusement.

There are certain things that people normally want to hide from others. One is embarrassing behavior. The other is the fact one is trying to hide it. If others know someone is trying to hide something, then they try to find out what the person is trying to hide. But also, one's efforts to hide something can provide others with just as good a story as what one is trying to hide.

> If people are going to find out about something anyway, it is best to tell them yourself. You don't want to look like you are trying to hide something, because then it becomes a better story for people to tell others about you. One time I was walking down the sidewalk going to the doctor. I wasn't looking where I was going and I ran into a parking meter. You wouldn't want people to know that you ran into a parking meter when you were quite sober. I almost said excuse me. Oh, it hurt. My brother was nearby, and I told him what had happened. If I hadn't told him and he had seen me and mentioned it, it would have been a lot more embarrassing. But if he hadn't been nearby, I wouldn't have told anyone. Another time our family went to a wedding anniversary party and all the men got drunk. I was really embarrassed because Dad kept telling stories and stuff. Finally we rounded up Dad to go home. So he went out the door first while we were still inside saying goodbye. We heard this scratching at the door, and we looked and there was Dad. He was on the other side of the door trying to find the doorknob. He was all covered with sand, his hand was bleeding, and he couldn't find his watch. It was obvious

> he had fallen down. But Dad said he didn't really fall, and that someone had hit him with a stake outside. When we got home the people who had held the party phoned and said they had found Dad's watch. The next day the neighbors came to visit. We knew they would find out what had happened to Dad because they worked with one of the relatives of the people who had held the party, so they had to be told. We had to tell them so they would know we thought it was funny too. Otherwise when they heard about it they would think it was something we were trying to hide. The worst thing you can do if something obvious happens is to try to hide it, because it always gets out. The important thing was that we told the neighbors, so when they talked to others they could say that we were the ones who had told them, rather than someone else. #5593

6. Why people hide their activities

There are a number of reasons why people try to hide their activities from others. A primary reason is to avoid their disapproval. When one lists the activities that people hide from others, to a large extent one is listing the activities that others disapprove of. As soon as individuals indicate that they disapprove of a specific type of behavior, others start to restrict the information they give these individuals about their participation in that activity. When people learn you engage in behavior that they disapprove of, they are likely to criticize you, act hurt and cause you to feel guilty, show a lack of respect toward you, and/or reject you. These reactions produce unpleasant feelings and make you feel bad. People are very sensitive to criticism, embarrassment, rejection, and guilt. These things hurt, and one tries to avoid them in order to avoid hurt. In addition, when people are aware that you engage in behavior they disapprove of, they frequently seek to change your behavior. This can result in a great deal of pressure, which you would really prefer to avoid. People who disapprove of what you do may also reduce your resources. For example, they may treat you as less desirable for a job, or for a position of influence in the community. They may cut off social contacts with you, and not invite you to social gatherings. They may also extend this reaction to your mate and children. Thus they may not hire them, or let their own children associate with them. Family members who disapprove of your behavior may be less

likely to allocate family resources to you. No one wants to have their resources reduced, and no one wants to give others a reason to do so.

At the same time, one is highly dependent on others for positive opinions and reactions. You want to be thought of favorably by others, and to give the best presentation of yourself. Those who give you positive reactions often provide you with resources. However, favorable feelings can quickly disappear when others know you are doing something they disapprove of. Therefore, you do not want others to get information which would cause you to be seen unfavorably.

> People love to get the goods on their neighbors. But the last thing anyone wants is to be talked about. #5594

In addition, confrontations are very stressful and unpleasant. People normally try to avoid confrontations with others, and are willing to go through considerable inconvenience to do so. You do not want to take the risk of getting into confrontations as a result of others learning that you do things they disapprove of. When others disapprove of your behavior, your relationships with them can be temporarily or permanently damaged or sundered. Successful cover-ups prevent these things from taking place.

> It is natural for you to only let people know the positive things about you and your loved ones. If someone you admire learns something negative about you, they may decide they want nothing to do with you. You want to keep your skeletons in the closet. It is much easier to hide the bad things about you than it is to withstand the embarrassment of someone learning and knowing you are less than perfect. #5595

The energy you spend trying to hide certain of your activities from others is not that great, compared with the possible consequences of having others discover you are engaged in behavior they disapprove of and the energy you would have to expend trying to straighten things out. There are also energy costs if you stop the behavior which is disapproved of and have to find something to replace it with.

In addition, there is also information one hides from others which would upset them, such as 1) one's true opinion of some aspect of their behavior, opinions, appearance, or personality, 2) unfavorable gossip that

is being spread about them or their family, or 3) the knowledge their spouse is involved in one or more affairs. The reasons one does not reveal this information include not wanting to upset others, and not wanting to damage one's relationship with the other person.

People also seek to maintain a sphere of privacy for themselves. They want to avoid having other people stick their noses into what they consider to be personal matters, or their "own damn business." Often they want to consider and deal with certain matters by themselves. They do not want to have to provide descriptions, explain themselves, or answer questions from others. Instead they prefer to choose when, where, and with whom they talk about these things.

> I don't know why we don't tell everyone that we are seeing each other. Neither of us has any other commitments. But it just seems the minute you tell people that you're seeing someone they expect you to start acting different. Every time they see you they ask where the other person is. It just gets to be a real pain in the ass. We talked about it and decided that we aren't ready for that just yet. So we will keep it quiet for a while longer. Besides it is no one else's business who I sleep with. #5596

People also want to avoid having the public know about endeavors which may fail, such as starting a new business or asking someone for a date. In addition, it is much more enjoyable to be able to fully relax and be "natural," so that you can indulge your whims and engage in any of the disreputable physical practices, such as farting, belching, scratching yourself, picking your nose, and masturbating, without having to concern yourself that someone else might observe, disapprove, and tell others.

A number of factors seem to influence the amount of covering up that people do. People hide some information from practically everyone they come in contact with. The more you interact with a person, the more you are aware of all the things that person disapproves of, and the more knowledge that person has of just what you are up to. Therefore, the more you interact with a person, the more likely you are to try to keep information hidden from him or her. Also, the amount of covering up you do increases with the degree to which the other person disapproves of what you are doing, the amount of criticism

produced by that person, the ability of the other person to control the resources you want, and the likelihood the other person will discover what you are up to.

18. SEEKING POSITIVE REACTIONS AND AVOIDING NEGATIVE REACTIONS

People seek to obtain positive reactions and avoid negative reactions through their various endeavors. Positive and negative reactions come from other people and from oneself. Often one has to excel at an activity to get positive reactions from others, and the more one excels, the more positive reactions one obtains. But not always, because people frequently acknowledge the efforts of others (regardless of how well they perform) and provide positive reactions in order to be polite, and because they expect to receive positive reactions in turn for their own efforts. In contrast, if one neglects the activity or does poorly at it, one is likely to be criticized, embarrassed, and/or rejected. At the same time, a large percentage of the positive and negative reactions one receives are provided by oneself.

We will explore a variety of endeavors which many people on Prince Edward Island engage in in order to obtain positive reactions and avoid negative reactions. These are organized under the following topics:

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1. Farming abilities

Farmers judge themselves and each other by very strict standards. These are applied in a wide variety of areas associated with farming, and include such things as facilities, equipment, fields, produce, and animals. Those farmers who are especially adept at a particular skill or endeavor are praised by others, while those who do not measure up to accepted standards are criticized.

The appearance of the farm is an important factor in judging farms and farmers. Neatness is given a great deal of emphasis. Fences should be mended, barns and other buildings painted and in good repair, and equipment well cared for and in proper working order. If the farmer burns wood, it should be cut early in the year, then chopped to proper lengths, and finally packed neatly in a building or stacked properly in a woodpile. It is considered very bad to fail to chop one's wood, and leave it piled in the yard all winter. "That old green wood in his yard

would make a great fire, now wouldn't it? And did you see what they do? They just chop it off as they need it. Imagine. And all the time he wasted in the fall. Oh well, you can't expect to get ahead and run the roads too (go drinking with the other men). It has to be one or the other."

Most farmers pay considerable attention to their fields and the fields of others. Plowing is carefully planned and executed so that the overall design of the furrows is both neat and attractive. It is important that the furrows be straight and have perfect corners. "Did you see Jason's field? A real picture. By God, there's a man who can plow." This skill is so valued that competitions in plowing ability are held both locally and nationally. One man in our area would use an extra piece of equipment after he had finished plowing which gave a really smooth appearance to his fields, called "rolling it." It produced a beautiful effect, and the others were quite jealous. Farmers also pay attention to the seeding of their land in spring and are very embarrassed if a field of grain shows gaps where the seed is unevenly sown. "Did you see the big bare patch in Edgar's oats? He must have been cutting some corners the day he sowed that."

Farmers are also evaluated on the quality of their farm produce. This can range from having the best crop of potatoes to getting the best price for one's beef. "That's the best field of grain I've ever seen in my life. How did you do it?" The recipient of such praise will often say something to the effect, "Well, it's not really that good. Just average." But of course he knows full well that it's not just average, and he would be quite insulted if anyone other than himself suggested it was.

The ability of a farmer is considered tied to the appearance of his animals. It is important that the animals look well fed, healthy, and clean. If they are well fed, it means he has good crops, and therefore is a good farmer. On the other hand, if he has thin animals, it means he isn't able to raise enough food to feed them, and this is a source of embarrassment. "Have you noticed that horse of Bob's lately? Do they actually use him as a horse? The bones stick out enough to work him as a hand plow." Or, "Did you see Nick's young cattle? Ribs sticking out everywhere. Of course, how could they put on fat? Certainly not off that excuse for a pasture." When animals continue grazing on one pasture for a long period of time, there is no chance for the pasture to grow

back, and people who drive by can see bare patches where there is nothing for the animals to eat. People assume that the farmer doesn't care. He just put them out there with the attitude, "Good luck to them." Ideally the farmer moves his animals periodically from one pasture to another, which allows each field to grow back.

The more a farmer can sell an animal for, the more it has been fed, and the better at farming the man is thought to be. In the past people usually sold animals to neighbors. If someone visited your neighbor and asked, "Where'd you get that cow?" it did not look good if your name was mentioned and the cow was thin. If the animal was starving, it implied you hadn't had enough food to feed him, and probably didn't have enough to eat yourself. Today cows are sold at cattle sales, rather than to neighbors. However, when asked what they have sold an animal for, some men add a few cents to the price to look good.

It is also important that the animals appear healthy and clean. Manure should be removed from the barn at regular intervals. In most barns there is a row of stalls for the cows. You clean behind the cows pretty well every day because this is where you walk to do your work. In addition, there are pens in the back part of the barn where the year-old calves are kept over the winter. It is quite difficult to get into these pens, and you let the manure accumulate until spring, although you may remove it once during the winter. In the spring you collect the manure and use it for fertilizer. Some farmers, however, will let the manure accumulate behind the cows in the stalls during the winter, and not even bother to remove the manure from the pens in the spring. This produces considerable criticism. People will talk about a particular farmer's barn where the animals are chained in their stalls, standing on top of manure that has accumulated over the months, while the farmer just walks around them. "Have you ever been in Joe's barn? Cows' heads are touching the ceiling." Also, when a farmer combines or threshes his oats, the grain is separated from the straw. The grain is used to feed the animals, and the straw is used for bedding. Therefore, if your oats don't grow, you will have neither grain nor straw. In the case of a poor farmer, someone might comment, "Did anyone see those poor milk cows of Ted's? Covered with manure. You know that's a crying shame. The least he could do would be put some bedding in the stalls for the animals. But then, he has no oats, so where would he get straw?"

In the past, one was judged on the appearance of one's horses. Your horses had to be in good shape, and probably the worst thing that could be said of a man was that he had a thin horse. When the older men talk of people they knew in the past, they'll say of someone, "His horses were just shadows. Just the bones were there. He'd throw in a dipper full of oats once a day and that would be it." But of a man who was considered a good farmer, they'll say, "Oh, he'd feed them buckets of oats two and three times a day. And if you went there, the first thing he'd do would be take your horse into the barn and feed and water him. Look right after him, I'm telling you."

There is a real sense that a farmer is responsible for the animals in his care. He is expected to deal with their physical welfare. The major farm scandal that I can recall when I was growing up involved a farmer whose animals were not being properly looked after. The Humane Society investigated and found that his animals were starving. People said that here the animals were, standing up to their ears in manure, with all kinds of food above them in the loft, and the man wouldn't even bother to go up and throw it down to them.

Another source of status for the farmer is getting his work done early, well ahead of others. The first man to have his haying finished or his oats combined is looked on with envy. Of course he would not blow, or boast, about such a thing. Instead he would be likely to comment casually, "I managed to get mine finished last week." The poor guy who is the last to finish is discussed as something of a joke by the other farmers. "Last year we were at Roger's picking potatoes. You know when that would be, towards the end of November. God knows, there weren't too many potatoes. He's never in much of a hurry, that's for sure." You certainly wouldn't be picking your potatoes in November if you were a good farmer and the weather had cooperated. Snow can fall as early as late October, and the ground can get really wet and you won't be able to take your machinery on it. To avoid this problem, some farmers choose to grow early varieties of potatoes, and start to harvest quite early in September.

People are known throughout various communities for their exceptional ability at seeding, growing various crops, maintaining tidy buildings, and so on. Farmers take pride in their own successes and talk about them frequently. "Back in 1980 we had a tremendous crop of

wheat. The best I ever saw. It was so high you couldn't see cars driving past on the road. Yeah, that was a great year for us." They are quite proud when they excel relative to others. "We got a good price for the potatoes last fall. The inspector turned down Donald's and Ray's. But ours were OK. And let me tell you, I was glad too. It's funny how it goes, living on the same road, and theirs got turned down and I had the best year ever." In this case the farmer may be implying that he doesn't have to fall back on the excuses used by other men, such as ring rot, because he was able to produce a fine crop of potatoes. Success stories such as these are told over and over, for years to come. Often they get exaggerated and occasionally they are interpreted as signs of acting big. Some people are remembered even after they die for the farming skill at which they excelled. #5597

2. Managing farm debt

Managing farm debt is a major concern for most small farmers on Prince Edward Island. Farmers are really afraid they may be unable to fulfill their financial obligations. "Losing the place" and "going on the road" are constant threats in their minds. For many, controlling debt rather than making a profit is the motivating force behind their behavior. One's livelihood, esteem within one's family, and reputation in the community are all riding on one's ability to successfully manage debt.

When a family member falls into heavy debt, it reflects negatively on the whole family and becomes a source of real embarrassment for their relatives. If a person is unable to meet mortgage payments on his home or land, the result is a mortgage sale which is advertised in the local newspaper. This is considered the ultimate shame. Now the entire community becomes fully aware of the person's difficulties and discusses them with gusto. In many cases the person's family will support him through this crisis. However, his family also directs a considerable amount of resentment and blame at him.

The person who subjects the family to public shame is often viewed as a loser who has squandered everything away. "He was set up for life. Dad left him the machinery, the place with not a cent owing on it, and a beautiful house with everything in it. And now look; everything

gone. It's not as if he had to work for it like we did. There was nothing here when we got started. Well, that's how it goes; you don't appreciate it unless you work for it. Everything was just handed to him. It's a crying shame." At such times no one ever bothers to mention that most of the equipment was outdated and needed to be replaced, and that the house needed to be modernized. Such things are forgotten and the predominant attitude is one of blaming.

Also, at such a time other family members profess to have known nothing of the individual's financial woes until it was too late to help. "Wendell and I could have helped him out if he'd spoken up, but we didn't know a thing about it until Wendell picked up the newspaper yesterday morning. I almost dropped in my tracks; our old place up in a mortgage sale. All the years Mom and Dad put into that place; hard work and no money. They never saw any pleasure in it, but they thought he would, and what thanks did they get? They'll turn over in their graves for sure. If only we'd known. But then if we went out now and offered to help we'd be laughed at, so what's the use?"

When this type of thing happens, other family members rarely forgive the individual who has, in their view, thrown away the family property and home. No amount of arguing will bring them to see his side of it. Furthermore, in most cases no aid is ever offered to the person concerned. Sometimes the other relatives get together for a "funeral" session in which they go over the person's mistakes throughout the years. And in certain cases his wife is blamed for his financial problems, particularly if she is not one of their favorite people. "He wasn't too bad until he got mixed up with her. She ruined him completely. She was never any good at work; just got dressed up and ran to town and spent money. She never did any housework. All she did was sit around and eat. She threw out all of Mom's old dishes, you know. Oh yes, she did. Rather than wash them, she just threw them away when they got dirty. It was great while it lasted. Yes, she sure had a great time of it, for a while anyway. But that's come to a merry end. Oh well, I guess you really can't blame Ed when he had to put up with that. He did well to hang on to his head, let alone the place for as long as he did. God help us. You know it's awful when you come to think of it. Set up for life; and now it's advertised in the newspaper. Thank heavens Mom and Dad never lived to see that."

While such talk may go on within the family circle, few outsiders are permitted by the family to get away with it. Relatives are generally much less critical of their errant family member in the presence of others. In fact, they may be somewhat protective. "Oh well, he got off to a couple of bad starts. And of course his wife was no help to him." Or, they may strive to separate themselves from the situation as much as possible. "As I say, we didn't know a thing about it until we read it in the paper. Of course he was well set up by Dad. Certainly Dad gave him more than he gave any of the rest of us. But then you never know what happened. He's my brother and I don't really know what happened. But it's too bad the place has to change names after all these years."

Few small farmers are concerned when large-scale operations fall into heavy debt. "They came here to show us how to farm. And now look at them; bankrupt. Good enough for them. They thought the rest of us, the ordinary run-of-the-mill lads, were nothing and knew nothing. Well the sheriff isn't at my door yet." In contrast, when a small farmer loses everything, it is a topic of considerable community interest and concern. Although everyone can come up with suggestions as to what the unfortunate individual should have done to avoid this fate, there is always an underlying feeling that it could happen to you. When your neighbor's farm is advertised in a mortgage sale, this threat is brought home and becomes part of your existence and lives with you. For this reason, the subject of farm debt is very real and very significant for the majority of small farmers in Prince Edward Island and is a major topic of conversation within Island families. #5598

3. Trying not to look poor

Trying not to look poor is a major preoccupation of many residents of Prince Edward Island. People spend a great deal of time and energy attempting to show others that they are "not wanting for anything" and that they are just as successful as their neighbors. This may be illustrated through food, clothing, cars, machinery, gifts, and ceremonies. In other words, through anything that requires money.

In regard to food, people put a lot of emphasis on having plenty on hand and having especially good quality if someone visits them. The

same is true if someone is working for them. “We’ll have to go and get some meat if Roger is going to be working at the hay with us next week. We can get along all right with what we have if it’s just ourselves. But if we’re going to have someone in working, we’ll have to have a bit of meat in the house. That’s all there is to it.”

With regard to clothing, it is generally assumed that you can wear pretty well anything around your home. But if you are going out, you should dress as well as possible. A woman from Ontario owns a farm in our area and spends her summers on the Island. In keeping with her idea of being a farmer, she goes into Charlottetown, the capital, wearing old clothes and looking quite messy. The residents in our area are quite horrified by this, and say her clothes are disgraceful and that no real Island farmer would consider going to town in such a getup. Obviously she is not concerned that people may think of her as poor. Even though the incomes of the local people are far beneath hers, they try to dress well. As the saying goes, “It’s one thing to be poor. It’s another thing to look poor.”

Many people use cars and machinery to show that they are doing well financially. However, no one would ever admit that they use these as status symbols. Instead they use some rationalization to claim they need the item. “Well, I knew I’d never get another year out of the old baler. Parts for that thing could run a fellow into money.” “I just figured that keeping that car any longer was asking for trouble. I need a good, reliable car and I just couldn’t depend on that one anymore.” When a person is able to explain that he needed his new acquisition, there is less danger of being viewed as showing off, or “acting big.”

A good defense when you might be seen as “acting big” is to point out that you had to borrow to obtain the new possession. “Oh yeah, me and the bank got this car.” “It’s just like anything else. The bank owns it, and they will own it until I can get it paid for.” It is better to admit going into debt than to pretend otherwise. If you lead people to believe that you were able to pay cash for a large item, they might accuse you of blowing. The possession itself helps you avoid looking poor, but to pretend wealth is just as bad as being poor. As a result, one must strike a delicate balance.

Gifts are another means of showing the world that you are not poor. When a gift is required, the most expensive gift often comes from

those least able to afford it. When one buys an expensive gift, even if on credit, one is able to show the world that one is not poor. This is especially true of wedding and shower gifts, where the gifts are displayed and all the guests have an opportunity to compare them and talk about them. I know one man who stayed home from the weddings of two close friends because he felt that the gifts his wife had chosen were not extravagant enough. "I'd just get weak when that was passed around and everyone would know that was what we brought. If we couldn't get anything a little better than that, I'd rather stay home."

Ceremonies are another means of showing people that you are "as good as" the next guy. There is great importance placed on preparing for a wedding. No one wants to have a small, quiet affair for fear that the general public will feel either that you could not afford any better, or that you had to get married, and as a result made your plans rather quickly. I once heard two ladies discussing a recent wedding in my community. One remarked that she was surprised that the family didn't put on "a bigger splash," since they always liked to act big. The other woman responded that she thought it was "a rushed-up affair," and therefore the family tried to keep it low key. Even people who cannot afford to do so, put a lot of time and money into their wedding. Many people will borrow to finance a wedding that will be socially acceptable. The majority choose to have fancy invitations, a wedding dinner, souvenir napkins, entertainment, and so on, even if they can't afford it. It is much easier to take on debt than to face the criticisms from your family and the community if you choose to do otherwise.

All of these efforts to avoid looking poor can run into a lot of money. Nevertheless, many people feel that it is quite important to obtain public approval and maintain a sense of self-worth in the community, regardless of the cost. #5599

4. Trying to avoid hurting others

Most Islanders, particularly those in rural communities, go out of their way to avoid hurting other people's feelings. Most of these efforts go unnoticed, are never discussed, and occur very subtly. People who do not do this, or who are ignorant of this, are often severely criticized by others.

There are numerous things which you are not supposed to say to a person or mention in the person's presence. However, specifically what these things are depends on who is present. Basically, you do not want to make people feel bad about themselves, or to recall unpleasant memories, or to feel embarrassed. People say negative things about others all the time, but they do so when the people they are talking about are not around. When you say something you shouldn't to a person, others assume that you are rude, have bad manners, show poor taste, or lack sensitivity.

In order to avoid saying the wrong thing you must have a good knowledge about the people who are listening to you. Some things you want to avoid saying are obvious. For example, if it is clear that a person is quite overweight, you do not want to discuss diets in their presence unless they bring the subject up. Also, if a person has a nickname that is uncomplimentary or that he doesn't like, you should not use it in his presence, even if the person is well aware others have given him the nickname. Usually, however, what you shouldn't say is not obvious. Normally, the more you know about a person, the more you know about the person's current situation, the person's past, and the person's relatives; and therefore the more things you know that you should not mention in the person's presence. For example, if the person is adopted, you do not want to start talking about adoption. You do not want to bring up suicide if a person's relative or close friend has committed suicide. You would not talk about a disease or death in front of someone who is ill themselves or who has lost someone close to them to that disease. Similarly, if the person has had a baby out of wedlock, you do not want to start talking about unwed mothers. And if a person has a history of alcohol abuse or has gone to prison, you do not want to introduce either topic. Other potentially dangerous topics include divorce, bankruptcy, Alzheimer's syndrome, and automobile accidents. While all of these topics are frequently discussed in normal conversations, they are generally omitted when people know that someone in the group has been personally affected by one of them.

Unfortunately, people often do not have a complete knowledge of each other's circumstances and backgrounds. Therefore they sometimes bring up a subject which might be upsetting to someone present. When a person asks a taboo question or introduces a topic which is off-limits,

this may bother the bystanders far more than the person they want to protect. "When Barry started talking about the Korean war, I thought I'd go through the floor. Ann lost her husband in that war and no one ever dares to bring it up. Ann didn't get upset or anything, but the rest of us just didn't know what to say. I wish people didn't talk so damn much. I guess Barry didn't know about Ann's husband, but my god, I felt awful." When a person brings up a topic that is off-limits he is usually given a subtle message "to get his mouth shut off." Sometimes children don't understand the significance of what they say. They may have heard their parents talk about a person and not realize they shouldn't repeat it. "I thought I was going to die. Tommy called Albert 'Cookie Cutter' right to his face. Tommy thought that was his real name. Lord, it was terrible. Oh yes, Albert knows we all call him Cookie Cutter because he has a wooden leg, but no one calls him that to his face. Of course, it's our own fault we said it in front of Tommy, so the child picked it up from us. It still makes me feel ashamed though."

Making comments about a person's relatives is generally off limits too. The exception is when you know that the person you are talking to doesn't get along with the relative you are talking about. It is very difficult in small rural communities to know for sure who you can safely talk about with whom. In small communities there are a lot of marriages within the community. You may make a snide remark about someone and later learn the person you made the comment to is a relative or an in-law of the person you commented on. If you start making negative comments about a person's relative, you can get a reputation of being a gossip, or worse still, you may be soundly told off by a protective family member.

If someone were malicious enough to pursue a topic which he or she knew would upset someone else, the speaker would be severely criticized later by the other group members. People tend to feel uncomfortable around this type of person and often try to avoid him. "That Mary turns my stomach. Always trying to get the ball rolling with one thing or another. Bringing up all that stuff about cancer, and Bill just getting over Alice's death. Someone like that just needs the back of your hand."

The things you are not supposed to say to a person's face constitute the normal, day-to-day gossip that people discuss in the person's absence

all the time. The reasons you do not say these things directly to the person are that you do not want to hurt the person and you do not want to get into hot water yourself. The more you know about the people you meet face-to-face, the better you can protect yourself from saying the wrong things.

Another thing which rural people try to avoid is showing people up as having less than someone else. Everyone knows that it is quite important to most rural Islanders to appear to have as much as the next fellow. As a result, people try to avoid situations which will reveal the shortcomings of others. For example, some parents won't let their children call on certain homes on Halloween night, because they know these people can't afford to purchase treats. Sometimes people won't stop at certain homes when they are collecting for a charity, because they know the families won't have enough money to contribute. They want to avoid putting them in the embarrassing position of having to admit that they have nothing to give. However, one walks a very tight line, because some people may be quite offended if they think you assume they can not contribute. Again, if anyone is seen as deliberately showing someone up, community members are likely to criticize them. "Why does someone like Frank want to make people feel so small? Did you hear him going on to Dave about the membership in the golf club? Jesus, he knows very well Dave hasn't got that kind of money. People like that should have their heads knocked off."

Although most people are willing to talk about a person behind the person's back, few want to humiliate the person. A good example of this is the classic mortgage sale. When a man loses his home and/or property in a mortgage sale, very few of the local people are willing to bid on it. This is because it would be too much like a slap in the face of the previous owner. People from other communities will come in to bid, but few who know the owner personally will do so. Occasionally, however, local people will make a bid when there is a secret plan to sell the property back to the previous owner at a later date. #5600

5. Participation

Within many communities on Prince Edward Island, it is important to help others and support community activities if one wants to be accepted. This can include aiding others in times of personal tragedy,

attending and contributing to social functions, and maintaining the attractive appearance of one's property.

Perhaps most important is one's willingness to help out when a tragedy befalls a friend or neighbor. Such a tragedy may occur in connection with sickness, injury, fire, or death. "When his house burned down, we all pitched in and helped them build a new one. In the meantime, they were invited to stay at many homes. People donated clothing and furniture, a fund for them was set up at the bank, and we held a benefit dance. It makes me feel good to know that if this happened to me or any other neighbor, people would act the same. I'm just glad to know our community maintains its good spirit." "You really don't have to ask for help in our community, because people watch each other's situation so carefully. For example, there was this tobacco farmer in the neighboring community who had bad luck with his crops for three or four years and was going under. One weekend everybody in the neighborhood got together and went out and helped him with his crop." "As soon as my neighbors found out I was sick, they seemed to take over and do all my work and cooking for me. Even after I got out of the hospital, they brought all kinds of food and sandwiches for the family. Some even offered to take the kids until I got better."

It is important that one show a willingness to contribute money and effort when requested. "It's wonderful how the community shows up for the benefit dances. Sometimes if the dance hall is too full, people just leave their donation and go home." "People are always collecting for charities in our community, and every family gives at least a dollar." "When the community rink was planned, most people were asked to contribute. Some people really distinguished themselves by giving lots of money."

To be accepted as a community member, it is important to attend church, community meetings, and various social functions, such as dances and card plays. It is also necessary to take an active part in community organizations. Activities, such as teaching Sunday school, singing in the church choir, collecting for charities, chaperoning the local dance, baking for the sale, decorating the church for Christmas, washing dishes at a community supper, joining in the fund drive, and serving at the picnic, help maintain one's position as a bona fide member of the community.

Community members are also expected to help maintain the appearance of the community. Not only is a sense of community pride involved, but people also believe the value of their own property will decline if community appearance is not maintained. "It is our community and our roadsides. I feel everyone should get involved and help clean them up." "Some yards are just stuffed with junk cars and old farm equipment. Everybody knows it makes the community look terrible, and it drags all the property values down. But what can we do? No one wants to make any enemies, so we just ignore it until it gets so bad we have to call the Department of Health."

People who participate less than others are likely to encounter more negative reactions than do other community members. Such negative reactions include having people a) avoid or ignore them, b) pretend they have no time to stop and chat, c) not invite them to social activities, d) fail to respond to their invitations, e) not listen to or heed them, f) refuse to support what they want, g) not straighten out erroneous gossip about them, h) neglect to offer to help them, i) fail to hire them, and j) refuse to do business with them. People are also very likely to talk about them. Moreover these punishments may also be visited on their spouse and children. "This couple from the city bought a house in our community and put a high fence around it. They didn't participate in local activities and people stayed away from them. I remember being told, 'No sense going there to collect (for a charity). They don't want to be bothered,' and so I didn't go." "If people show up at benefit dances, everyone usually has a good time. Sometimes, however, there are other dances going on the same night which have better bands, and people have to decide which one to go to. If they decide not to go to the benefit dance, others usually gossip about them. No one would ever say anything to their face, but they aren't looked at as pulling their part of the load in the community." "I know there are some people that don't like getting involved. I just try to avoid them." When people receive these negative reactions, they are likely to want to participate even less in the community.

When one fails to participate, one's position in the community becomes questionable. By not participating, one is in effect rejecting the community, and the community responds by rejecting the individual or family. Community members are often aware that if they fail to

make various contributions which are expected of them, others may respond negatively. As a result they are all the more willing to participate. "What I like is seeing the whole community together at church suppers or picnics. Everybody brings something different they've prepared. I don't like it when people just don't care what goes on in the community and don't bother to prepare anything. Some people give good reasons why they don't have anything ready, but then others gossip and exaggerate the reasons they give. I think I'd just die if I'd forgotten to bake something when the collectors came to get it." "Everyone should want to go to meetings of the CWL (Catholic Women's League) and the Parish Council. They are usually for the benefit of the community anyway. When people don't show up, others usually talk (about them). Sometimes I go to the meetings to avoid having people talk about me." #5601

6. Independence

People in rural Prince Edward Island consider themselves capable of handling their own needs and social responsibilities. They think of themselves as independent individuals who can look after themselves and their families, without depending on the help and charity of others. Moreover they expect others to recognize that this is the case. This attitude creates problems when people need help from others in the community, and when people want to help others.

Often when a family experiences a serious setback, members of the community expect to become involved and help. When a person has a serious illness and must go to a hospital in another province, people often organize a dance or card party to raise funds to help out. The recipient is frequently very embarrassed. Even though the person usually needs the money, he or she would rather not have the community know this. Also the very fact of being seriously ill, means that one can no longer manage without the help of others, and the individual would rather not make this fact public. Similarly, when a family loses their home to a fire, some individuals may offer the family used clothing or furniture to help them through the difficult period. In several cases that I am aware of, members of the families were highly insulted by this offer, and took the attitude, "We're not looking for charity. We don't

need it." In fact, in these cases the people most definitely did need the help. However, their pride prevented them from accepting it. This response is not only based on the attitude that one does not want favors from others. It is also based on wanting to maintain the impression that one is managing fine and does not need the favor. When they are in these situations, people sometimes say, "I don't want to bother you." However, what they are really saying is "I don't want you to think I need a handout."

The idea that one does not want to appear to need charity can cause people to reject offers that others would never consider charity. For example, in the past older couples in my local area did not hold parties to celebrate wedding anniversaries. Today people of my parents' age feel such parties are beneath them. "Oh no, I never want to hear of someone organizing a begging party for me. We got along without handouts for this long. I don't think we'll start asking for them now." Even if you explain that elsewhere virtually everyone celebrates anniversaries, the response remains the same. "The first thing you know the neighbors will think we are just looking for presents. No, I know about that kind of thing. If we got along for forty years without that foolishness, we'll last it out now, thank you very much. I'd never want people to think that after forty years I came around with my hand out for something."

In some instances people would like to provide others with help, but are reluctant to offer it because they know their help might be taken as an insult. In one case a family had just lost their home to fire. Although other people had items that would be useful to the family, they were hesitant to make the offer because it might offend the parents. "You just don't know what to do. You can get yourself into trouble so easy. You could go there with a few things for the kids and get chased. And then what? You're in hot water. Still it seems a shame when the clothes would fit. And they're good clothes too, not stuff that's worn out."

One experiences the full gambit of dilemmas when one collects for charities in a rural community. To start with, we often feel uncomfortable because we do not want the neighbors to consider us beggars, looking for a handout. Also, we do not want to try to collect from families who can not afford to contribute, because we would put them in a

very embarrassing position. The worst discomfort comes when you ask a family to contribute and they say openly that they can not afford to. You realize that you have made a mistake, because you never should have asked these people to contribute. You know how much such an admission must hurt them, and you feel so bad for putting them in this position. However, it is more complicated than this. "I don't know what to do about the Jones. If they don't have any money they'll be ashamed. But if we don't stop by and they hear we were out collecting, they'll think we decided they couldn't afford to pay something. And then we're in trouble. So what do we do?" Any way you approach it, you risk upsetting them. #5602

7. Helping others

Throughout most farming communities on Prince Edward Island there is a strong feeling that neighbors have an obligation to help one another and to provide each other with any assistance they can. Occasionally, there are requests to borrow equipment, such as a fertilizer spreader in the spring, or just for the loan of a few gallons of farm gasoline for a tractor. Other requests come from neighbors who are not farmers. In the spring many people get their cars stuck when the roads are muddy. They normally call a neighbor who is a farmer to ask him to come pull them out. These various requests place the farmer in a difficult position, because he often has to choose between his own needs and desires on the one hand and maintaining the good will of his neighbors and the community on the other.

Often being generous with farm equipment can cause considerable inconvenience to the farmer. Few farmers like to lend their machinery to anyone, even a good friend. The machine may not be handled with the same care that the owner takes, and the borrower may not return it in its original condition. What happens, for example, if something is broken? Who is responsible? Most people would assume that the one who borrowed the machine is responsible. However, the borrower might argue that the machine was old and falling apart, and therefore he shouldn't pay to recondition it. Differences such as these can cause bad feelings between two families which take a long time to dissipate. Another problem associated with borrowing machinery is the timing of

the loan. The time when your neighbor wants to borrow a machine is normally the time when you need to use it too. Crops go in at the same time on neighboring farms. Are you supposed to loan the neighbor your machine and put your own crop in late, or should you tell your neighbor that your crop is more important than his?

Another factor is the farmer's wife. Wives are often quite critical of their husband when they learn he has loaned a piece of machinery to a neighbor. They know how hard it is to pay for machinery, and they know they have had to go without new clothes and new furniture themselves because machinery gets top priority. Therefore, they resent the fact their husband has loaned the machinery to someone who may not look after it properly. They may comment sarcastically, "Of course, we can always afford to keep our neighbors in business."

It is a very difficult position for a person to be in. If you refuse your neighbor's request, you know that you will be in his black books if you ever need anything. Moreover, the story that you refused his request will travel throughout the community, and some people may agree with your neighbor that you are a mean son-of-a-bitch. Generally speaking, then, most farmers would prefer not to be asked for such favors, because they feel obligated to comply, and afterwards worry about the consequences of their generosity.

The other type of request is to help non-farming neighbors extract their cars when they get stuck in the mud or in a ditch. For the farmer, taking the tractor out on a bad road to pull out a neighbor can be quite aggravating. Yet he is also required to provide this service in order to maintain a good reputation in the community. Most farmers will not accept money for this even if it is offered to them. People would say, "What a mean outfit. Taking money off his neighbor for pulling him out of a bit of mud."

Farmers and their wives are often very critical of people who call up asking to be towed. They say, "Such people have nothing themselves, and are just out on the roads to bother someone else. Anyone should know enough not to travel on that road this time of the year." Sometimes on a rainy night in spring, men tell their wives, "If anyone calls who's stuck some place in mud, the tractor's broke, and I'm not home." They know they have to have their excuse ready, because the request is likely to come.

All in all the whole business of helping your neighbors can be quite a pain. Certainly anyone who is always borrowing things gets a bad name too, but people generally make allowances for him if he is doing the best he can. The farmer who refuses such a request is not treated as kindly. He is viewed as a selfish person who wouldn't even give his neighbor a good turn. For the farmer then, being generous is more a necessity than it is a choice. #5603

8. Ingratiation

Frequently people will "put themselves out" and even do so to the extreme in order to get others to think well of them. This is done in the spirit of being friendly and good-natured. Some of the best illustrations of this occur between Islanders and non-Islanders. Because Prince Edward Island attracts a large number of tourists in the summer, the character of many small communities changes at this time. Non-Islanders, or "people from away," move into summer homes and cottages and strike up or renew relationships with the local people. In some cases these relationships are long-standing when the same people return to summer accommodations year after year.

Many of the local people go to great lengths to impress visitors by showing them real Island hospitality. This may include anything from helping a visitor fix a screen door to painting his house for him. In most cases no money changes hands and the Islander lets his own work go undone in order to help the visitor. This often upsets the family members of the Islander who provides the help. "It just makes me sick. I've been after Bill all spring to clean out our cellar. Oh no, he didn't have time. But Edward Davies landed here from Ontario last Friday, and I haven't seen Bill since. Too busy cleaning Edward's garage. No time to clean his own dirt around here, but no problem to throw his time away over there. Of course, he'll not get a cent for it either. As long as Edward gives him a bottle of beer or a drink of whiskey now and then, that's all Bill wants." Or, "Well, I just about raised the roof when I came home from town Saturday and saw the cord cut off my white lamp. Mrs. Jackson was getting Tom to fix her toaster. So he just cut the cord off my lamp to repair her toaster. Can you imagine? All he said was that I never used that lamp anyway. Well what the hell does that

matter? It was mine. I'm so sick of Tom being a suckhole, you wouldn't believe it. And I told him so too. If one of the kids had cut that cord to use for something that belonged to them, Tom would have had a fit. But it's alright for him to do it to keep the mighty Jacksons happy. That really curdles my cream." Or, "I couldn't believe my eyes. Fred had an old straw hat here. Nothing special, but the kids all loved it. The other day the Walkers were visiting, you know the people from Boston. Well, the kids were all around and what did Fred do but give the straw hat to one of the Walker kids, and to keep. And here all our kids were standing there with their mouths open. He'd never think of offering it to one of them. Had to put on the big show for the Walkers though. It would just turn your stomach to see the way he tries to act big with them. It was the same when we went to the lobster supper with them last week. He had to pay for everyone. As if we had all kinds of money. And you can be sure he'd never offer to pay if it was someone from around here that we were with. Anything though to be the big fellow."

This kind of "helping out" causes a great deal of conflict within the family. The main reason is that the person's behavior with the visitor is so much at odds with his normal everyday behavior. Also, you will notice that all of these examples portray men as the guilty parties. In fact, I would say that in at least ninety percent of the cases I have observed, it was Island men who behaved this way. Typically it is the woman who complains about the man's behavior. Jealousy may be involved, because the man is treating the outsider better than he treats his own family. Also, he is using his time, energy, and money on outsiders, which could be well spent on his own family.

Island men also display this behavior with Islanders of higher social standing, whether real or perceived. A man might complain considerably about having to drive his own son or daughter to a hockey game or party. But if someone else's child is going, particularly if the child has important parents, he'll likely be only too glad to do so. Although he might complain in private about the inconvenience, he will complain far less than he would if he were only driving his own child. If the man happens to develop a close relationship with one of these "important" people, the lengths to which he will go to impress are often extreme. No favor is too big to perform; no inconvenience too great. The man derives a great deal of status for getting around with the

"important" person, or at least hopes to do so, but this often angers the man's family members. "You'd think we were a bunch of nobodies, the way Jim acts when Matthew is here. Everybody has to run to satisfy Matthew. We were planning to go to my sister's party tonight, but we won't be going now. Jim is going to help Matthew fix his car. As if it couldn't wait." In situations like this, the man would never mention to Matthew that he and his wife had other plans. He might tell his wife that she could go to the party alone. Needless to say, the result is usually conflict within the family. Other family members see the individual as ingratiating himself with outsiders at their expense. "Just because Matthew has a few dollars doesn't mean that the rest of us around here are going to sit back and let the two of you walk over us. So there. Remember, the rest of us have been around here long before you started suckholing Matthew, and don't you forget it either."

Not all relationships develop in the manner that I've described. However, I'm convinced that a great many do. I am sure that in most cases the individuals do not intend to hurt their family members. However, they get so caught up in putting the outsider's interests first, that they are unaware of the impact their behavior is having on the rest of their family. There is little doubt that if these individuals observed this same behavior in others, they would criticize it as a form of acting big. However, their desire to make a favorable impression on those of higher status clouds their perceptions.

When there is "a falling out" between the individual and the outsider, because the individual does not obtain the recognition or friendship he desires from the outsider, all of the favors he has done for the outsider are likely to be enumerated and discussed. "Well that just goes to show how much thanks a person gets for trying to help someone. I worked around his place practically every day this summer and never got a cent for it. Never expected a cent, either. But there you go, when it comes time for a party, everyone else gets asked but me. I'm not good enough. I'm only good for something when there's work to be done." Or, "It's funny how I'd never be good enough to be in with the big stuff. I'm alright when there's no one else around. I don't remember seeing any of those big shots around when there was all that lifting to be done last week." Or, "That's the way those people are. They'd walk over you as quick as they'd speak to you. Their young

fella was in here every Saturday after hockey practice. In fact, I'd have to say that we fed him for most of the winter. And besides that, we drug him to practice almost every week and to all of the games. I guess as long as we're filling the gas tank and providing the meals, we're alright. But let something else come up, something that would benefit us, and all of a sudden no one knows us. I guess a person needn't expect thanks from the likes of them."

When the bond with the outsider is shattered, no doubt the individual feels hurt and angry. He feels he has given so much time and energy to befriend the other person, at both his own expense and that of his family members, but he has gotten nothing in return. There is also a sense that the individual should not have hoped to be treated any better than he was, and perhaps he got what he deserved. Typically he recounts all he has done for the other person. At such times his family members, who have been telling him all along that this is likely to happen, usually come to his support. In most cases they do not adopt a stance of "I told you so." Instead they may say, "Well, I wouldn't worry a damn bit about him. After all you did for him. To hell with him. He's not worth talking about. We'll see how he gets along the next time he has some rotten job to do." However, this usually does not stop the individual from falling into the same situation again in the future. Family members can become quite exasperated when they see this behavior repeated several times. "I don't understand why Frank will stand back and let people walk all over him. Every time a tribe like that comes from Ontario, he's over there like a dog at dinner. Then it's the same old story. He goes around with the long face on. And he does it over and over again." #5604

9. Using special events to display success

Special events provide an opportunity to display one's possessions and success. Such events include church services for Easter and Christmas, weddings, and graduations. Church services at Easter and Christmas are traditional times to display one's clothing. Many women wear something new that they have not been seen in before. If they have something particularly expensive and noticeable, such as a fur coat or a suede

suit, they may sit at the front of the church where they are sure to be noticed.

A wedding provides an excellent forum in which to display status. Everyone expects the wedding to be "a splash," but the objective is to make it a really big splash. Again, clothing is a primary form of display. A word dropped casually about the high price of the wedding gown, or even the fact it was not bought locally, contributes to status. Having a large number of guests indicates that there is plenty of money available. Having an open bar really impresses many local people. However, all of these factors must be handled tactfully to avoid being perceived as acting big. Nevertheless, a wedding provides a major opportunity to legitimately display wealth, because everyone expects it to be something of a show.

In rural areas, high school graduation is an important showplace. There is quite a competition between mothers to have the best dressed daughter. Depending on the number of different events during graduation, this can be an expensive undertaking. Of course, the girls are obliged to tell all the details, so Mom's efforts will not go unnoticed by the community. "Mom and I went to Moncton (New Brunswick) last Saturday to get my prom dress. There was nothing on the Island; at least we couldn't find anything. We had to pay quite a price in Moncton, but it was worth it. I just love my dress." The parents of males are less likely to compete in regard to clothing. But graduation gifts can be used to attain status. "Dad and Mom gave me a thousand dollars for graduation. Wow! I couldn't believe it. Not that it would be that much out of their pockets, but I was pretty pleased."

Special events are very important to rural Islanders. They bring people together and provide ample opportunities to exchange stories and gossip. Islanders are very watchful of each other's behavior and appearances. On an everyday basis, these displays of clothing and other signs of success would be viewed as acting big. However, special events provide an acceptable setting in which to display status and obtain attention from others. At special events, so many people show off what they have and solicit compliments from others, that it is legitimate for you to do the same. #5605

10. Family competition for resources

Members of a family compete for the family's resources. This is particularly true when the bulk of the income comes from a small-scale farming or fishing operation. In such situations the husband is usually the primary earner. The wife may work for part of the year at seasonal jobs, such as in the lobster factory, on a tobacco farm, or picking strawberries. Most of the competition for resources occurs between the husband and the wife. Normally, the husband wants to buy equipment for farming or fishing and the wife wants to buy materials to furnish or fix up the house.

If the wife does not have a separate income, she may feel very frustrated if the husband is reluctant to provide money for the maintenance of the house. "Every extra cent goes outside. A new lawn mower, paint for the barn, but not a cent for inside." Often this situation motivates the woman to get seasonal employment and then draw unemployment insurance benefits. In this way she is able to obtain her own income, which she can use to buy things for the house. Without a doubt, if times are hard, the upkeep of the house is a low priority to men who are farmers and fishermen. Their major goal is to maintain the overall operation. For some rural men, this is also the case when times are good, but they usually succumb to the demands of their wives. Most men do not want the interior or exterior of their homes to look run down, but they do have their own priorities.

Another area of competition is over clothing. Buying new and/or expensive clothing can also be a source of conflict within the family. "I'd love to be able to go to town for once and buy something nice to wear. But by the time we pay for everything he wants for outside, you can forget it. He never thinks to say, 'Take a few dollars and get something for yourself.' As you know, it gets to me after a while. I just get fed up and don't care about anything."

When the financial situation is particularly tight, the wife's income may be used to buy groceries and other necessities, while the husband's income goes to maintain the farm or fishing operation. This situation can be particularly frustrating, because the individuals may feel they are getting nowhere. "It's like we never get a bit ahead. We both work hard, but we get no place." When there is a real shortage of

money, people seem better able to divide the resources. This is more likely when the family members recognize their situation, because then they are more willing to compromise and make an effort to budget wisely. However, when there is little communication about financial matters, the shortage of money can lead to real misunderstandings and frustrations. "I often think he wouldn't care if I left or not. He never gives me a cent to spend on myself. Oh sure, money for the kids and food and the like, but never a cent just for me. It gets hard to take after a while."

When there is sufficient money, but one partner refuses to spend it on something the other wants, there are bound to be negative feelings and conflicts. In such cases, the couple is better off if there are two incomes, so that each will have a say in the division of finances. When the competition for resources leads to conflict, it can create larger problems for the entire family unit. #5606

11. Home furnishings

The appearance and furnishings of a home are considered a direct measure of a wife's ability, industry, and taste as a homemaker. Women evaluate themselves and other women on the basis of their homes. In addition, women try to obtain compliments from other women for their success in producing an attractive home environment. They may also hope to upstage and produce envy in the women who have bettered them in this regard in the past. Whereas males attempt to prove themselves and obtain the admiration of other males in the outside work world, women identify with and compete for recognition from other women in relation to their home and family.

The task of furnishing the home is left primarily to the wife. Very few men show much interest in the choice of furniture or other home decorations. Quite often the man will go to look at furniture with his wife, but for the most part it is the wife who makes the decisions. This is true even when the wife does not have a job and the husband will have to pay for the furnishings. The common view is that the woman knows best what is needed in the home. Also it is felt that the woman can make a better choice in terms of color, design, and materials. When a woman announces to her husband that they need a new table, drapes,

or whatever, most men feel they are not in a position to argue, except in regard to price.

Some women base their attempts to get status on their home furnishings. They want elaborate or expensive furniture which they can show off to their friends, neighbors, and relatives. Often they expect their family to keep their distance from certain pieces of furniture or even entire rooms so they will always be in good shape to display to visitors. This can create various pressures on the other family members. "We have one living room which we use all the time. We have another one that we use for parties, maybe four times a year. And, of course, Mom takes her friends in there if they come for coffee or something. Everything in there has to be kept just so. We're not allowed to light a fire in the fireplace in the room in case it smokes. If Mom decides to light it, she uses fake logs. That room has affected our lives, since the time we were kids. My brother and I wanted to have a dog. Dad agreed, but Mom refused because the dog would track in mud and shed on the carpet. I swear if I ever have a house of my own, it's going to be for me, not to show my friends." "Having a nice home was really important to my mother, and my father was in debt for a large portion of his life trying to pay for it. I remember once my Mom came home with her friend and I was lying on the couch in the living room. Mom was upset because I didn't contribute to the image she wanted, and she later told me to go in my bedroom if I wanted to lie down. She prided herself on all the nice antiques she had in the living and dining rooms. There was one large, very ornate, antique porcelain European clock. It was top heavy and my brother and I weren't allowed to run or jump in the house for fear this could cause the clock to topple over. We hated that clock. We planned that after my parents died we would waltz that clock out in the middle of the street and throw it up as high as we could and let it smash into a million pieces. My parents did not have a happy marriage, and the one thing I learned from growing up in that household is that no matter how nice your house is or how many wonderful possessions you have, they won't make you happy."

Men often complain about the costs associated with furnishings, and disputes are common. However, even when there are very bitter arguments about this, the woman usually gets her way. "Oh yes, I raised

the roof over that dining room set. We needed that no more than I don't know what. But she had to have it. Once she got it into her head, that was it."

Often women identify strongly with their furniture. They have selected it, and they have looked after it over the years. One couple was considering a legal separation, but the wife found she could not deal with giving up her furniture. She appeared quite ready for the separation, aside from the matter of the furniture. But she explained that because she would not be able to afford to keep her present home, she would have to move to a smaller place and sell or store much of her furniture. She told her husband that because she could not bear to part with any of her furniture, they should just forget about the separation. Many women remain in unhappy marriages, apparently for the sake of their furniture. Women who are abused by their husbands often cite furniture as a major reason for staying. "How could I walk out and leave all my stuff behind? I worked hard to get a lot of this furniture. I could never leave it behind me. Where would I ever get started again?" It is clear that home furnishings are of central importance for many women. #5607

12. A clean house

In Prince Edward Island keeping a clean house is an important part of life. People are very concerned about the appearance of their home and are judged by others in accordance with its appearance. A clean house is a sign of a good housekeeper and a good home. Giving the impression that one has a clean house is important to most men and women, although it is largely the task of women to make sure it occurs. As a result most wives spend a large portion of their day attending to housekeeping activities, particularly if they do not have a job outside the home.

In rural communities the room in the house which normally receives the most attention is the kitchen. Most daily activity takes place there, and this is where most people receive their visitors. People believe that a dirty kitchen not only reflects negatively on the owner, but also indicates that the food served there is unfit to eat. In the kitchen dishes are washed immediately after each meal. "There's nothing that makes a place look so wild as dirty dishes." In my parents' home the

floor is swept as soon as the dishes are completed, and the stove, fridge, and cupboards are wiped clean even if there is no sign of dirt. In addition, my mother straightens out the cupboard every night to make sure items used during the day are all in the correct order. Cleanliness is the most important consideration in preparing and serving food. You make sure the cooking implements, containers, and dishes are all clean; that you and your clothes are clean; and that the house is clean. For example, my mother always gets out a fresh towel for drying her hands on a day that she bakes. Cleanliness is more important than the taste of the food. Regardless of how good it might taste, if there were dirt all over the place, you wouldn't eat the food anyway.

Attention to cleanliness extends to other areas of a house as well, and most areas are dusted and swept at least once a week. Special attention is given to the downstairs because it is the area most frequently seen by people who do not live there. There is also a strong feeling that one should not go to bed unless the house is straight. Neither my mother nor my brother's wife normally go to bed before everyone else has gone upstairs. If you were to leave my father and brother downstairs watching television, then you know the ashtrays are going to be dirty and the chairs will be messy because the cushions will be all over the place. Also, my mother always washes up the last few dirty dishes before going upstairs herself.

Most women in the country go through the process of spring cleaning. There is a great deal of difference between spring cleaning and general day-to-day cleaning. Spring cleaning is a full-scale effort, often involving painting, repapering walls, varnishing, hanging new curtains, and so on. Women try to save every cent to get enough money together for the materials. Those women who come to visit always remark on the woman's efforts, for example, "I see you've got your spring cleaning done." The mistress of the house often responds with some offhand statement to the effect, "Oh, I'm a long way from finished; the place is still dirty. All I've done so far is put up a few strips of paper. There's a month's work left, but what's the use. You just get it finished and it's maggoting again." Generally one never shows too much pleasure in one's own work as this would seem vain. Usually you wait until someone mentions it and then act as if it isn't too bad, but it isn't great. "It's the best I could manage with the little bit of money. But then, I guess I

shouldn't complain. At least it's clean, that's the main thing. It's clean, for however long it stays." Women who work outside the home have less time for spring cleaning and seem to pay less attention to it.

Generally speaking, in the house men mess up and women clean up. Men often leave things where they fall and women are constantly straightening up after them. At home, for example, the men normally put their empty beer bottles on the floor, and the women retrieve them. I've heard my brother's wife tell him that the box for the bottles is on the porch. "Go ahead" is his response. If the women are away and it's up to Dad and my brother, then you're very lucky if they put the milk back in the fridge. Dad teases Mom about it all the time. He'll leave his boots someplace, even though there's a specific place for them. She'll move them and say, "I don't know why I always have to do this. You know where these things go." And he'll say, "Now that's making quite a mess, isn't it. That's really quite a mess alright." Sometimes when the kids come in they just throw off their coats and their boots. And if the women happen to be busy and don't get this picked up, then my brother will say, "You get things straightened up good, girls." But this doesn't happen in our house all that often, because they are always running with the broom. Women also have the idea that even if men tried to clean up they wouldn't do a satisfactory job.

People are especially conscious of having a clean house when others come to visit, and all the more so when the visitors are from outside the community. Once an aunt was visiting the Island from Boston. She called to say she would be at our house in half an hour, and we panicked. The floor was spotty and had to be washed. Someone had to scamper to the village to get some extra food so we could put up a good lunch. Fortunately, it was a breezy summer evening so my sister was able to wash the kitchen curtains and get them dried and ironed before my aunt arrived. It called for a lot of work in a short time.

People often do talk about the untidiness they notice in other people's homes. "I never saw the like. The floor was covered with dirt; hadn't seen a broom in three or four days. Dirty dishes on the table. Clothes strewn all over the place. What a hole! I don't know what Jane thinks of. She could at least wash up the dishes." Although most people talk about such things to others, few mention it to the family themselves. Nevertheless, I know of one case where this occurred. A woman was in

her living room showing her neighbor some photographs when the neighbor rubbed her finger across the top of a table and said, "That's getting a bit dusty. It should be shined up." Although the woman did not reply, she was outraged and made a point of telling others what an outspoken person the neighbor was.

Being known for keeping a very clean house is a real source of status in the community. One of the nicest things one can say about another is "They don't have very much, God knows. But you can go in there any time at all and she's got the place just shining. Not a speck of dirt anywhere. You could eat off the floor. And along with that, you'll never leave there without a cup of tea and a lunch, and a good lunch at that." People are always praising women who do a lot with what little they have. Those who visit the homes of welfare recipients comment on those homes which are the cleanest, and add, "You don't mind helping someone who tries to get along. Jean's house is spotless. It's nothing fancy, but at least it's clean." #5608

13. Impressions of one's home

One's reputation as a hostess is based not only on how often one invites people to one's home and the quality of the food that is offered, but also on how clean, comfortable, and inviting the house is. What first meets the eye usually makes the most lasting impression. This is a primary topic of gossip, which is as candid as sour milk. And it is true whether you are in Charlottetown, or a residential suburb, or a rural community.

People want to ensure that guests in their home have a good experience. Often they try to provide guests with the best they have to offer. "Whenever we have guests we use our best dishes, and we put pretty towels in the bathroom. If they stay overnight we put the best linen on the guest bed."

For most people, having company involves some cleaning and tidying up. Your house is considered evidence of "what kind of people you really are." The conscientious women in my community go through their place with a fine-toothed comb before they ever invite company over. Some people will allow guests to roam freely from room to room, confident that everything is practically spotless. They are almost always rewarded with praise for their efforts. "Where do you get the

time to clean? Are you sure you don't hire a maid?" Such a hostess will be the object of much admiration and even envy from her friends and neighbors. "You'd never know she has three children, the way her house just shines." "Gosh, it never matters what time of the day I walk into Thelma's house. She's such a good housekeeper, she puts me to shame."

In contrast, there are those who follow a different path. If they have a clean area, it is often limited to just one or two rooms. They try to restrict guests to that area and try to prevent them from seeing the rest of the house. They hope they can preserve their reputation by preventing visitors from entering "the disaster areas." If a family has a larger, more expensive house, they can try to keep the family in the den or recreation room, where guests are not taken. The living room or parlor is made off limits to the family so that the woman of the house does not have to worry that a cherished ornament will be broken, or that the guest will find crumbs on the new chesterfield, fingerprints on the coffee table, and crayons hidden in the carpet. But in the average house or apartment, one is forced to compromise. One puts the television set in the living room, allows the kids to use the room, and tries to clean up the mess before company arrives. One certainly doesn't want the guest to report, "If that was the house, I'd hate to see the barn." Some people use their children as an excuse. "I didn't have the time to clean up after supper with putting the kids to bed and all. By then I was just too tired." When people go visiting, they naturally want to feel as comfortable and "at home" as possible, as though they were in their own home. This is hard if you spend the evening trying to figure out just what has been spilled on the sofa, or if you can't wait to get out in the fresh air again.

Many people resent having friends drop in unannounced, because they fear what people may say about the state of their house. There is one lady who appears to be ill if anyone stops by without warning. "Oh dear," she'll exclaim, "I'm afraid you've come at a bad time; I'm feeling terrible. Could you come back another time? And call first." This lady complains, "They always arrive without calling, and the house is dirty and nothing is baked (to serve them)." It's clear she's worried about her reputation. But the fact is, even when she knows guests are coming, her house isn't very tidy.

One thing women dread is having an unexpected visit by a relative. Relatives may be relatives, but they are often worse gossips than friends are. A woman from my area went up to O'Leary one weekend to see her brother and his wife. Because she gave them no notice, they were caught off guard. Moreover, things were worse than usual. Her brother had left for work, his young wife had been in bed with the flu for over a week, and the children were squabbling over the chores. The wife had just gotten the strength to get up out of bed when in walked her sister-in-law. There was a week's dirty laundry piled on the sofa and the sink was full of dirty dishes. The sister-in-law gave the wife a lecture, then turned around and went back home, thoroughly disgusted with both her brother and his wife. Before long the other relatives heard the story, which was blown all out of proportion. "Well, the kids were scruffy and unwashed. They were pulling things out of the cupboards and dumping them on the floor, and the dog was chewing on the drapes. All this, and she just lay in bed watching the soaps." The husband was blamed for having "such a good-for-nothing wife," and subsequently the couple were left out of many family affairs.

At the other extreme, visitors can be made to feel extremely uncomfortable if the woman of the house is constantly worried they will mar the order and appearance of her home. They do not like being told, "Be careful you don't spill that. Why don't you use the coaster?" or "Don't walk into the kitchen. I just waxed the floor." One woman in my neighborhood has a reputation for being exceptionally fastidious. A neighbor went to visit her and later told me it was as if the woman had an outline drawn around everything in the house, so if anything was moved, she could put it right back in place. "We were at the door just leaving to go somewhere when the woman glanced back and saw I had left my chair pulled out from the kitchen table. She had to turn around and go back and push the chair under the table before she could leave her house. I felt like a crumb. I don't visit her anymore, and I know she doesn't like to come to my house." This woman who is so obsessive won't visit anyone a second time if their house doesn't measure up to her standards. A relative of mine is even worse, and most of the family won't visit her because she gives them the impression they aren't welcome. She frequently meets them at the door with "Make sure you take off your shoes." If one forgets and gets the tiniest bit of dirt on the floor, she pops out with a broom and dustpan and

proceeds to sweep it up, much to her guest's embarrassment. "You'd think the health inspector was coming to visit. She must spend half the day getting everything just so. There's not a speck of dust on anything." "You can't leave the table with food in your hand. If she finds one crumb in the living room, she'll make you feel like a bull in the parlor."

There is no question that people talk about the appearance and cleanliness of the homes they visit, particularly when they consider them sub-standard. One night my aunt visited a couple who lived in the best part of Charlottetown. As she sat and talked to the couple she wondered what was poking into her derrière. At the end of the evening she discovered it was a dinky toy. Then when she stood up to leave she felt something stuck to the bottom of her foot. To her disgust she found it was a half-eaten caramel. This experience generated a lot of gossip, mainly because the couple was highly regarded in the community. They had an expensive home and were always bragging that they "could afford two maids, but didn't see any need for them." Almost every woman who heard the story called in on the family to see for herself whether there was dust on the coffee table or mold around the bathroom sink. Another neighbor is a splendid cook and a gracious hostess. She is a member of the Women's Institute and directs the church choir. However, people say she is "the laziest woman on earth." She lives in an older farmhouse and shows little concern for keeping it clean and neat. It is rumored she lets the chickens and barn cats into her kitchen. This isn't true, but it's not far off. She is the subject of the community's juiciest tales. "You can't walk into the place without tripping over something or having crumbs stick to your feet. God only knows when she last cleaned." One woman talked at length about this neighbor's filthy house. When she was asked if she'd ever actually been in the house, she stated, "Are you kidding? I'd never set foot in there!" Clearly the reputation of her neighbor's home scared people away.

The entire family can be tarnished by one family member's reputation of being a poor housekeeper. It is often assumed that if a mother is a dirty housekeeper, then all her children will be too. If a person knows only one member of the family, and that member has a dirty house, then they will assume the entire family lives in filth. Two siblings can be as opposite as night and day, but if one happens to be really lazy, the whole family's image can suffer. "Oh, I wouldn't visit her

if I were you. Her sister has the dirtiest house I've ever seen. Those G____s are all alike, you know." Families become concerned when one of their members doesn't pay proper attention to their home. "My sister and I are so ashamed of how dirty our house is, we won't stick around when people come to visit Mom." "When I went to visit my sister in Kensington last Christmas, I was shocked by the look of the place. I hadn't been to see her in two years, but has she ever changed. She seems to have forgotten what Mom taught us about keeping a nice house. I'm kind of glad she no longer lives near me. I'd be embarrassed, and I'd wonder what people were thinking about my house." #5609

14. Housework

Housework is an integral part of family life in homes on Prince Edward Island. The great majority of people view a neat, clean home as a necessity. Those who ignore this are ridiculed and their houses are frequently avoided. In most homes, the bulk of the cleaning is done by the woman of the house. Other members of the family tend to take her efforts for granted and rarely praise her for her work.

Many women seek to draw attention to their efforts, and make sure everyone else is fully aware of them. "It's alright for you lads to just walk out in the morning and go off all dressed up. Someone has to stay here and clean the filth." My sister leaves her housework until it gets pretty bad, then just tears into it. And during the time she's working on it, it's like the whole world owes her a living. If you phone her or drive into the yard at such a time, you might say, "Hi! How are you?" "Great," she'll respond in a flat tone. "What are you doing?" "Cleaning dirt." And she's really curt. It doesn't matter who's there, you could have the Bishop with you, she still has to put on this great martyr's face. And in the house if someone says, "Did you see the newspaper?" she'll say, "No, I didn't have the time. Some of us don't have time to be bothered by that kind of stuff." And while she's scrubbing the floor her daughter is always making the mistake of asking her what there is to eat. I would never do that. My sister will reply, "Well, I just didn't get around to making anything yet. I didn't have the luxury of staying in bed until ten o'clock this morning," or "I didn't get the chance myself to eat anything at all today, so I don't know what's in there." She

makes you feel very guilty, but she wouldn't let you help if you asked, and would prefer that you do not offer. She treats everyone as being in her way, and if she can find a way to aggravate you, she will. If your shoes are on the floor by the couch when she's scrubbing, she won't pick them up and set them aside. Instead, she'll shove them all the way underneath the couch and just leave them there.

The laundry is her forte. We all hate the day she does the laundry, because she makes such a production over it. She uses a wringer washer which makes this awful HMMM! HMMM! HMMM! HMMM! noise. She won't use an automatic washer because she claims they don't work right. "They just get soap on the clothes." She usually picks a day when we're all home, and a day you would least expect the wash to be done. Someone will say, "Aw, you're not going to wash today, are you?" "Well, I have to. Everything is rotten. There's not a towel. There's no pillow cases. What are we going to use?" Or, "Don't mouth to me about the noise of the washer. If you had your nose stuck in it for three hours like I do, you'd know. You're not interested in hearing about *dirty* underwear and socks, but you're interested in wearing *clean* ones. I noticed you had your gob stuck out here for the clean ones, after I'd ironed them with my own boney knuckles. I'm really worried you don't like the sound of the washer." And she'll get these tubs and everything set up. It's like a cottage industry. There'll be no meals that day; you have to get your own. If I or her daughter make a meal, she won't stop to eat it. You'll call her fifteen times and she won't stop. She goes constantly, like there's never any time to sit down. There's the stuff in the washer and the stuff she's hanging out, and by the time she gets back in the house the stuff in the washer is ready to go out too. It never stops. Another thing, she won't wear any gloves in winter when she hangs out clothes. She says she can't hang things up with gloves on, but I know I can. She takes her hands out of hot water and goes right outside, and her hands look just awful, like they're on fire. The next day she'll be going on, "Oh my hands are just burning up." I feel terrible about them, and if she would put gloves on, it would help. However, her red, raw hands help draw attention to her efforts.

Another thing is the disinfectant she uses when she cleans. She used to use Creolin, and God, it was rotten. It has a wild smell, just

awful. I was allergic to it, and as soon as she'd start, I'd begin sneezing. And the smell gave her husband headaches. One of us would say, "Could you not get something else to use?" or "What in Christ is that smell? Did you put that dog shit on the floor again?" "Oh, won't hurt you, won't hurt you," she'd reply. Or, "No, there's nothing in this bucket but soap. The smell is just on the mop from last time." No matter how many times we'd ask her to change, she'd continue to use it. The smell would actually stay on the mop, and it was so bad that if you took the mop to touch up the floor, I'd start sneezing and her husband would get his headaches. I think she used double the amount of Creolin she was supposed to. Then sometimes she opens the windows wide, regardless of how cold it is outside. Someone may ask, "What in Jesus is that window doing open?" "Well, you complained about the smell," she responds, "and if you were following this mop for as long as I've been, you'd be damn glad of a breath of fresh air. The sweat is just pouring off me." Lately she's using Pine-Sol. It's a little more pleasant than Creolin; not much, but a little. About a month ago I told her this was better than the stuff she used to use, and her husband agreed. "What stuff?" she asked. "The Creolin." "I never used Creolin." "Yes, you did. Last winter." "No, never used it. Never had that stuff in the house. Wouldn't use that. Well you couldn't use that on the floor." And to anyone else listening, they'd think we were crazy. Here's this woman, perfectly in control of herself, saying she never used it, and we're trying to convince her that she did. But there's no doubt in my mind that's what it was. I saw the bottle.

Many housewives want others to recognize what a terrible burden they have, and the theme of suffering is a common one. My mother bakes practically every day, and she complains every time she does so. She always goes on about how sick she is of standing at the bake board. Her feet are tired, and she is getting pretty weary of it. A friend of mine says, "My mother goes around like a martyr. She could have done her house cleaning during all the cool days of spring. For that matter, she could have done it one room at a time during winter. But no, she had to pick July, the hottest month of the year, and the hottest week of July to really get into it. My brothers and I are all out golfing and fishing that time of year and she's mad we're not over there helping her lift stuff and move stuff around. I'm sure if we were there

she'd want us to help her every fifteen minutes or so. She made a really big production over this rug that had to be moved. She insisted that all of us had to be there to do it. So when we got there, one of my brothers picked it up and carried it out, and the other two of us just stood there. That really infuriated her." Women also frequently complain of getting little help from husbands and children. One of my sisters says, "No one here will help me. They're no good to do anything. I have to do it all by myself." I also think women resent the fact that they have to do something they don't want to do, while others present in the household are taking it easy or doing what they want to do.

This behavior is by no means unusual. I have seen it displayed in many rural homes on Prince Edward Island. It certainly makes it difficult for others in the household to ignore the woman's efforts. However, those women who make such a production over their trials and tribulations, do not do so in all their household endeavors. Those activities which the woman enjoys, or for which she receives praise, are often conducted without theatrics and complaints. The same sister who makes such a noise over the laundry and scrubbing the floor, doesn't complain about cooking. In fact she enjoys baking. Her husband never notices whether things are clean or not, but he does compliment her cooking. On the other hand, my father never praises my mother's cooking, and that is exactly what she complains most loudly about having to do.

At the same time, nothing seems to upset a woman more than to hear a member of her own household praise another woman for her skills at housework. When my father and brother go someplace to help with the hay or grain, they'll come back and tell what the food and the house were like. Mom's first question will be "What did you have for dinner?" If they think the food was poor, they'll make fun of it, and Mom will really enjoy the jokes. But Dad often goes into great detail about how good it was or how the place was just shining, and this makes my mother so mad. They have many fights over this. She'll say, "Well, if you want to eat that dirt, that's fine. If you had it home, you wouldn't say a thing about it." My sister, who makes such a big production over the laundry and whose husband praises her cooking, always keeps her kitchen neat, yet will let her house become a wreck. Another of my sisters gets quite upset on the rare occasion that her husband

visits the sister with the neat kitchen. He'll have all these big stories to tell about how great she is doing, working at a job and keeping her house spotless at the same time. This really makes his wife mad, and she will go on and on to me about it. She knows it's only the kitchen that is neat, and if you went upstairs you would just choke. These women get upset because some other woman is getting the praise they feel they deserve. Moreover, it appears to them that their males are saying another female is doing a better job in their domain, housework, than they are themselves. #5610

15. Food

Food is a central part of life in Island communities and a means by which people and their level of prosperity are judged. There is an enormous amount of concern and even worry associated with maintaining a good food supply and preparing food well. What you eat and how much you have to eat are used by other people as a means to gauge your social position. One of the worst comments that can be made about a person in rural Prince Edward Island is that "he doesn't have enough to eat." People definitely notice what you serve your visitors and helpers and what you eat yourself. It is a source of pride if others consider that your food is of good quality and served in generous portions.

In local communities it is considered very important to serve home baked goods. Baker's bread, or bought bread, is thought to be highly inferior. "If all I had to put out to people was baker's bread, I wouldn't put out anything, so help me God." A woman from Ontario lives in our community. She has people to dinner and serves bought bread to her guests. People definitely notice, because bought bread indicates the woman isn't doing any work in the house. In my home we use bought bread only for sandwiches. We would never have it at a meal, because we have homemade bread. People make comments about the woman from Ontario, such as "Cheryl gave us a bunch of old bought cookies. Who wants them? We can get homemade cookies at home."

The ability to serve meat is also important. Even the poorest families try to have meat at least once a week. It is considered almost a necessity in families to have meat on Sunday. Many days we don't eat meat

at home, but we always try to do so on Sunday. I've heard relatives of mine say, "I can get by with potatoes and vegetables through the week, but I always like to have a taste of meat on Sunday."

People are concerned over what others know about the food they eat at home. While it is appropriate for visitors to arrive unannounced, it is totally inappropriate for them to do so at mealtime. People feel uncomfortable when someone walks in on them while they are eating. Some have told me they feel exposed because their table is in full view and the visitor can easily see what they are eating. If the fare is lavish, the visitor may tell, and others will speculate how they can live at such a high standard. If it is not up to par, the visitor may also tell and people will talk. "Larry and I went to his uncle's place in Tracadie one Sunday. They didn't know we were coming, and in fact didn't know me at all. They were eating a dinner of fried eggs, potatoes, and vegetables when we got there. We often have that at home for dinner, but never on Sunday. Sundays we always have some kind of meat. It was obvious they felt very ashamed, and they cleared the table very quickly. I guess it was because they didn't know me and were afraid I'd tell it at home. I felt like an intruder. It was really sad." One person told me that until five years ago, no one in his community would eat rabbit, even though it was readily available at no cost. In fact, many young boys snared rabbits and sold them to mink and fox ranchers for feed. People were afraid the neighbors would find out they ate rabbits and think they were poor.

When people are invited to dinner, it is important for the hostess to provide lots of food and to do so cheerfully. She must not look like she is counting every bite they eat. Instead she should show her visitors she wants them to partake freely of the food. The food doesn't need to be fancy, but it should be clean, and there should be plenty of it and more than is required. The hostess is expected to fill the guests' plates, and she should watch carefully and promptly ask people if they want more. When people are at our house for dinner, my mother rarely sits down to eat with them. She spends most of her time refilling plates and otherwise waiting on the guests. Many conversations focus on the poor quality of the food received at someone else's house and the overall stingy nature of some hostess. One woman told me about going to a place where the hostess prepared just enough food to go

around. “I mean I didn’t want any more, but it looked so cheap. Exactly the right number of rolls, and one steak for each person. Very tight if you ask me.”

When people help with farm work, such as putting in hay or planting and picking potatoes, it is considered essential to serve them good meals. This is true whether they are being paid a wage or they are friends and neighbors helping out. Often families who are unable to have meat every day, will budget so as to be able to serve it to everyone at these times. “We’ll have to cut the rope nearest the neck. There’s a lot to be paid this time. But we’ll have to go to the store and get some meat if Tom and Jim are going to be here helping with the hay. There’s nothing else we can do. If it was just ourselves we could get by without it.” People talk if there is little quantity or if the food is of poor quality. “Yes, I got fed. But, Lord God it was drastic, just drastic. I can eat just about anything if there’s enough of it. But this was the worst I ever saw.” If someone is not fed, this is viewed as terrible behavior by other farm families. “I was there putting in hay when she came to the door and called in her husband and two sons for dinner, but not me. Never even gave me a second look. Sure, I was good enough to slug their rotten hay, but not good enough to sit in and eat with them.”

Having a wife who is a good and generous cook is an important source of status in the rural community. When a man goes to work at a neighbor’s house, he is very observant of the food he receives. His wife is usually anxious to hear the news when he comes home. Most women are happy to learn that the neighbor’s wife did not provide an extraordinary meal. However, if the meal was very special, the farmer’s wife is apt to be quite jealous. “Oh sure, you’d go on about that cake if you got it elsewhere, but you wouldn’t look at it if it was made home.” The father of a friend of mine referred to poor cooks as “boilers,” which indicated they did well to boil water. My friend’s mother was always pleased to learn from her husband that a neighbor was a “boiler,” because she herself was quite a good cook.

Given the willingness of people to make comparisons and to gossip, your food helps establish your reputation. What you eat and serve others reveals your relative success as a breadwinner, homemaker, and neighbor. #5611

16. Tea and sweets

When you go to visit, it is expected you will be offered "tea." Now, this does not mean they will merely give you a cup of tea. Rather, it is assumed they will make up "a lunch" for you, and the lunch will consist of such things as sandwiches, fruit, cheese, bread and jam, sweets, or whatever they have. You would be very surprised if all you were given was tea. Once our family visited a niece of Dad's in Halifax. She asked us if we'd like a cup of tea, and we casually said OK, even though we'd been traveling for hours and were starving. So she made tea. Nothing else, just tea. We were astonished. Afterwards Dad said, "Where else would you go that you'd only get tea? Nowhere in God's green earth but there. Just like them. Her mother was like that; she hated to go to any trouble. It's pretty sad though."

In my area there is a protocol to offering and accepting "tea" which is perceived in terms of your need and your ability and willingness to provide. It is very important when people offer you tea that you not appear too anxious in accepting. You should really let them coax you. If you come right out and immediately say yes, your hosts may think you are hungry and can't provide adequately for yourself, which is the last thing you want them to think. If they are hesitant about offering tea or fail to coax you to accept, then obviously they are very mean. It is assumed they never intended to make tea in the first place, and offered it to you just one time in order to put on a front. If they don't persist, you might even assume they don't have enough food on hand to put up a lunch. One can see how people who are not aware of these norms could make numerous social errors.

Many farm wives are well known for the good table they set. Such women consider it essential to always have some home baked goods on hand to serve unexpected guests. During the 1960's it was virtually unheard of for neighbors to let you know in advance they would be dropping in on you. Therefore, you had to be in a constant state of readiness. Although today many people call ahead to announce their intention to visit, some people still drop in unannounced. In order to maintain a state of readiness, the woman of the house has to work quite hard. My mother has spent most of her life baking so there'll be something in the house. Almost every day she bakes something else in case someone comes that night and she will be expected to serve lunch.

In order to maintain a reputation for setting a good table, a woman has to be a good guesser. She takes stock of the people who normally visit and tries to anticipate when they will next come around. "It's a nice night and Bill and Mary haven't been here for three weeks at least. I wouldn't doubt but they'll take a drive this way tonight or tomorrow afternoon. I should make some sandwiches, just in case." Of course if the visitors don't show up, the family can easily consume the fare. Better safe than sorry. However, the reverse can happen. The family may eat all the goods before company appears on the scene. "Honest to God, I don't know what's to be done. I made three pies, a cake, and cookies, and there's hardly anything left. What am I going to do if the door fills? Give them baker's bread?" Because the woman's reputation is on the line, this is a constant problem in many rural households. My mother gets particularly upset if most of what she has baked for the weekend has been eaten by Saturday night. When this happens, she'll bake again that night in case someone comes on Sunday.

It is naturally assumed the hostess will be generous. The greatest compliment one could pay would be to say, "Everything was really grand. All kinds of food, and as much and more than anyone wanted. Quite the spread, I'll tell you." The worst thing that someone might say would be "Did we get a lunch, you ask? Don't be crazy, I said we went to Jane's house. You'd be lucky to get something to eat there if you went at mealtime, let alone an evening lunch. She's as mean as cat shit, you know. She watches every cent too. Oh sure, they have the very best for themselves. I've seen the things she buys in the stores. But that's not for visitors, no sir. Cold tea and a bought cookie, and that's if you're lucky, no word of lie." One woman in a nearby community has the reputation of serving only as much as she has to. So if there are four people present, she puts out four pieces of cake, four pieces of bread, and four whatevers. There will be one each, or just enough. Then if the woman wants more for herself, she gets up and gets it. But if anyone else needs more, she never offers it. Given the importance of being generous with food, this is such a low, mean story that I am upset the woman's friend told it to others. It was a really hot story around the neighborhood.

Sweets, such as cookies, cakes, pies, and especially squares, are usually given special status as "something to top off the meal." Those

who excel in preparing sweets are also given a special status, and some women are praised throughout their local community for their abilities. "She certainly sets quite a table. We were there the other night and I never saw the like. There must have been five different kinds of sweets along with everything else. Just like a wedding table." Wives, and farm wives in particular, are always on the lookout for new recipes for sweets. They ask, "Do you have any new recipes for squares?" Most women are quite open to giving their recipes to others. Some are not, however, and when asked about the ingredients may say, "I just can't think what to tell you."

There is no doubt that baking sweets requires a great deal of time and patience. Often a lot of emphasis is placed on the color, shape, and size of a particular sweet. The square is so important because it requires so much time and energy to make it look unique. "I don't know where she gets the time. Four children and so much other work around the place, and still she can set a table that would scare you. Sweets and bread like you'd get at some fancy place. It's wonderful altogether."

Not only does baking sweets require a lot of time, it is often fairly expensive. Very often, the ingredients required are not those that one normally has in the house, and may include such things as walnuts, sweetened condensed milk, maraschino cherries, or colored coconut. Often a considerable amount of money is budgeted for such baking materials in homes where sweets are regular fare. It is frequently noted when someone is too mean to serve sweets, and many stories are told about the poor lunches served in some homes. "Christ, no, you wouldn't get anything good at Alice's. You're lucky to get a couple of biscuits and a piece of moldy cheese. Sweets? My God, don't be crazy."

When several people bring sweets to an event such as a church supper, family party, or wedding catered by the community, many comparisons between them are usually made. People look at what others bring so they can see how it contrasts with their own. They are particularly interested in seeing how popular other people's are compared with their own, and having to take some home often represents failure. Also, they may encounter something new that they want to get the recipe for. Sometimes people praise what they see at these events. "Mary brought these gorgeous squares. I've never tasted the like. They were just grand, and I got the recipe. One thing about Mary,

she may have a big mouth and everything, but she's a damn good baker." More frequently, the comments will be critical. "You know, I don't like to be saying things about people. But my God, that was an awful looking pan of stuff that Sue brought, wasn't it? The look of it. And if that wasn't bad enough, she had them cut into little one-inch squares. You know that's sad. Of course, I guess she wanted to make them go further, but little one-inch squares is pretty bad if you ask me. I'd be ashamed to bring the likes of that. I'd rather not bring anything."

While being able to set a good table is a fine reputation to have, one can go overboard. Sometimes having too good a table is viewed as acting big. "Oh yes, she always had the big show. All kinds of sweets and breads, but that's all it is, just a show. And don't think she does the work. Oh no, she makes the girls (daughters) do all that. They have to do the cleaning and baking, the whole shebang; it would just make you sick." Also, depending on the occasion, entire families may be viewed as using their baking skills to act big. "We were at an anniversary at the M____s' place the other night. Quite a time. There was an awful scoff; sweets to no end. The women must have been baking for a month. It was all very nice, but there was no doubt they were just putting on the dog. There was no need of going to that extent with sweets. They had enough to feed an army, and you know yourself, after a big meal no one wants all that. But why not? If everyone was hauling in that many government cheques, we could all have big times like that, no problem. But there was really no need of it, and everyone noticed too." What is defined as having too many sweets depends on the event and how many people are there. It becomes obvious that there are too many if you fill up before you've sampled everything.

Thus a delicate balance must be struck. Baking sweets provides you with a means of gaining status within the community for your ability and energy. If you don't participate, you are likely to be the butt of criticism and jokes. On the other hand, if it is obvious you are going overboard, you are just as likely to be criticized. Too many sweets are almost as bad as too few. However, if you can achieve the correct balance you will be praised by men and women throughout your community for your fine skills. And your home will be well thought of as a place where people like to go and have "tea." #5612

17. Compliments

When one visits a home in rural Prince Edward Island, certain remarks are appropriate and even expected. I'm not referring to small talk about the weather or the health of family members. Instead, I mean specific types of compliments which are an important form of interaction among females.

One of the first things one should comment on is the interior of a person's house. These comments are usually directed to the kitchen. If you have not been in the house for some time, there may be some obvious physical changes, such as fresh paint, wallpaper, or a new carpet to talk about. However, if you are a regular visitor to the house and there are no major changes, you can always comment on the cleanliness of the home. "This place is just shining. I don't know where you find the time to keep everything so spick-and-span. You should see my place; it's a holy terror." The woman of the house responds by playing down the condition of her home. "Oh, my God, there's no style here. Lots of dirt, that's all. I'm ashamed to let you see the place in such a mess."

If there has been a major change in the interior of the house, you must emphasize its effectiveness. The order of the day is to praise what you see. If you are asked what you think of a particular change or addition to the household, you are virtually required to approve of it. You must never, never criticize the homemaker's taste in color, fabric, or design. If you dare to criticize, you will open yourself to charges of putting the owner down and acting big. "Did you hear Elaine say that the drapes would be nicer if they were a bit longer? Honest to God. The gall. It would suit Elaine better to fix up her own place before she starts nosing in here." If you are the type of person who takes no notice of changes in your neighbor's home, you are also likely to be criticized. "Jean really makes my blood boil. I work so hard to get a few things so the place will look up a little. You'd think she could at least say something about it. Oh, no, she'd never say a word. It just makes me feel like two cents."

Aside from the appearance of the home, you should also comment on what the woman of the house is wearing. This is considered polite. Again, your comments should always be positive. If she is wearing something new and you do not notice or ignore it, she will very likely

feel hurt and you will probably be criticized later, particularly if this is a practice of yours. "It's a funny thing. It wouldn't matter if I wore furs and diamonds when Liz came over, she still wouldn't open her mouth. I don't know why she's like that. Maybe she just never notices anything. But I always make a point of complimenting her on her clothes. I think it's kind of ignorant (rude) not to say anything." A failure to comment can imply that the visitor has so much that she never sees what anyone else has.

Finally, when you are in someone's home, you should pay particular attention to the food you are served. It is insufficient to merely praise the food. You are expected to rave. Rural women put so much time and effort into their baking that they expect to be lauded. If you simply eat the food and do not compliment it, you open yourself to considerable criticism. "Yeah, they'd come and eat everything about the place, but you'd never hear a word as to what they thought of it. I guess it was bad. I just don't know." When visitors fail to comment, the common interpretation is that something was wrong with the food. If a visitor criticizes your home, clothing, or food directly, you can fight back by saying, "She's so ignorant," or "She knows nothing." But when no comment is made, an element of doubt is placed in the homemaker's mind together with a feeling of discomfort.

Making appropriate comments and compliments in a person's home is quite a serious matter. People who are unobservant or "from away" and fail to make the correct comments convey negative messages and reveal their own lack of social graces. #5613

18. Style

People on Prince Edward Island are quick to notice changes in another person's appearance, improvements made to their home, and new possessions that they obtain. People are expected to notice and comment on these changes. When you meet someone at church or a social function, you normally comment on their appearance. You may mention their new hair style or a new outfit or piece of clothing. "Well, the style of you. I'm ashamed to be here in these rags." When you go to someone's house and see that they have made some changes, you are obligated to comment on them. "I never saw such style in my life." If you

fail to do this, those who have made the changes are likely to become upset and angry and to criticize you to others.

People frequently discuss with others any changes that they see. When women discuss other women they often mention their style. "Bill's wife is an awful style, isn't she? I never met her before the other night, but I often heard different ones saying she was quite the style." This means that Bill's wife dresses very fashionably, and what she wears fits well and matches together. Often discussions about a person's style carry negative undertones. "Did you see May going up the aisle on Sunday with the hair all done and a brand spanking new suit that had to cost over a hundred dollars. Quite the style. I guess it must be great to have the money. I wouldn't know myself." Often there is the implication that the person spends too much on appearance or that they don't really have the money to pay for all they have. "Oh sure, I could keep that style a'going too, if I wanted to live beyond my means. That's how Howard does it. Well, don't you know that's how?" Or, "They must put every cent on their backs, by the look of them. They all have grand clothes, but a few gallons of paint would go a long way towards making their place look up."

When you remark on a person's style to their face, however, it is always done in a complimentary fashion. In response, the person usually tries to play down your compliment. "Oh, this old rag. I've had it for forty years," or "Yeah, I got it with my welfare money," or "My God, don't talk so loose. There's no style here. The place is a mess. I'll have to take a shovel to the upstairs any day now." By belittling oneself, one attempts to reassure others that one is not trying to show off and not trying to act big.

A person is expected to take note of style and remark favorably on it. Likewise, a person must know how to respond appropriately if someone comments on her style. These are necessary social skills if one wants to fit into Island culture. "Style," like many concepts on Prince Edward Island, is two-faced. On the one side, there is the complimentary aspect which is often quite genuinely meant, and which typically elicits a dismissive response from the person being complimented. On the other side, there is the critical aspect which implies that the person showing the style is trying to act big, trying to live beyond their means, or just trying to show others up for having less. Understanding "style" is essential for understanding the behavior of Islanders. #5614

19. Church suppers

Each of the four churches in my area holds a yearly fund-raising supper. Because of the local abundance of lobster, each supper is a lobster supper. It is far easier to get everyone to bake or work for their church than for some other purpose. Other organizations usually obtain their funds through variety concerts or door-to-door collections.

Because these suppers are held only once a year, they are quite the social event. All of the families of a particular congregation are expected to participate in cleaning the hall beforehand, baking, making salads, serving, washing dishes, and cleaning up afterwards. The men of the congregation, most of whom are fishermen, are expected to donate a portion of their catch. Those males who are not fishermen, ready the hall by repairing loose boards, hammering ever-protruding nails, and applying fresh paint to duller areas.

Of course, there are always a few members of a congregation who do not have the time or sufficient desire to participate. Some waive their duty by making a cash donation, but others just can't be bothered. It is the fate of these few to be discussed at length in the kitchen and back rooms of the hall by those giving their time and effort to the cause. The participants will mention other functions which "the skippers" did not contribute to, and share any gossip which may explain their absence. At the same time people are careful not to talk in the presence of any of the person's relatives who may be working nearby. In one supper where I served, a woman neither made an appearance nor sent food. Males and females in the working area began to speculate on her absence, and commented, "It's funny she's not here. Her mother was such a good worker." "Yeah, but her grandfather wasn't much good. Maybe she takes after him." "You know, she does look like his side of the family." Another woman had been a regular worker at church suppers for at least two decades, and was recognized for her secret recipe for apple pie. When the speculations of the kitchen workers turned to the woman's absence and the fact her pie was much missed, they decided among themselves that the woman did not come because her unmarried daughter was "in the family way," and that her absence was for the best because the proceeds would be going to the church. What we see here is the standard practice of a gathering of

people discussing those who have not gathered with them. It is made all the more legitimate in this case because the people being discussed were expected to be present helping out.

Those who attend a church supper during the summer are local people, visiting family members, and assorted tourists. This provides people with ample entertainment while they wait for a seat at the dining tables. Matching an unfamiliar face with a local family is a supper tradition. Is that person their son or daughter who is home from away, or just another tourist? The amount of speculation and the knowledge of the various family lineages is staggering. Those who think they have identified a face, frequently saunter over to renew their acquaintance and catch up on the news since they've last seen the person.

Each person at the supper is served a plate filled with food. After they have finished eating, each is asked what kind of pie he or she would like and whether they want tea or coffee. At the same time, plates of dessert squares are placed in the center of the tables for people to choose from.

Competition during church suppers occurs on two levels. On the individual level, each contributor tries to be the very best in his or her category. Certain women have a reputation for being an outstanding cook. I've seen people come into the kitchen and say, "Well, I want a piece of Trudy's lemon pie." Lots of people come in and ask for my grandmother's pie. You'll see offended looks on the faces of some of the other women, and you can tell they're thinking, "I made a lemon pie this year. What's wrong with my lemon pie?" Also, certain items are less popular than others. For example, servers carry out a variety of different squares, perhaps ten or more, on a dessert plate and bring the plate back when only two or three squares are left. Those who are eating descend on the plate and take the most attractive squares first. They leave the least attractive squares until last and these are the ones the servers return to the kitchen. Maybe they look too marshmallowy, or too mushy, or too pink, or too garish, or too something else. The eaters know that if they just wait, the server will refill the plate and they'll have another chance to get the most attractive squares before the other eaters do. When the server gets back to the kitchen she sets the plate down, they fill it back up, and she carries it out again. Anyway, the

servers usually return to the kitchen again and again with the same few squares left over. You'll hear women in the kitchen say, "I know who made those. Didn't they come back last time?" They know who's responsible because the person brings the same thing every year. And you'll see the women in the kitchen doing the dishes and looking over their shoulder to see if their own squares keep coming back to the kitchen for a third or fourth time. If all your squares are gone by the end of the evening, you've accomplished something wonderful. At a church supper, one way in which the food contributions are evaluated is on the basis of how much is left over at the end of the supper. It is very embarrassing to have to cart some of your baking home. People may remark, "Oh, they didn't eat all of your squares?" while they smirk and pack up their own empty serving trays. And the unfortunate party will wince her way out of the hall wondering what she can prepare for the next year that will offer greater appeal to voracious appetites.

If someone does not eat their food, the server will be very interested to know why. Thus if someone doesn't eat his piece of pie she will wonder whether the crust is too tough, or, God forbid, whether he found a hair in the piece she served. If there is anything wrong with a particular item of food she will stop serving it. She will also try to make it up to the person eating so that he won't have cause to be dissatisfied and to complain to others afterwards. When she takes the pie back to the kitchen they'll examine the piece to see what is wrong with it and find out who cooked it. "You know this fellow didn't finish the pie that Stacy made. I wonder what's wrong with Stacy's pie. I guess it's not up to snuff this year." People at the supper know how offended the cook will be if they don't eat what they're served. You've got to eat everything you take. If you don't feel like finishing what's on your plate, you may think, "I don't know who the cook is. But they're going to carry this back in the kitchen and say, 'John M. didn't finish eating this.' And whoever cooked it is going to feel humiliated in front of the other women, and give me the cold shoulder from now on. Do I want to make an enemy, or do I want to go ahead and eat what's left?" The Islanders at the supper seldom leave food on their plate uneaten. Tourists might because they don't know how much distress they can cause a woman when they don't finish her potato salad. Cooking and eating are very big things on the Island. If you go to visit someone, it's

automatic, "Let's put on the tea, and eat, eat, eat." And you've got to eat what you're given, you just have to. Otherwise you insult the hostess. When you live in a small community, you may suddenly get the cold shoulder from someone and not know why. It happens all the time. Here's someone you are always friendly with, and one day you say, "Hi! How are you?" and the person snubs you. Then you have to search through the community grapevine to find out what you did that was so offensive.

The second kind of competition is on a group level. Each of the four churches tries to top the other three in regard to the number of people served and the quality of the food they offer. It is imperative that each church provides more and better sweets, buns, and salads than the other congregations. A church supper is a very public event, and members of the "enemy" congregations are always present passing judgment. A supper is a flop if not enough people show up, or if people complain about the slow service, small servings, or poor food. A supper is also rated by the looks on the faces of those who've attended. The fuller and more uncomfortable they look, the more successful the supper. Afterwards, the church elders count the proceeds and the supper receives its rank relative to the proceeds from the other three suppers. If a supper is a flop, everyone knows. You can't hide it. The congregation not only raise money for their church, they also reaffirm the status of their church for the year to come. #5615

20. Hosting a social event

Hosting a social event is seldom a simple affair. It makes a great deal of difference to one's friends, neighbors, and acquaintances whether or not they are invited. If one is not careful one can make many enemies and not even realize it.

By social events I am referring to private parties, barbecues, anniversaries, dinners, weddings, bridal and baby showers, and so on. Such get-togethers are usually held in a home. Therefore most people in the neighborhood are aware of them. Often it doesn't occur to those who plan a social event that anyone else would be interested in attending. And in fact, few people usually are interested. However, when people are not asked and learn of an event, they can get quite offended and

make comments like "Oh, I guess we weren't considered good enough to be invited. Only the big shots were asked," or "Not that I care. I'd just as soon stay home anyway. They've been here plenty of times to things we've had. Not that I care. But people like that get under my skin; they make me mad. I don't give a damn if they have two parties," or "To hell with them. Who wants their rotten old hot dogs anyway?"

A neighbor of ours from Ontario kept inviting our family over for dinner. My family was quite reluctant to accept because they feel uncomfortable at such events and don't enjoy themselves. Therefore they continued to postpone the event. However, whenever my family discovered the neighbor had invited some of her business associates or her friends from Ontario to dinner, they would be quite offended. They'd remark, "You'd never see her over to ask us today. She's only interested in us when no one else is around. Our clothes aren't considered good enough to sit down with that bunch." When I pointed out they had already passed up the opportunity to have dinner there several times, they'd say, "Oh well, it doesn't really matter to us anyway. We didn't want to go. We certainly won't be going now. I wouldn't gratify her to go."

When people invite others to major events, they expect them to return the favor. Then when the others stage a major event themselves, and don't reciprocate with an invitation, those who are not included are likely to criticize them severely. For example, the Smiths invited all the Browns to their daughter's wedding. But when one of the Brown children was married, they invited the Smith parents, but not other family members. This really caused the Smiths to feel slighted. It didn't matter that there may have been financial reasons why they didn't invite the whole family. "It's the least the Browns could have done. They were certainly all at our wedding. But of course that was us who did the asking."

Planning the guest list for a wedding can be a particular headache. It is quite frustrating trying to accommodate everyone. I know one couple who planned a large, formal wedding, and then eloped just because their parents would not come to terms over who was to be invited. Sometimes it seems as though people hope they won't be asked, just so they can make a comment about the family and how "good" they think they

are. "It's a funny thing. We went to a lot of expense when we got married to make sure we missed no one in the area. But now Emma doesn't even bother to ask us to her wedding. I guess she thinks that fellow she's marrying is *someone*. Well, I hope they (her parents) don't get around the road telling how important he is, because I know where he came from. His family starved to death all their lives out in North Harbor. They needn't start telling me."

In certain cases where money is a problem, couples have opted to invite only a small group to the wedding ceremony and meal, and then a larger group to the party following the meal. The response of some people to this is very cool. "That's just a present-grab, that party afterwards bit. I'll have nothing to do with the likes of that. Just the chosen few at the church and supper. Then they'll ask the likes of us to a party and even have the gall to ask some of us to bring food. That's the worst I ever heard tell of. When you have a wedding, you're supposed to feed people and give them a treat (a drink of alcohol). Otherwise you shouldn't ask people to come lugging presents. I know we never did the like of that. Not that we had any more than anyone else. We didn't. But we did all we could with what we had."

It is also important that everyone be invited in the same way in order that no one feels slighted. Thus if you send a written invitation to some people, you can't cut costs by phoning the others. If you do, they are likely to think you didn't consider them worthy of a formal invitation. They'll think you obviously didn't consider them in the same vein as those you mailed the invitations to. Some may conclude that you didn't send a formal invitation because you forgot about them, and then called up when you remembered. It is alright to call, however, if you invite everyone else by phone.

When one woman did not receive an invitation to her cousin's wedding, she complained to the other family members who were invited. "They never liked me. I don't know what that bunch had against me, but they never liked me." Then a few weeks before the wedding, the woman was at a family event and saw the cousin who was getting married. The girl came over to the woman and explained, "I've been planning to phone you all week. I just found out from the girls who mailed out the invitations that you weren't sent one. It was all a big mistake. I'm so sorry." The woman just laughed good-naturedly, and said she

understood and to think nothing of it. Now the woman was faced with the decision whether or not to attend on the basis of a face-to-face invitation. She didn't know whether her cousin was sincere or not. Perhaps it was all a big mistake on the part of those who sent out the invitations, or perhaps the cousin just happened to remember her when she saw her at the family event. The woman ended up going to the wedding, because "If I don't go, she'll think I didn't believe her about the invitation and that I'm too big feeling to go."

On rare occasions, an event is completed before the general public hears about it. Then the talk is really sarcastic. "Well, isn't that great. I guess they didn't want their neighbors of the last forty years to be there. They'd hardly speak to us now." Or, "My, my, they certainly made a fine job of inviting the people. Well, they'll never be asked to anything we have. Every dog has his day." When people are upset that they weren't invited, they often decide to retaliate by excluding those who didn't invite them from the events they will be hosting in the future.

Sometimes people guess you are annoyed that they didn't include you in an event, and try to apologize and provide an explanation. Those who were excluded usually appear to accept the explanation, because they don't want to show that they feel hurt. But sometimes they openly reject it. I know a case where a person stated, "Listen, I hope you weren't offended that I didn't invite you over for supper last week when we had a few others in." The response given was "Well, no, we weren't offended. We understood we weren't welcome, that's all." The person disagreed, "But you're always welcome in our house." This met the reply, "Well, we weren't welcome the other night or we would have been asked. I never go anyplace I'm not wanted. And if people don't ask you, it's pretty clear they don't want you."

The consequences of who you invite and do not invite are very serious. Friendships and family relationships have been disrupted and even destroyed over this. In many cases this occurred simply because someone forgot a detail or made some other innocent error. Even when people have little interest in attending, they can get quite insulted if they are left out. They are also slow to forget "a slight." Therefore, my family and others often invite people to social events knowing full well they won't come. As Mom explains, "It's for the *look* of the thing." #5616

21. Family reputations

Every person has a family name as well as a personal name. On the Island, people believe your family name tells them a great deal about you, even if they never meet you. Often when people talk about you, they are as likely to talk about your other family members, as they are about you.

One's last name is used as a common reference point when people make a new acquaintance. While waiting for a class to start, the person next to me struck up a conversation by asking, "I couldn't help but notice that your last name is Trainor. Are you any relation to the Trainors in Stratford?" "Yes, I am," I told her, "they're my cousins." Often total strangers can have long conversations centered around last names. I went to pick up my grandmother at Wal-Mart a couple of days ago, and saw she was having an animated chit-chat with another elderly lady. I assumed they were old friends who hadn't seen each other in quite a while, and I waited patiently for the two to finish. On the drive home I asked my grandmother how long it had been since they had last seen each other. "Land sakes, child," my grandmother laughed, "why we just met. She was a Henderson before she married a Coffin." The two had talked for over half an hour simply using last names as a springboard for topics.

Equally important are the reputations of these names. I overheard two ladies talking on a bus. One was expounding on the rudeness of a young man at the supermarket. The other lady shook her head and asked, "What else could you expect of a D____?" Obviously the D____ name conjured up assumptions of how that family's members were expected to act. The actions of a family member determine how most people react to the other members of the family. In one family the father's business frequently takes him out of town, leaving the mother at home. The mother goes out "with the girls" quite often and sometimes gets drunk or flirts with other guys. Those who know about her activities seem to hold it against her daughter, Janice. When Janice acts differently than the other girls, people attribute it to her family background. Janice is often on her own, so her activities aren't as restricted as those of the other girls, which causes further talk. Although Janice doesn't do anything improper, many of the girls think that since Janice

has so much free time she must be taking full advantage of it. Because of her family relationship, Janice is associated with the indiscretions of her mother. In another case, a neighbor's oldest son, Victor, started going with Sandra, a girl with a bad reputation who had had a child with someone else. Shortly afterwards Sandra became pregnant with Victor's baby and the couple decided to live together. Subsequently, Victor's parents were invited less and less to parties and other social activities in the neighborhood. Victor's younger brother, Ray, had started going out with a girl named Joy who lived in the community. Shortly after the Victor and Sandra situation developed, Joy's father asked Ray to stop seeing his daughter. He told Ray, "There's nothing wrong with you Ray. But it's just not what I'd like for Joy. She's too young to have a steady boyfriend." Ray knew what he meant. It was because of his older brother, Victor, that he couldn't go out with Joy. Ray had been getting along quite well with Joy's parents until they found out about Victor and Sandra.

The actions of individuals have a direct impact on how their family is perceived by others. There is no question that individuals develop reputations. The most important area in which to have a good name is business. Many farmers who are involved in shipping produce use the family name for their business. Therefore protecting the family name is necessary for the success of their business. One farmer who didn't protect his name in business is Larry K____. Any farmer who has ever dealt with Larry has regretted it. Larry was always the first to come knocking on the door to borrow implements and the last to return them. Any money he owed you was long in coming and even then you probably had to chase him for it. Now his name is synonymous with deception. No one deals with him except as a last resort, and even then one has to keep his guard up. Larry also operates a roadside stand where he sells potatoes. The sign says "New Potatoes," but the stand has both new and old potatoes, and some may pay for new potatoes and unknowingly take old ones instead. The stand deals primarily with tourists, who do not find out they have been fooled until they are quite some distance away. There are other farmers whose names are well thought of. One of these is Joel W____. Joel can sell produce to any store on the Island because he stands behind his product. If anything he sells turns out to be less than was expected, Joel will reimburse the buyer in full. Standing behind his product is one way Joel protects his family name.

Many parents repeatedly remind their children that they represent their family. Children may be told that they can hurt the family's image and welfare, because if they damage the family's reputation, people will not want to associate with the family, hire family members, or patronize the family's business. Parents expect their children to dress and behave properly. Children are also reminded not to talk about family problems or financial matters to anyone outside the immediate family, because others will use this information to the detriment of the family. When you talk to young people, many recognize that they represent their family. "Every time I go somewhere or do something, it's always brought back on my family." "I'm not looked at for what I am as an individual, but rather what family I was born into." "The only thing you enter the world with is your last name. Therefore you'd better take care of its reputation." "I wanted to go away to the mainland for a few days with my boyfriend. But everyone around here would talk." "I'd be damned mad if someone in my family did something to make the rest of us look bad. Others in my family feel the same way, so I'm not going to do anything wrong if I can help it." However, some young people say this doesn't worry them. "It's no one else's business what I do." "I do as I please, not what my family wants me to. If their nosey friends don't like it, tough."

In my rural community parents frequently go to great lengths to try to prevent or hide the indiscretions of their children. I recall the uproar my little cousin caused when he brought home his new pal, Tommy G____. Tommy's uncle is an alcoholic, and his father has a reputation for being loud and unruly at the local bar. My aunt tried all manner of ways to discourage a friendship between her son and Tommy. She fretted, "Pretty soon people will think the same of us as they do of the G____s." Another man's son was running with a crowd that was heavily into drugs. The man sent his son to a different province to go to school so he wouldn't tarnish the family's reputation. I have also heard of a number of situations in which criminal behavior was covered up in order to protect the reputation of the family. One man took his nephew under his wing to teach him fox ranching. Eventually the nephew became proficient in all manner of raising and breeding foxes, and occasionally he would drop by and ask his uncle a few questions. One day the uncle asked him over to help tattoo the new litters. In the process of

tattooing it was discovered that two of the foxes were missing. It turned out that the nephew had stolen the two foxes. Under normal circumstances one might have taken legal action. However, the uncle decided that blood is thicker than water and there was no need "to drag the family name in the mud," as he put it. The daughter of another family was caught stealing from a department store. Her father stepped in, paid for all the items stolen, and reassured the manager that he would keep his daughter out of the store. I believe the primary reason he did this was to avoid harming the family name. A neighbor of ours acted to prevent her son going to jail. When her son drove home drunk, he hit two parked cars, tore up the neighbor's lawn, and finally dumped the car in the ditch outside his home. When the police arrived, his mother said her son had a history of losing consciousness. She told them her son wasn't drunk when the accident occurred, but she had given him three or four glasses of wine afterwards to calm his nerves. She assured the officers she would have a doctor check into the matter. Later she said, "No son of mine is going to jail! Look at the shame it would bring the rest of us." Another incident involved a hit and run accident. An underage girl was out with some friends, drinking and driving. She playfully swerved at a friend, but didn't pull away in time. Reportedly her father, who was an upstanding member of the community, arranged that she wasn't implicated. Although parents want to help and protect their children, they also want to protect the family's reputation.

One of the worst blows to a family's reputation occurs when an unmarried daughter becomes pregnant. This reflects poorly on the moral standards of the entire family as well as the unfortunate girl. I know a girl who is currently pregnant and is not allowed out of the house without her father's permission. Her parents are so humiliated by the entire experience that they rarely attend any social functions. Another family's daughter, who was an acquaintance of mine, committed suicide because the disgrace of being pregnant was too much to bear. Others travel off the Island to get an abortion or to give their baby up for adoption. Families invent various reasons to disguise the purpose of their daughter's absence. However, people commonly assume that an absent daughter must be pregnant. Today it seems that there are more unmarried girls keeping their babies with the full support of their parents. Occasionally there is "a shotgun wedding" to protect the family name. However, people pay a great deal of attention to whether a girl who marries

is pregnant, and assume she is if she is young and hasn't finished her education. Today some consider it wise to go ahead and have the baby before entering into marriage. Therefore the scandal is not amplified by people saying "She had to get married." Rather the talk becomes "They decided to get married."

When something happens in a family that will hurt the family reputation, people react in various ways. Members of the immediate family may blame each other. When a nineteen-year-old male was arrested for possession of marijuana, his mother blamed the father for the son's upbringing, and said, "He's your son and your responsibility. How could you let him do this?" Subsequently, there were numerous insinuations and arguments. Also, the mother became suspicious of the younger brother, and went so far as to thoroughly search his room, question his friends, and want to know his whereabouts whenever he left the house. The parents' friends sympathized with the parents when they talked to the parents, but criticized them when the parents were absent. For example, the mother discussed the problem with her friends at a weekly gathering. Many said they were sorry and that it wasn't her fault. I felt that they were just saying what she expected to hear and tried to ease her feelings of guilt. After the mother left the gathering, the remaining women discussed her son again. I was surprised to hear how their reactions changed. They weren't nasty or vindictive, but they did blame her for providing a poor upbringing and for her inability to keep track of her son. The father's friends reacted much the same way. The reactions of the friends of the younger brother ranged from admiration to severe criticism. I overheard one of their conversations at a local eatery. One boy said, "My God, he must be awfully smart to get off without a jail term or fine. I always knew he had brains." Another disagreed, "How could he be so stupid to be on the stuff and then get caught with it?" #5617

22. Representing one's family

A person living in a community is not considered an independent agent. Instead he is judged to represent his family. What he does is viewed as an outcome of his family upbringing, and indicative of what people can expect from the other family members. Virtually everything

that a person does is noticed, and when it differs even slightly from the norm, it is discussed at length. The discussion, however, regularly goes well beyond the specific behavior or event, and customarily includes a person's past history, his relatives, their history, their income, and so on. Thus a person is always tied to his family, because if he does something out of the ordinary, the other members of his family are discussed too.

Families are therefore in a very vulnerable position. Any one of the family members can damage a family's image, and can do so unintentionally and unknowingly within an extremely short period of time. Individual actions such as getting into a fight or losing one's driving license are matters of great public interest and determine the community's perception of a family. Imagine how much greater this interest and reinterpretation are when a "major" transgression is involved. Thus in a Catholic community one of the worst things a person can do is turn Protestant, even if it is to join the denomination of the person they are marrying. Last year it became known that a relative of mine had turned Protestant, and the community was angered and the whole family was disgraced. When an individual does something which the community disapproves of, all of the person's family members are subject to punishment in the form of gossip, criticism, unearthing family skeletons, and damage to their public image. Thus when a man in our community discovered that his married son was having an affair, his first reaction was "We'll be disgraced all over the country." In a similar vein, when a married couple separates, their parents frequently try to hide the fact. It is as if the entire family has somehow failed, or proven inadequate.

Just as individuals try to avoid behavior which will cause them to be talked about, most families do their best to ensure that their members conform so that the family isn't talked about. Simply knowing that people are talking about them in an unfavorable way is highly embarrassing to family members. Family members also do not want to give those individuals that they do not like, have little respect for, or may even despise the satisfaction of having something negative to say about them. Moreover, friends and relatives report what others are saying, and such remarks are quite upsetting to the family.

In addition, there is always the possibility someone will throw an embarrassing fact about a person's family in their face. Others can often trace your family back several generations and recount the scandals

in each generation. Sometimes they can tell you more about your family's unsavory past than you've managed to learn from your own relatives. Thus they might recount that your grandfather drank away the place, your uncle hung himself in the barn, your aunt had an abortion in Boston, or your cousin kept his mother locked in the parlor and fed her stale bread when she was old and feeble. Sometimes people consider mentioning these things, but don't actually carry through. One such instance involved my husband. Over the years he has done a great deal of business with a feed supplier who is distantly related to a local family I will call the Halfwits. People in our area tell a great many stories about the Halfwits and all the foolish things they do. Recently the office of the feed supplier made an error in their own accounts and undercharged my husband $22. When the error was discovered, they began sending bills to us for the extra amount. My husband assumed the dealer would realize that with all the business my husband does with him, there was no question he would be paid. He felt the dealer should be willing to wait to collect this small amount until my husband was in the store again. But after reminders about the bill continued coming, my husband became quite annoyed and mailed the dealer $22. In the meantime a new bill arrived, this time for $22.42. The 42 cents was for interest charges. My husband was furious that the dealer dared to do this. He said he hoped the dealer would send another bill for the 42 cents, so he could put him in his place. "I can tell him what the Halfwits were like; crazy as the crows. And he's one of them. He needn't start thinking that I don't know who he is."

On occasion someone actually does throw something about a person's family in their face. This humiliates the family and strengthens their determination to avoid giving members of the community an opportunity to embarrass them again. A cousin of ours, Valerie, left her husband and began living with another man. Because she was unable to get a divorce in the Catholic Church, she left the church and was remarried by a Protestant minister. This was quite a disgrace for the entire family. Whenever it was mentioned, my father would agree it was an awful thing, and state that his brother's family were all like that. Then three or four years later, my sister had an argument with a woman she was working with. When the woman could think of nothing else to say to my sister, she added, "Your cousin Valerie left her religion and everything else." This had

nothing to do with the original argument, but it does illustrate that people group family members together, hold a family accountable for the behavior of its members, remember the transgressions of one's relatives, and will use the information to embarrass the other family members.

Individuals who act in ways which are not socially acceptable are often held responsible for the problems which occur to those close to them. Their behavior is considered to cause their relatives considerable worry and strain. I know of two instances in which men left the priesthood as a result of changes in their religious beliefs. Both men were middle-aged, and their parents were becoming quite elderly. Neighbors blamed both men for causing a decline in the health of their parents. The neighbors felt it would have been better for the men to continue to be priests and hide their true beliefs, than to openly disgrace their parents. Another case involved a man who had had emotional problems for several years. His condition became worse and he was admitted into an institution for the mentally ill. Most of his family and friends assumed that there were two reasons for his "breakdown." One was that his teenage daughter had moved to Nova Scotia and was rumored to have stopped attending church. The other reason was that his son had decided to leave the priesthood. Members of the community do not forget transgressions of this kind.

In order to temper public criticism, families frequently make excuses to explain the behavior of an errant member. For example, a neighbor of ours has a son in his mid-twenties who refuses to go to church. The community considers this a terrible scandal. When someone finally got up the nerve to question his mother about this, she said that her son would likely go to church, but she just can't manage to wake him up in the morning. No one pointed out to her that her son manages to get up to go to work on weekdays. His mother must have felt her excuse would make the family look better to the community. Family members also commonly accuse a non-family member of being a bad influence and leading their relative astray. "Oh it's that Smith boy that ruined John. The Smiths were never any good for anything." Blame for a relative's bad behavior is also placed on the opposite side of the family. For example, I know a woman who is separated from her husband, and their children live with her. The woman's maiden name is Davidson and her husband's last name is Jones. Several months after the separation, the

fourteen-year-old daughter, Laura, ran away from home. Laura claimed that her mother didn't give her enough freedom and she couldn't understand why she was supposed to be in the house at a specific time each night. The woman's relatives are embarrassed and upset by Laura's behavior. However, one of them said, "If you ask me, there's more Jones than Davidson in Laura. That's for sure." She is saying that her own side of the family is certainly not to blame for Laura's actions. Families use such excuses to try to avoid having the blame for a relative's behavior placed on their own shoulders. Usually, however, the more excuses they make, the more obvious it is to others that they are trying to disassociate themselves and escape criticism. Others are likely to say, "Well, they can say what they like, but I can see through all that. I know what's going on."

Family members also try to present things in the best possible light that others are likely to view negatively. When my neighbor's daughter married a man from Tignish, the family did their best to whitewash the matter. Many Islanders share the attitude that people from Tignish are poor, ignorant Frenchmen who fish, drink, fight, and draw pogey (unemployment benefits). Therefore a husband from Tignish is seen as no prize. Consequently, the girl's family set out to make the man acceptable to the rest of the community. To start with, they pointed out the man was no longer from Tignish, but instead had been living in the United States for the last few years and was considerably more sophisticated than your average person from Tignish. Furthermore, they claimed he was not French. Even though his last name was Richard, they said it was pronounced Rich-ard, not Ri-chard, like that of people in the Tignish area. Their efforts only caused people to talk more about the man's background. "Listen to them trying to tell us the fellow is a somebody. Well let me tell you, he's just a Frenchman from Tignish." When the talk finally died down, people discovered he was a really nice man, and they stopped caring where he came from and how his name was pronounced.

Occasionally the newspaper reports that someone with the same last name as other people was caught doing something undesirable. When this happens the other people have a strong desire to "clear" themselves. They want to make sure everyone knows that they weren't the ones involved. Last year two men with our last name were charged

with break and enter in Charlottetown. When news of this was published in the newspaper, several people assumed they were related to us. We were all mortified, and Mom said, "Couldn't their names be anything other than ours?" Occasionally a person publishes a notice in the paper stating that he is not the one mentioned in a previous newspaper article. For example, in one case a person published a two inch by three inch item which said, "NOTICE. This is to state that John Donald Narroll, Electrician of Summerside, is not Donald Andrew Narroll recently mentioned in the newspaper."

Families also strive to keep their members from engaging in activities which will bring shame to the rest of the family. Thus they put pressure on individual members to prevent or stop them from doing the things which produce gossip and criticism in the neighborhood and community. Much of the effort to guard against immoral behavior on the part of daughters is to protect the family from the gossip which occurs when a daughter becomes pregnant. There are also several cases in my own family, and in other households in my community, where family members have banded together and converged on individuals to convince them to start going to Mass again. In another situation, my father became quite angry with my younger sister because she chose to take classes with her friend Linda and sat next to her in class. Linda comes from one of the roughest families in the neighborhood and is a poor student. My father is concerned that the teachers will view Linda and my sister in the same light because they are always together. He claims my sister has a responsibility to herself and her family to prove she is a good student, even if this means loosening her ties to Linda.

As a result of this pressure people frequently refrain from activities which could cause their family embarrassment. Thus many people who find little meaning in religion or church services continue to attend church rather than brave the talk of the neighbors. I feel sure some priests have not left the priesthood because of the shame it would cause their families. Also, people frequently remain in unhappy and even unhealthy marriages, rather than risk the public disgrace of separating. I am convinced that it is this, rather than allegiance to religious beliefs, that holds many marriages together. The knowledge that one always represents one's family can be quite a burden on an individual, and

places a real limitation on one's freedom to go where one wants, do what one wants to, and associate with whomever one will.

To a lesser extent friends are also seen to represent each other. People make associations between those they see together, and the actions of one's friends reflect on oneself. Therefore friends share an interest in preventing each other from doing things which will reflect badly on them personally. However, there is an important difference between a person's friends and his family. A friend can distance himself from another who does something the community disapproves of, by no longer being seen with him and by associating with new friends. The community notices this distance and often approves of it. In contrast, the community continues to recognize family ties between relatives, even when the family members no longer associate with each other. #5618

23. Children as family representatives

Most people study their neighbors to find something to gossip about. It is not easy to protect one's own reputation from this scrutiny. However, one also has to protect the public image of all the members of one's family, and this is an almost impossible task. Children are viewed as representatives of the family and their behavior reflects directly on their family. Parents constantly try to make sure that a child's appearance and behavior reflect positively on themselves. They find hundreds of opportunities to try to make their children presentable and acceptable to others. For example, one woman makes sure her ten-year-old daughter is clean and well-dressed before she goes to play at a neighbor's house on Sunday afternoon. She tells her daughter, "You're not going to the Browns' place looking scruffy on Sunday. I know you wear those pants when you go to play through the week, but on Sunday they might have visitors. I don't want them to think you have nothing better to wear or that you always go around with a dirty face."

Most parents feel that the positive or negative performance of their children reflects directly on themselves and on the family as a whole. This is particularly true if a child is the first one in the family to achieve something positive, such as graduate from high school, go out and get a summer job, or win public recognition in sports or for academic work.

No one wants to have their child be the first to drop out of school or fail the Breathalyzer test for drunken driving. Parents constantly push their children to do well and do the family proud. You frequently hear parents draw favorable comparisons, such as "He's just something like myself. If he can't get it right, he doesn't stop until he does." Parents also push their children to succeed in areas where they had little success themselves. "I never had much education, so I want to do all I can to see that you do." "I would have loved to have had a chance to play hockey when I was a kid, but we didn't have the money. I want him to have the chance that I missed." This can create a real bind for the youngster, who may be forced to live out the dream of one or both parents, rather than his or her own dreams.

Some parents go to elaborate lengths to try to ensure the success of their children. Some borrow money to help their child with their education or recreation. They may provide their child with a car, even if this inconveniences the parents. If young people get into financial difficulties, the parents will generally bail them out. In one case I am familiar with, the parents bailed their son out of financial difficulties at least six times within three years. A sizable amount of money was involved each time, and on three occasions the parents had to go into debt to assist their child. Each time the parents claimed it was the last time this assistance would be provided, but this was not to be the case. These situations produce arguments and ill feeling within the family. However, the family presents a different front to the outside world. Parents usually defend their child's poor performance and readily make excuses. "Oh well, he didn't have much of a chance in that course. The professor had no use for him," or "The poor thing was pretty sick for nearly three weeks and she missed a lot of classes," or "Well, it costs a lot to get by, you know, so we try to do all we can to help out." In most cases the parents don't accept the excuses from their children, but they go along with them to keep some measure of confidence in their child and to retain some family pride.

Parents generally feel a responsibility to help ensure their children's success. Often they do not agree with the specific goals pursued by their children, but they provide significant financial support to have their family representative do well. Often it is not the child that the family is struggling to support, but rather the individual as a family representative. Parents believe the child's success or failure reflects directly on

the family name. It would be a very high compliment to have others say, "They raised a big crowd and they all managed to make a good life for themselves. Of course, the folks helped them out quite a bit." No one wants to have it said, "None of them ever amounted to much."

When a child or teenager behaves badly in school or gets into trouble with the law, negative remarks will be made about other members of the family. One is likely to hear, "Well, you know yourself, how could he be anything else, growing up in that household?" or "All that bunch were the same. His father before him and all his uncles. Just a bunch of scorrigans, nothing else," or "God help the poor little bastard. His father is a real son-of-a-bitch. His mother tries to do her best, but it's no use even thinking of trying. The kids will all be in jail before they're twenty, mark my words. It's a crying shame." Thus if a child is bad, one or both of the child's parents are depicted as bad also. However, in some cases when a child turns bad, blame is placed directly on the child and the parents are given credit for providing the child with a good upbringing. "Lord knows he had everything he wanted. His mother and father are both terrific people, but he took advantage of all he had. Got into all kinds of trouble and they had to bail him out over and over. I guess their hearts are about broke trying to deal with him. I know if he was mine, he'd have been given the boot a long time ago." Notice that in this case the parents are being blamed for letting the child get away with so much.

People are comfortable talking about a family's children behind the family's back. "Did you see the little MacDonald boys? Just like little pigs. Their faces covered with mud. Honest to God. They are sweet little boys, but it's a sin their mother won't clean them up. Of course, I guess she wouldn't have time. By the time she gets her makeup on, the day is half gone." However, when a person criticizes someone else's child to his face, people are likely to feel the person has overstepped propriety. One day the teacher in our one room schoolhouse sent a fourteen-year-old boy home because she found him dirty. She told him, "Go home and take some soap and water and wash your face and hands. It's a disgrace to come to school looking like that. An absolute disgrace. Water doesn't cost anything, you know." The rest of us were shocked by what the teacher said, and when we told them, so were our parents, who remarked, "How the hell does that teacher know what goes on at his home

in the morning? There might be no one around to see that the young lad looks half decent before he leaves the house. It would suit her better to try and teach the kids something than to insult them." Everyone may notice that a child is dirty or poorly dressed, but commenting on it directly to the parents or the child is considered very "low."

When a child achieves something positive, the parents are usually quite proud. However, they have to be careful when they talk about the achievement in order that they do not appear to be "blowing," or acting big. Nevertheless, they expect others to bring it up and to compliment their child, and thereby praise their family. When this does not happen, people are often quite offended. "Bill and Mary were here last night and they never even mentioned your scholarship. And it was in the paper and everything. They make me sick. If it was one of their kids, they'd be telling it, that's for sure. They just can't stand to see anyone else get ahead." Some people will deliberately avoid mentioning a child's achievement just to annoy the child's parents. "I ran into Amy at the grocery store. I knew she was waiting for me to bring up her son getting the new job. She mentioned his name two or three times. But I never let on. No sir. I wouldn't give her the satisfaction."

Whether a child is successful or unsuccessful and whether the community's reaction is positive or negative is of considerable concern to the other members of the family. The family considers the child an extension of themselves. Therefore the family experiences the community's reaction to their child as the community's reaction toward themselves. #5619

24. Family loyalty

People frequently say that you can't gossip about anyone on Prince Edward Island because everyone is related to everyone else. While this is an exaggeration, people do have to be careful whom they talk to when they talk about other people. Even though there are relatives who don't like each other, there is a great deal of loyalty on the Island to one's family unit. Therefore people can get themselves and others in hot water when they start saying negative things about a person to one of their relatives. Most people have relatives and friends scattered over the Island, and it is impossible to know by family name alone who is related to

whom because many unrelated people have the same names. Therefore it is important for you to know as much as possible about the person you are talking to, to make sure they have no close ties with the person you are talking about.

When a person criticizes or makes fun of the listeners' relatives, they respond in different ways. Some just laugh off the remarks and change the subject. Others take offense and may speak up and defend the relative. Occasionally, people will give you an unenthusiastic response or not respond at all and leave you hanging on your words. This is an effective way of letting you know you said the wrong thing. Sometimes people attempt to get you to tell them as much as possible and to even reveal the source of your information. When this happens there is a real possibility they will repeat what you are saying to the person you are talking about. One indication they might do so is given by their failure to add any significant information to what you are saying. However, some people "add a little bit" to your comments to draw you out even more. Clearly it is difficult for the speaker to know when he is being trapped by the listener. Some people become so well known for doing this that others won't tell them things anymore. No doubt they feel they are simply protecting their family and friends. Although people do not want to be thought of as "carrying stories from house to house," most people feel they should protect those close to them when they are gossiped about. When you talk to the wrong people, their reactions often depend on how well they like you, and how well they like the relative you are criticizing or making fun of. If the listeners like both of you equally well, they probably won't say anything. Later they may think or comment, "I guess Charlene didn't know we were related. I can't see her saying that about Dave if she knew we were cousins. That's one thing about Charlene, she's not ignorant (rude)."

It is a different situation when relatives talk to each other about their own family members. Since both the speaker and the listener are related to those being discussed, both have a vested interest in not letting the information travel outside the family to the community. If the information becomes community knowledge, family members will probably be asked embarrassing questions, and the information will be used to criticize and ridicule the family unit and to draw unfavorable comparisons between family members. As a result, relatives who do not

get along do feel safe gossiping about each other to other family members. And often there is open season on family members who do things which embarrass their relatives and subject them to gossip by the community. Nevertheless, people are often unhappy to have other relatives criticize their immediate family members.

This situation changes when someone who is not a family member is present. "It's all right to say what we like just among ourselves. But you have to be careful when an outsider is present." It is taboo to discuss family matters in the presence of most non-relatives, even close friends. Sometimes, however, an exception is made. "Now I wouldn't say this in front of anyone else. But Sue here is just like one of our own, so I know it's all right." Otherwise, discussions of the problems and foibles of family members remain within the family.

If a person forsakes their family by running it down in front of outsiders, relatives respond negatively. And if a family member shows a lack of family loyalty by not attending family events, such as weddings, wakes, or holiday dinners, the whole community tends to look down on them. "Now there's Fran and Bill all alone at Easter. Why isn't that young cur home with them? Oh no, he's too busy running around town to bother coming home." #5620

25. Family behavior during troubles

Although one might think that families would pull together in times of hardship, often this is not the case. Certainly people consider it important to be perceived as a supportive, unified family during stressful times. However, in many cases this external picture of togetherness and unity hides a family characterized by bitterness and conflict. Indeed, many people claim that their most painful feelings and memories associated with their family members are rooted in times of stress. Nevertheless, during this time the family appeared tightly knit to outsiders.

When serious illness or death occurs, the local community pays a great deal of attention to the family. As a consequence, family members have to be on their best behavior while in the public eye. This puts added strain on the family. The tension that is felt usually erupts when the family is alone, and is expressed as anger, selfishness, and/or blame.

If a family member is extremely ill, other members of the family may take turns staying with the sick person overnight at the hospital. This is a large and often exhausting commitment of time and energy. Community members naturally commend the family for its devotion. Inevitably, however, a dispute arises within the family as to who is and who is not doing their share. "You know it wouldn't hurt Irene a damn bit to spend a night in there with Mom. She can't expect the rest of us to do it all. I'm sick of hearing about all she has to do at home. Does she think that the rest of us have nothing else to do?" Family members would be very unlikely to say anything like this in front of outsiders. But within the family circle it can be a different story.

Funeral parlors are frequently the scene of serious family disputes. Family members criticize each other for their posture, clothing, and unwillingness to interact with visitors. Each and every family seems to have an unwritten code of conduct for a wake. Often some family members are not aware how they are supposed to act, while others may be too grieved to care. The result can be many whispered criticisms and many arguments when the family is alone.

Some family members may use the wake to lay claim to some treasured possession of the deceased. Some may do this because they genuinely believe that they have the right to it. Others may do so because they believe that this setting will protect them from the anger of other family members who may also want the particular object. When an older woman dies, there is always a good deal of dispute as to who should get her wedding ring as a keepsake. Daughters compete with each other and with granddaughters and daughters-in-law. Because there are so many interested parties and only one wedding ring, there are bound to be conflicts. Each person seems to want to believe and say that the deceased was so close to them and fond of them, that they are the rightful heir. One family disputed this matter so much that no agreement could be reached and the ring went into the grave with the deceased. In another case a man gave his deceased wife's ring to one of his granddaughters. The day of the funeral, the other family members put up such a fuss that the granddaughter threw the ring at her mother just to stop the fighting. The person who ended up with the ring proudly shows it to people with apparently no thought that feelings were hurt. The girl who lost out on

the ring is still angry and bitter over the incident, although this happened five or six years ago. Nevertheless, she has never publicly challenged the girl who ended up with the ring, and has only mentioned the incident to a few people outside her family. Similar conflicts can occur over any personal item that belonged to the deceased, but the most common item is the wedding ring.

In the face of such disputes, it must be difficult for many people to maintain the image of "a united family," but most people manage. It is considered very offensive to conduct a family dispute in front of outsiders. "The least they can do is keep their mouths shut and not fight in front of the people coming in to pay their respects to the dead. If they can't do that, they shouldn't be there. It just shows that they don't even respect their own." When the family maintains a façade of congeniality, they avoid public disapproval and criticism. #5621

26. Siding

The family is often the scene of a good deal of argument and controversy. This ranges from mild, quickly resolved disagreements, to bitter long-term fights. Disputes which drag on and on frequently produce alliances among family members, or what we call "siding."

Siding means supporting someone in a dispute or argument. It is viewed as an act of loyalty by the person you side with, and in the case of serious disputes is not forgotten. A man may say, "When (my son) Ed asked me to sign that bank note, I said no. Bruce just up and told Ed he had no right to ask his father for that kind of money again. I always thought a lot of Bruce after that. It musta took a lot for Bruce to say that to his own brother, but I was sure glad he did. It might have wakened Ed up a bit too, and not before time. No, there wouldn't be much Bruce could ask me for that I wouldn't do. But Ed? Well, that's another story."

But there's the flip side of this. Just as the people you side with remember your support, those you side against remember too. "Well, that finished me with Jack, after he sided with Sally that time about selling the house. He had no business sticking his nose into the thing at all. He hasn't lived around here for ten years, and then he comes home

last summer giving all kinds of advice and the like about what should be done with the old homestead. What the hell would he know about it anyway? It's not as if he ever put any real work into it. But as soon as Sally got him siding in, no one would even look at me, let alone listen. So there you go. Well, I hope he never needs anything too badly from me, because he'll be going some to get it. As for Sally, I wouldn't even be bothered talking. She'll do anything for a dollar, but I always thought there was more to Jack than that."

Some family members take a long time to forgive relatives who side against them, and some never do. Occasionally family members become very sensitive to and defensive about being sided against. "I can't open my mouth around here without five or six jumping down it. I'm sick and tired of everyone siding against me." They can become so sensitive that they react wildly if they encounter a differing opinion. "Oh yeah, side, side why don't ya? Go ahead, I'm used to that around this place. You're always so ready to side agin' me." Sometimes individuals mention instances in which they were sided against to point out they were right after all. "I said six months ago not to paper the kitchen, and everyone laughed at me. Well, I guess I know well enough what wallpaper looks like around a wood stove. But, oh no. The big mouths around here told me I was crazy. Well take a look at it now will you? I guess I know a little after all."

Siding is an important part of family interaction and stability, and can bring out the best and the worst in families. When a whole family sides on a particular issue, it can be a unifying experience. But when members side against one another, siding can create serious division. #5622

27. Backbiting

People frequently have negative feelings toward others that they deal with. These feelings may stem from dislike, jealousy, anger, distrust, or resentment. Nevertheless, people rarely express their negative reactions directly to the individual involved. Instead, people are normally polite, friendly, kind, and supportive when they are face-to-face with another person. They are much more likely to say what they really think and feel

about the person who upsets them when they talk to other people. At times this backbiting can constitute a character assassination, which contrasts starkly with the congenial interaction which occurs when two parties are together.

Backbiting occurs in a variety of situations. It can be particularly severe in a family. My cousin married a woman who had had an illegitimate child several years before. This woman was never accepted by my relatives. They disliked her intensely and spared nothing when it came to talking about her. They claimed she was no good as a housekeeper or as a mother. They stated it was because she was lazy and no good that my cousin's farm was unsuccessful, and that it was all her fault they were bad off financially. When my cousin became emotionally ill, my relatives said it was the woman's fault. They gave her no credit for being the only one who stood by him during this time. When my cousin suffered a relapse, and went into a deep depression interspersed with periods of violence, my relatives said the woman was to blame because she hadn't forced my cousin to take his medication. However, they had no evidence that my cousin wasn't taking his pills at the time. When the woman herself had a kidney stone operation, my relatives claimed she was just pretending. These rumors grew and circulated to an incredible extent within my family. However, when any of the family members were in the presence of the woman, they were always kind and polite. Furthermore, they would tell her how wonderful she was to stay with my cousin when he was having such a hard time. They also remarked to her that my cousin was certainly lucky to have married such a strong woman, and if only he had the sense to realize it.

Communities also engage in backbiting. People can maintain a false veneer of polite interaction with a family while criticizing and ridiculing them behind their backs. People in my community, which is Catholic, are very polite and respectful with the only Protestant family. However, when they are among themselves they frequently joke about the family's "crazy" religion and mannerisms.

Sometimes people pursue friendly relations with others in order to get information which they can use to make fun of the people in private. One lady who lives in our area is considered quite mean in terms of the food she offers visitors. One woman, Nancy, went to visit her specifically to see what the lady would give her to eat and drink. While

she was there Nancy was very friendly and thanked the lady for "the lovely lunch." But as soon as she could, Nancy contacted her friends and told them about the meager amount of food she was served and how bad it tasted. She went on to say that the lady is the stingiest woman on earth. Another case involved a woman, Ann, who has had a number of illnesses, both real and imagined. Ann's sister-in-law, Doris, dislikes Ann intensely. When they get together Doris always asks Ann how she is feeling, and Ann discusses her ailments at great length. Doris pretends to be sympathetic and caring. But afterwards, she tells others that Ann is a hypochondriac and is so obsessed with her health she is headed for a nervous breakdown.

Sometimes people do learn that someone is talking about them behind their back. They are usually quite upset and hurt by the revelation. They may decide to have nothing more to do with the person who is talking about them, or they may confront them over their disloyalty. One of our neighbors received a large government grant for his tobacco farm. The neighbor never mentioned this to anyone and continued to talk at length about how much money he was pouring into the Island and how grateful local people should be. The man's farm manager had become good friends with my family and we assumed we could trust him. One evening when he was at our place he started talking about the fine equipment on the tobacco farm. My mother commented it was little wonder they had such good equipment given the money the government had provided, and the man agreed with her. The next day the neighbor came to see us. He was very angry and flew into my mother for suggesting he had received government money. My mother explained she had read it in the newspaper, and besides the manager had no business carrying stories from one house to another. From that time on we never trusted the manager, and we told others about the incident so they wouldn't trust him either.

When people intensely dislike each other, they sometimes say something to a third party with the hope it will be conveyed back to the person they dislike. This way they can get their licks in while avoiding a face-to-face confrontation. One such attack was made recently by Bill, who hates Irving. Irving's cousin happened to mention to Bill that Irving was growing a beard and was quite proud of it. Bill responded, "That should look good with his black face." Bill was getting in a dig in regard to the

rumor that Irving's mother has Black blood in her. Two such feuds have gone on for years in our community. There are always gossips and close relatives within a community that one can rely on to carry an insult to another person. This enables one to avoid the problems of dealing with direct confrontations.

It is difficult for you to know when others have negative feelings toward you, because everyone is normally friendly and polite in face-to-face situations. Conversely, when you are polite and friendly, others aren't aware of your negative feelings toward them, and are unlikely to sever relations with you or to retaliate. This enables individuals to maintain their relations in such a way that their interests are protected. #5623

28. Status through one's husband

The majority of women acquire the major portion of their status through their husband. His occupation, income, possessions, property, and general position and reputation in the community all reflect on her. In addition, the possessions which the husband purchases for her and his attentions to her contribute to her status. Therefore, it is not surprising that when a woman compares herself to other women, she frequently uses her husband as the ruler against which she compares the other women's husbands. Consequently, there is a great deal of competition between women in trying to prove that their own husband is superior to those of other women.

A man's occupation is an important source of status for his wife. This is a frequent topic of conversation among wives, who seem to derive a great deal of satisfaction talking about their husband's job and the situations he encounters. In fact, they identify very strongly with his role. At the local association of university women, the focus of interest and conversation is not on what the women themselves are doing, but rather on the relative positions of their husbands.

Many women try to push their husbands to advance in their work, accept higher paying positions, and generally be more ambitious. Women truly admire men who are ambitious and want to get ahead. They are often threatened if a husband considers changing his position, especially in a less prestigious direction. When one man in his middle fifties spoke of retiring early from his government position, his wife became

very angry. She was afraid that early retirement might lower the couple's standard of living and change their status. She made no effort to discern why her husband wished to retire early, but made it quite clear that a change in status was unacceptable to her. She reminded her husband that their friend, a doctor, was still working even though he was well past sixty. She stated, "What would I tell our friends? Socially, it would be awfully hard."

The nature of the couple's home and where it is located is usually of considerable importance to women. Many women are concerned with living in the better residential districts, which contain the largest, most expensive homes with the largest, best kept lawns. Often these districts contain a large proportion of those in the community who earn the most money. One woman I know very much wants to move to Charlottetown. However, she only wants to live in Brighton, which is the wealthiest residential area in the city. Because the family can't afford a home in Brighton, she would rather stay where she is, in a desirable residential area outside of Charlottetown, than live in a "wrong" area of town.

In addition, a wife derives prestige from the couple's possessions, and from the possessions her husband provides for her. Many women seek to keep the public areas of their homes, where they receive guests and can show off their homes and their possessions, as attractive as possible. Several women I know keep the living room or a front room looking proper for company. Except when company is present, these areas are practically never used. They remain basically off limits for other family members, especially children. Often when women are able to refurnish a part of the house, this area is allocated the most attention and funds. Many women have more than one set of dishes and reserve the best set to use when company is present. Women are forever looking for new things which will improve the appearance of their homes and trying to find the money to buy them. A friend of mine had overspent her charge card limit. On the same day that the bank threatened to revoke her card, she went to a furniture store, looked at a big desk, and commented to me, "Like to get that."

Women can be quite protective of the image they achieve based on their home and possessions. One woman I know told me that she had had a difference of opinion with her husband, which was not even an argument, and he hit her in the face. I asked why she didn't leave him,

and she explained, "Why should I give up all this stuff? Why should I let him have half of it?" She wanted to keep their possessions together as they were, and not risk losing the house and half its contents. It appears that it is more important to her to have a nicely furnished home than to be happy in her marriage. Another man bought a second car for his wife's use. But because she felt this car was too dumpy, she insisted on only using the "main car," or "good car." However, she told her friends, "Oh, Hugh is so thoughtful. He got that old car for himself, just so I'd always have a reliable car. He'd have a fit if he knew I got stranded in a car that didn't work properly."

Women often tell their husbands about the possessions and other advantages their friends are receiving from their husbands. "Susan said that Mark is taking her to the Bahamas over Christmas." "Tom got Mary the nicest fur jacket. It must have cost a pretty penny." "Elaine and Frank are going to Montreal for that convention. Frank insisted on buying her a lovely suede suit. He said she deserved to get something new." The wife who receives a new possession or advantage basks in the envy of the other women. The others, however, become very concerned with maintaining their positions relative to the recipient. Whenever our family purchases something, like a new carpet, wall paneling, or a video cassette recorder, our cousin's wife has to go out and buy the very same thing for their house. Even though she has lots of things our family doesn't have, she just can't allow someone to top her.

Many men believe that comments from their wives about the possessions that other wives receive are meant as "digs" to show the husbands up for being less than generous, as well as goads to get them to provide the wives with the means of keeping up with other women. The implication is "Look how much better her husband is doing than you." Sometimes a woman can push too far. In one case a woman told her husband that a couple they knew were going to Halifax, and that Melvin decided to buy Gina a new outfit to wear for the weekend. Her husband responded, "You must think I'm goddamned foolish, if you think I'm going to believe Melvin cares one iota what Gina wears. He hasn't looked at her in the last thirty years. Why would he care what she's got on for this trip?"

Another source of status for many women is not having to work. One woman became extremely upset when her husband suggested she get a job to help supplement the family's income. The primary worry she

expressed was how her friends would react if she took a job. "Dora or Alice or Georgia – none of them have to work. I never thought I'd see the day that I'd have to humiliate myself out working. I won't do it. I couldn't stand the talk that people would start." As a result, she successfully resisted going to work. Later she told a female friend who had started working, "I had a chance to get a job, but Dave wouldn't hear of it. He says he wants to take care of me. He's really good like that, you know." The implication was that the woman who did not have to work has a husband who is more caring than the other woman's husband, and therefore is the better husband.

One could easily begin to question just how important friendship is to a group of wives who regularly see each other. The women compete with their "friends" in everything, ranging from possessions to attentions from their husbands. They badger their husbands to keep them on a par with the other wives, and they invent circumstances to make their husbands look better to others. In most cases this competition is subtle. Nonetheless, it is actively engaged in and is of great importance to the participants. #5624

29. Jockeying for recognition

In the staff room of our high school, most of the teachers jockey for recognition in terms of their possessions and endeavors. As they talk with each other they tend to subtly bring the conversation around to certain subjects so that they can say things which will gain them favorable attention. Sometimes they announce they are doing something the others would like to do, or have something the others would also like to have. Through association with a desirable endeavor or possession they attempt to show that they are desirable, or special, individuals. On other occasions they point out that they have obtained something desirable which others are also acquiring. Thus they try to show that they too are part of the segment of staff with desirable possessions, and therefore as good as the other desirable people. Whatever their intent, they are careful not to be too blatant about what they are implying. If they appear to be bragging about their new acquisition or activity, instead of favorable attention, they are likely to gain the resentment, ire, and ridicule of other staff, although this will not be expressed to their face.

Ordinarily, a big source of status for teachers is to go to Florida or some other warm location for the March break. Those teachers who do so refer to their plans only occasionally and then indirectly. They say something like "Let me have a look at the calendar. Oh yeah, I see now what Eric (her husband) was talking about. I didn't bother to look it up till now. It's about time I got my days straight." Statements such as this will invariably lead someone to ask questions about her date of departure, flight schedule, and so on. Of course the person planning the trip is always happy to provide the necessary details, and she may end up by saying, "Oh, really, I'm not all that keen on the trip. Eric's on for it. Of course, I know I'll enjoy myself when I get there, but there's always so much planning involved for a trip like this. It's quite an ordeal." Naturally this brings out responses from certain listeners, such as "It sounds like an ordeal I wouldn't mind," or "Do you want to trade places, Cindy?" In any event, the woman is able to let everyone know about her trip and even succeeds in getting a couple of people to say they envy her. By playing down the significance of the trip for herself and stressing the less pleasant aspects, she can undercut any appearances and charges of acting big, or lording it over the others.

"Having your colors done" is a current rage. This involves going to a studio and getting your complexion analyzed in order to be able to select clothes in your most complimentary colors. A few women on the staff have had their colors done, and although none of them ever brought up the subject directly, each managed to get it across to the rest of us that they had done so. One woman accomplished this by saying to me, "You match your outfits so well. I should get you to help me. I'm not much good at it at all. I don't care what they say, having your colors done isn't much good if you don't have a natural eye." This statement prompted other women to inquire about the process and to agree with the results which the "experts" had achieved for the woman.

At the present time an important source of status is having a VCR, or video cassette recorder, which enables you to play movies as well as record and replay television programs on your TV set. Several staff members have acquired VCRs for Christmas. One man started the revelations by commenting as he read the newspaper ads that one movie rental outlet was charging a terrific rate for weekend rentals. Some

discussion followed over the impact of VCRs on attendance at the cinemas. Finally, one woman said, "We found that we really got into the whole movie thing after Christmas." Others responded with questions and comments that one might expect, such as "Was it a Christmas gift?" "What do you think of it so far?" and "It must be a nice change since we only get the two TV channels here." Soon a couple of others contributed opinions which revealed that they too were now proud owners of VCRs. The discussion continued, and finally the man who had started the conversation with his comments on the newspaper ad said, "Well, I can't say we spend that much more time in front of the TV now, but it seems like we really enjoy the time we do spend." Someone then asked him, "Oh, did you get one for Christmas, Malcolm?" He responded as though he had never anticipated such a question. "Well, *Santa* left one at the house, but *we* paid for it." The whole issue of VCRs was made to look like an intelligent discussion on the changes they would bring to the local economy, the dangers of spending too much time in front of the TV set, and the fact their merits are often blown out of proportion. At the same time, each person was able to get across the message that he or she now has this new claim to status.

In addition to subtle announcements that one has acquired a new possession or participated in a desirable undertaking, other types of exchanges are engaged in by staff in their pursuit of recognition. In some instances these involve trying to outdo, or "one up," the others in terms of their activities, experiences, and ordeals. Often in such discussions the basis for recognition is narrowly defined. It depends on current trends, and these change frequently. Individuals who are not engaged in the current trends and the competition for recognition are for the most part ignored by the participants.

As Christmas approached this year, each of the female teachers wanted to appear as though her responsibilities were heavier and more significant than everyone else's. During these discussions most people in the group showed little interest in what the others were saying. Instead most seemed just to wait for the present speaker to finish talking so they could get on with the more important business of describing their own situation. There is very little response to what a person says, and when there is, it is seldom positive.

Because these women all work outside the home, housekeeping is a major concern to them. Some women attain recognition by telling how late they stayed up to clean, or how early they started cleaning in the morning. Occasionally the others respond, "Oh, you don't mean it. What time do you get up in the morning?" Typically the women who are more concerned with house cleaning are those with few or no children, and therefore have more time to clean. This year going all out to keep your house clean by yourself took second place to "having someone in" to do the cleaning. As soon as the hint was dropped that one woman was considering hiring a cleaning woman, the idea spread like wildfire. Women began phoning everyone they could think of who might be appropriate. After a few had actually hired people, the rest of us had to sit and listen to accounts of the supplies they provided, the types of jobs done, the time it took to do it, and the wages that were paid. Because they enjoyed talking about the topic, they were able to keep the conversation interesting to themselves. This went on practically every day for at least a week. Some of the women who were not involved felt very threatened, because those who were involved seemed to imply that all good wives and mothers "had someone in."

Although they could have gone on talking about cleaning indefinitely, the subject was dropped with the introduction of a new topic, holiday baking. People reported daily how much they had baked the night before and what terrific assistants their husbands were. For example, one woman recounted, "I made six dozen doughnuts last night. Jim sugared every one for me." I heard this woman give her account seven times that day, but she probably told it more often than that. A woman that the staff knew opened a bakery nearby. As Christmas approached members of the staff called her to place orders. Again, the daily talk became "I ordered ten dozen squares and five meat pies from Susan," or "I'm getting four plum puddings from Susan. That's the only thing I didn't make on my own." These accounts were repeated over and over again until some of the outsiders like myself could have recited everyone's order verbatim.

Indeed, it is fairly clear who the outsiders are – those of us who want to talk about other subjects and do not try to impress the others with how hard we are working at our cleaning and cooking. When one woman stated that the important thing for her was to get her gifts

bought and her baking done, but cleaning was her last priority, the others raised their eyebrows. She had labeled herself an outsider. One of the group stated, "Oh, I just couldn't be satisfied if my house wasn't shining for the holidays." When the group found out I made as many as a dozen different types of Christmas cakes to give to friends, the whole group was amazed. However, the fact I did not make a major production over this seemed to annoy them. When I made it clear I had prepared all of the cakes in just a couple of evenings, they quit asking me about my baking. I also find if you mention cooking something they are not familiar with, they tend to brush you aside. "By the time I get all I have to do done, I have no time for the likes of that." If you are not going to try to gain recognition in the same ways as the other women, you will be disqualified from their discussions. #5625

30. Cheap, ignorant, and seeds

Islanders use certain labels for people who act in a particular way. Three terms which are commonly used are "Cheap," "Ignorant," and "Seeds."

A. Cheap

In Prince Edward Island society one of the most negative labels that can be applied to a person is "cheap." Being cheap is considered a great character fault and is much talked about by other people. A person can display cheapness, or "smallness" as it is sometimes called, in a variety of ways. One frequently hears a person described as cheap in relation to food, money, doing favors, or recognizing the contribution of others.

If you were working for someone, you would consider your employer cheap if he cut your pay for being fifteen or twenty minutes late. "This isn't General Motors, you know. I never worked for such a cheap bastard before in my life." You would expect to be penalized if you worked for a large company, but to have a local person do it is unacceptable.

Some people may feel they are doing you a big favor by offering you a drive part way home. Others would see this as a very cheap action.

"If you can't be good enough to drive people right to their door, then you're better off not offering them a drive at all." "No one is in that big of a rush that they couldn't take you the rest of the way." Half measures of any kind are considered cheap.

If you were recognizing people for their contributions, such as at a public meeting, you would be considered very cheap to overlook someone, even if this was not deliberate. "Did you notice how all the workers from the village got mentioned at the hall the other night? Not a word about Ethyl and Jane from out this way. They wouldn't be good enough. Jesus, that bunch from the village are cheap. They'd walk right over a person."

Some people are considered cheap in a particular area, such as giving money or doing favors. Others are thought of as being generally cheap, or cheap in many areas. I know one couple that is considered generally cheap by their neighbors. "You'd not get a taste of any kind of treat there. We were there last Christmas Eve and there wasn't a taste of anything showed up. Imagine, at Christmas." "Oh yes, they're cheap all right. I know she saves the tea bags and uses them over again. She'd faint if she had our bill for tea each month. We have tea five or six times a day and you can be sure we don't save the bags." The couple they are talking about is well known in the neighborhood for being cheap. Almost every family in their neighborhood has at least one story which illustrates how cheap they are.

Islanders are always on the lookout for behavior that could be considered cheap. When one gets a reputation for being cheap, people seldom forget it. Some people assume that cheapness is a family characteristic. Others dispute this. "Oh no, she's not too bad that way. God knows her people were the cheapest on the face of the earth, so help me. Her father was so tight he squeaked. She's not too bad though, considering what she grew up with." #5626

B. Ignorant

Islanders use the word "ignorant" to mean rude, thoughtless, or crude. People say that a specific individual is ignorant. There are a great variety of behaviors that can earn one this label. These include insulting

others, asking embarrassing questions, being extremely obstinate, laughing out of context, interrupting without regard to another person's feelings, cursing, belching, and farting. An ignorant person is often associated with pigs. People say, "My God, he's an ignorant man, as ignorant as a pig," "He's as ignorant as a boar pig," "He's just like our old sow in the barn," and "He's pig ignorant, that's all." I have also heard a pig referred to as ignorant. A relative of ours was discussing a pig she is raising for pork, and said, "I can't wait to take the first bite of him. I'll be glad to see him go; he's such an ignorant pig of a pig."

It is hard to shake the label of "ignorant" once one has acquired it. When people talk about an ignorant person, they provide one account after another to prove how thoroughly ignorant he is. Ignorant behavior provides good stories and is quite entertaining. For example, one man who attends our church has the habit of belching throughout the service. My relatives do their best to avoid sitting with him. At the same time they enjoy telling the rest of us about the latest example of his ignorant behavior, and we thoroughly enjoy hearing about it. Recently, a young seminarian assisted at our church. He was quite a good singer, people enjoyed listening to him when he led the singing, and my brother and his wife were quite impressed. As luck would have it, the same ignorant man sat down next to them during the service. In the middle of one of the hymns, he elbowed my brother, nearly fracturing his ribs, and asked, "Did you shit spread yet?" He was asking how far along my brother was in distributing the barn manure as crop fertilizer. My brother simply shook his head. Undaunted, the man pressed on. "Do you know if Tim's still in the vault outside, or did they plant him yet?" He was referring to a person who died in winter and would not be buried until spring because of the permafrost. When my brother said he did not know, the man continued, "Well, one thing's for sure. There wouldn't be much of a smell off him, even if it does get warm. He wasn't very big." The man's behavior was quite ignorant and unacceptable. Although my brother and his wife were outraged by the man, they fully enjoyed telling us the story afterwards. We all agreed, "What else could you expect from a boar like that?" #5627

C. Seeds

In certain areas of rural Prince Edward Island, "seed" is a very commonly used word. "Seed" incorporates many types of behavior and is applied in a wide number of contexts. It is an uncomplimentary term which is usually applied to males. Although people frequently use the word, they have trouble defining it, and are likely to say, "Well, just a seed. You know." However, when the term is used, local people understand what is meant, regardless of the context.

"Seed" is often used in connection with appearance. It is sometimes applied to a man who is overdressed by local standards. If a man walks by wearing a funny hat and carrying an umbrella, a person might say, "Now there's a real seed for you." If a man wears clothes which are too coordinated in appearance, he is also likely to acquire the label. Someone might say, "Did you ever see Greg, the radio announcer, around town? My God, what a seed. Everything matches to beat the band. And sometimes he has on that suede coat with the fur collar and the belt pulled tight. Mother of God, what a seed. I mean his clothes are nice enough. I'm sure he paid high for them. But he's a seed out and out."

Recently a couple from Ontario came to visit our next door neighbors. One of my nephews was visiting and returned with the news that the male visitor had his breakfast while wearing a robe and pajamas. This was quite a laugh at our home, because men in most rural homes do not wear either pajamas or bathrobes, and they certainly do not have them on at the breakfast table. Later in the week, the man came over and asked to borrow my niece's bicycle. This was considered quite unusual, because men in our community do not ride bicycles. On the basis of these two incidents, and without even meeting the man, my brother labeled him a seed. "Yeah, I think the boy is quite the seed alright." And when he recounted these stories to other community members, they all agreed the visitor must be "a real seed."

The term is also applied in a variety of other situations. Once I and a friend told my parents we had a male teacher who was very gushy in his compliments about our work. Both of my parents responded the same way. "My God, he must be an awful seed. Is he? He certainly sounds like one." The term can also be applied if a man has a tendency

to be flighty or effeminate, to take himself or his duties too seriously, or to publicly display too much affection to his girlfriend or wife. However, the term is not only applied to males. If a couple walks by holding hands, someone may say, "Oh my God, they're a seedy pair."

As one can see from the above examples, the term is used in a variety of ways. It is not used in the sense of hick, hayseed, or shabby. Instead, in most cases it is applied to a man who is viewed as less than properly masculine. It is used to describe someone who goes overboard, acts affected, is "too much," or is extreme. The term can be applied to all sorts of extremes. Thus a man can be labeled "a seed" for appearing flighty, taking himself too seriously, acting strange, or standing out. If he doesn't do things the way others do them, people will notice him and likely label him "a seed." #5628

31. Visitors from away

Prince Edward Island continues to export a significant number of Islanders to other areas of Canada and to the United States in search of employment. As a result many Islanders have established families and roots outside the province in places such as Maine, Boston, Toronto, Vancouver, and Alberta. They maintain contact by spending their summer vacation on the Island visiting family and friends. Traditionally, the annual arrival of relatives, or "visitors from away," returning to the Island has been a significant event every summer. My own experience is that this migration was more pronounced prior to the 1970's. However, this may not be the experience of other Islanders, because numerous relatives continue to return to the Island in the summer, and summertime is when family reunions are held.

Usually visitors stay at their family home and word is sent to other relatives and friends that they will arrive on a specific date, so that each family can be prepared for them to drop in. Preparation for visitors is a large-scale effort. House cleaning has to be done, baking is carried out on a large scale, and extra groceries, meats, and so on are stocked in the house. The idea is to have your house in perfect order and to have plenty of food on hand. After all, you do not want the visitors to leave your house thinking you have nothing. Also, you do not want your visitors to tell your neighbors and other relatives that you were poorly prepared.

All of this preparation amounts to considerable expense, but the money is considered well spent. Anyone who leaves the Island and returns for holidays is believed to have some money, but you do not want him to think he is any better than you. As a result, people put on the dog to show the visitor that they are prospering too. For example, the meals that are served when visitors are present are usually more extravagant than the normal fare in the house. But everyone tries to hide this fact. Also, if you are not sure just when the guests will arrive, you have to be in a constant state of readiness for a day or two. Thus the woman of the house may make a lot of fancy foods on Saturday, expecting the guests to drop in on Saturday evening. If they do not show, the next likely time they will arrive is Sunday afternoon. So everything is put on hold until then. There is a real struggle between the woman of the house and the other family members. The latter want to devour the goodies, which have to be saved in case the door will fill with guests. Therefore the visitors have an impact on everyone in the household.

Although people sometimes look forward to the arrival of the summer visitors, they are usually viewed as a real strain. They upset the normal flow of the house and they cause a good deal of extra expense. If the visitors are relatives, then usually the husband or the wife of the home is glad to see them, depending on who they are related to. My mother's brother, who lives in Boston, visits us periodically with his wife. He's an electrician and is quite successful. Mom thinks this is pretty good, because it's her brother. My father was never very impressed. When they left our house, Dad would usually start to criticize them and this would anger my mother, who would say, "Don't be so ready to card people. They must be doing all right. He's been in Boston for twenty-five years and he comes home every summer with a new car." My father would respond, "Yeah, you can rent those, you know." Mom's brother and his wife would talk about an ocean cruise they had taken the previous winter, and when they left Dad would say, "How do we know they ever went there? They could be making all this up," and the argument would be in full swing. Mom would say that she believed them because she had received a postcard, and Dad would comment, "Well, I don't remember a postcard coming here from Hawaii. Anyway, they could have sent it from Boston. You can get those cards in any drugstore. Just because it had a picture of Hawaii on it doesn't

mean a thing." Mom will respond, "No, they were there, Charlie. The postmark is right on it." And they'll go on and on like that countless times. But there was just no way to convince Dad that they were doing well financially. Of course, when Dad's relatives came to visit, Mom was quite skeptical of their success, but she was less cynical and critical than Dad.

It is common for relatives to arrive on the Island with presents for everyone. People compare what they receive and then the fight is really on. Those who receive the nicer gifts are full of praise for the visitors, while others are more critical. The visitors also bring home boxes of used clothing and toys to be distributed to their relatives here on the Island. Usually this is just a lot of junk, but people still fight over it and compare what they receive. One of Mom's relatives would leave the boxes at my aunt's home and my aunt was supposed to divide things up fairly. Of course Mom and her other sisters always claimed that my aunt kept the best things for herself and they got the junk. This suspicion was confirmed when they learned from one of my aunt's children, who wasn't supposed to tell, that my aunt got a fur coat one year while the others got "worn out" dresses. After that my family didn't have much to do with the grab bags. In fact, I can remember the last one Mom accepted. My aunt had assured us that she herself had taken nothing. We were driving back from my aunt's home with this box of stuff in the back of the truck. All of a sudden Mom said, "Stop this rig," and we all got into the back of the truck and looked through the box. As usual, it was full of dresses with big buttons at the neck, horrible sweaters, and so on. Mom stuffed everything back in the box and threw the whole thing into the woods. After that she made a point of telling my aunt what a great time we had doing away with the box of junk. I think my aunt reported this to our relatives in the United States, because we never received any more of these "presents."

If the visitors don't bring a box of used clothes, they normally bring a little present. We have received many useless items, including a turkey baster, which we didn't know what it was; a corn popper, even though the local store doesn't carry the packages of corn to go in it; and a white milk pitcher, which my sister and I later saw in the Woolworth's store in Charlottetown for $1.69. In other words, we were not exactly overwhelmed with expensive gifts.

However, all the preparations we make for visitors is not based on the expectation of receiving gifts. The idea is to impress the visitors that "We eat like this every day," or "I make fresh bread every day," or "There really is no shortage of money here, because we redecorate the house every spring." Part of this are the beliefs that one should look as prosperous as anyone else, and that one should never appear poor. To some extent these feelings are a response to the manner that visitors assume when they return to the Island. Visitors make comments like "I'd never come back here to live," "People around here are going to starve if they don't get out," "There's no money in farming," and "There's nothing here worth talking about." Visitors also brag about all the money they are making. None of this impresses people like my father, who believes the Island is the greatest place on earth and that farming is the only way to make a living. Regarding the visitors, my father says, "They're just living about six floors up on top of some fish market. They have one little room with a hot plate in one corner and a couch in the other, and they sleep on the couch. In the morning they get up and take a lunch can to work. At the end of the week they get a paycheck and they get a bottle of liquor. That's the way they live and they think it's great. Then they come home here to the Island and tell us about all that they have and how great it is where they are. What takes them back here if it's so bad on the Island? I feel sorry for them, but they don't fool me." Not all Islanders feel this way, but many do. And certainly not all visitors fit this description, but again, many do. Some do save up their money in order to get fancy clothes to wear home in the summer. Some do rent cars to impress people. And some do criticize the Island and the way of life here.

In addition to relatives visiting from away, there are people from other provinces and the United States who have summer homes, or "cottages," on the Island. For example, a doctor and his family from the United States have a vacation home in our area. Their kids have become friends with the local kids. However, they don't comprehend that summertime is our busiest season and is not a vacation period for farmers and fishermen. They ask, "Why are you working all the time?" and "Why can't you come with us?" They want us to go to the beach and do other things with them. Also, the doctor's family has a lot of money and this makes local people feel poor. People cater to the

doctor's family and act like the family is superior, which the family may not feel themselves. When the family moved into their summer cottage they outfitted it better than any of the local farmhouses are. They installed an automatic washer and dryer, a big fridge and a deep-freeze, a dishwasher, stereo systems, and a fireplace. Most of the local people would probably work all their life and at the most have an automatic washer and a dishwasher, if they were lucky. They'd never consider putting such things into a cottage which they used for two months of the year at the most. The doctor's family eats out all the time at fancy restaurants, and they give dinner parties at eight thirty at night too. These are things no one here does. And they have a very well-stocked liquor cabinet. I don't know anyone in the community or any Islander who has a liquor cabinet, let alone one that is well stocked. Sometimes local people make a joke. "Well I'll just go over here and get you a drink from my liquor cabinet." The person will open the cabinet door under the kitchen sink and there will be one bottle there. "What would you like? Would you like whiskey or rather vodka? Oh my goodness! I'm all out!" I don't know why anybody would want to keep so much liquor around the house. They would be bound to become alcoholics. Local people don't drink in moderation. If you do have a bottle, one bottle is bad enough. When you get it, you drink it. If they did have a liquor cabinet, they'd be highly dangerous. Some of the old men walk down to the corner store every day to get their bottle of vanilla (which contains alcohol) and have it drunk by the time they're back out at the road. I know a man from Montreal who runs a restaurant in Charlottetown. He's always making rude remarks about how ignorant Islanders are, because they don't know their wines and before-and-after-dinner drinks. An Islander doesn't care about the class he sets. He's not there to impress you. I mean, liquor is liquor, you know. What's the difference to him? He'll drink it straight; he doesn't need a mix. That's why he doesn't know his wines. He doesn't drink very much wine anyway. My dad says it's soda pop. The idea of drinking white wine with fish or red wine with meat would never occur to him.

I believe the visitors certainly add color to family life on the Island, whether it is in the preparations for their arrival, the arguments about their prosperity, the infighting over the boxes of goodies, or just the jokes and stories that Islanders tell about them after they leave. Because of

this, I view them as making a significant contribution to our way of life. One of my favorite stories involved a neighbor of ours, an elderly man, who liked to act big. He was talking to Mom and Dad one day and wanted to let them know he had visitors from away, but he didn't want to be obvious that he was showing off. After having a cup of tea and a little visit, he said, "Well, I guess I'd better make tracks. Time I was getting home. The house is full of Yankees from Hamilton (Ontario)." Our family and the whole neighborhood had a lot of laughs over that one. #5629

32. Wakes

People in Prince Edward Island are very much concerned with showing others that they "have as much as the next fellow." This applies to social standing as well as material possessions. Wakes and funerals provide an important opportunity to indicate to others what one's community and financial standing is.

Although a few wakes are still held in private homes, it is no longer seen as a sign of disrespect toward the deceased to hold a wake at a funeral parlor. In the past the family would be severely criticized for not taking a dead member home to be waked. But this is no longer the case, and today most wakes are held in funeral parlors.

Great care is usually taken in selecting a coffin. In some cases the deceased has left enough money to purchase a high quality coffin and to pay for all the funeral arrangements. However, most people have not done this. As a result, the family of the deceased have to bear the expense. Normally the family are distressed at the time of the death and the decision to choose a coffin is made under pressures of personal loss, the need for an immediate decision, and uncertainty over money. When I have been involved in selecting a coffin, I and the person with me were shown to the room with different selections and a price tag on each coffin. There was no pressure from the funeral parlor staff and no one was standing over us while we discussed what we could and could not afford. The coffins available generally fit into three categories: noticeably cheap, moderately priced, and very expensive. The cheap models are easily identified because they are covered with a fuzzy material like

velour. The moderately priced models appear upholstered or veneered. Some have brass handles, while others have cheaper handles and a religious ensign. The expensive caskets, on the other hand, appear made of solid wood and have heavy metal handles and decorations. Most funeral homes do not expect a cash payment, but the family of the deceased still have to operate within their means. As a result, many people choose one variation or another of the moderately priced coffins. In any case, no one wants to buy a cheap casket, because the casket, like everything else at the wake, will be the subject of conversation among the people who attend and those they talk to.

There is little doubt that a great many people pay particular attention to the quality of the caskets at funerals. Several times I have heard a conversation along the following lines: "What was the casket like?" "Well, you know, it was very nice. I'm pretty sure it was the same as what we had when Aunt Mary died." When the casket is a very expensive one, comments tend to go a little further. "It was a beautiful mahogany casket. Just grand. Of course, there's quite a large family there and why wouldn't they be able to afford the very best? It would only amount to a small sum from each of them," or "Well, you'd expect them to have the very best. They all have big jobs, so that would be the least they could do – give the old fellow a decent casket. Why the hell shouldn't they get the very best?"

A major consideration of the family of the deceased is what to wear to the wake and funeral. They want to be dressed as well as possible so that no one will think "we have nothing." This is quite a legitimate concern because people certainly notice what they are wearing. "All the girls had beautiful dresses, likely brand new. Really lovely," or "Anne had on that black dress with the white collar. I've seen it a dozen times." Some people do purchase new clothes and get their hair done for the occasion. Women are more concerned about such matters than men, because as one woman said, "A man can put on his pants and a jacket and look all right, but a woman can't get away as easy." One woman whose brother was sick for a long time had her hair done three times thinking he was about to die. She wanted to look her best for the wake and funeral. As she said, "You can't tell when something is going to happen and you'll be caught. I couldn't face the people looking like a witch."

Some people also pay attention to the clothing that the deceased is dressed in. "He had on a lovely gray suit with a little bit of burgundy in the tie. It was just lovely, and brand new. I never saw that on him when he was alive," or "She had on that dress her daughter gave her last Christmas. It is a lovely dress and she never got to wear it much, that's for sure."

People also notice the flowers present. Normally the funeral home provides a floral arrangement from the family of the deceased which is included in the cost of the funeral. Other flowers are purchased independently by family members and others. Many people who come to wakes spend a great deal of time examining the floral arrangements in an effort to determine who did or did not send flowers and, of course, to estimate the cost involved.

The number of Masses is considered to be far more important than the amount of flowers received. Flowers are generally thought to be the responsibility of the family, but the general public is expected to contribute Masses if the deceased is Catholic and charitable donations if the deceased is Protestant. People are very watchful of the number of Masses offered for the deceased. Most feel that the more that are offered, the better. The family views this as an indication of favorable opinion toward the deceased. "I never saw so many Masses put up for anyone before, did you? Really something." Quite likely many people pay for the Mass out of habit and give very little thought to the kind of person that is deceased. "I had five dollars in my pocket and had to give three for a Mass for Jim. Well, I didn't have to, but everyone was standing around, and I didn't want to walk out without getting one."

A number of other measures are also taken to indicate the degree of social standing of the deceased. People are quite impressed by the number of people who come to view the remains. "Big crowd at the wake tonight; the place was black with people. Just a steady stream." People are also concerned with how full the church is and the number of cars in the procession. "Yes it was a big funeral. No seats left in the church, not even in the gallery." "I never saw so many cars on the way to a funeral. They stretched from the top of the hill back at least a mile and a half. The length of it, I never saw the like." These are signs that the person was well thought of and that people were concerned about the death, and such comments are most often made by the relatives of the deceased.

Many Catholics also pay attention to the number of clergy present at the funeral. "Four priests on the altar, quite the thing." Others may react against this. "Sure the Jones think they're so damn good; always in with the priests. It's great to be big, I guess. If an ordinary person died, you'd be lucky to get one priest to say Mass."

The family of the deceased person naturally want this wake and funeral to be as good as any other and they want to show the rest of the community that they are not lacking in social status and material things "any more than the next fellow." For the general public, the wake and funeral provide a chance to get further insight into the social and financial standing of the family and the social relations among family members. The public too have to keep up their own appearances by sending flowers, paying for Masses, giving food to the family, and attending services. These actions are not insincere, because many people want to express their sympathy and their support for the family. However, the degree to which people are concerned with measuring relative status is striking.

In rural communities a great deal of emphasis is placed on attending wakes. People view it as a social obligation to attend the wakes of people they know. Not only that, but it is important that the deceased person's family and the community see you there. If you go outside of visiting hours, you can sign your name in the guest book, say your prayers, and leave. This would enable you to pay your respects to the deceased. However, it would not allow you to be seen, and people might think that you did not attend. Having the reputation that you are "good to go to wakes" is quite important and elicits a lot of respect in the community. #5630

Analysis

People seek positive reactions in the form of approval, praise, compliments, admiration, respect, recognition, and other forms of favorable attention. People establish relationships in order to obtain a regular supply of positive reactions, and they put a great deal of effort into their endeavors in order to obtain positive reactions from others. They also give positive reactions to others in expectation of receiving positive reactions in return. People are disappointed when they do not receive

positive reactions, and are inclined to criticize those who fail to give them positive reactions when they think they deserve them. In addition to trying to get positive reactions from others, people give themselves positive reactions when they praise themselves for their accomplishments.

On the Island people do many things in an attempt to obtain positive reactions from other people and themselves. Those with farms keep their farms neat and their equipment working and repaired. They plow and plant their fields neatly, get their crops planted and harvested early, and seek to grow quality products. They keep their animals well fed, clean, and healthy, and they get a good price when they sell them. They also successfully manage their farm debt. They are generous in loaning equipment to others and in towing cars that are stuck in the mud. Community members maintain the attractive appearance of their property, participate in community organizations and activities, and help those who suffer a tragedy. Women keep their house, and particularly their kitchen, clean and neat; keep their dishes washed; and do a thorough spring cleaning. They seek to improve their personal appearance and the appearance of their home. The family has plenty of food, the wife prepares home baked goods, and they eat meat on Sunday. They are generous and serve visitors and farm workers lots of food, and more than is needed. They help visitors and important Islanders and seek to associate with them. They look prosperous, that they are doing well and not wanting in any way, and that they are just as successful as their neighbors. They buy expensive gifts. The wife excels in preparing desirable sweets, prepares the best food in her category at church suppers, and has all of her food eaten at public events. In various areas of the Island people receive positive reactions for living in a large, expensive, and nicely furnished home in the best residential areas. Women receive recognition for the success and prestige of their husband. People dress well when they are away from home and when they attend special church services and special events for their family members, such as weddings and graduations. They organize and pay for elaborate weddings, and they provide expensive graduation gifts for their family members. At work people attempt to get recognition from their colleagues for their trips to warmer areas, their acquisition of possessions, the effort they put into house cleaning, their use of maids, how much they bake for Christmas,

and how helpful their husbands are. In disagreements people receive positive recognition from those they side with. At wakes a family receives positive reactions for buying a quality casket for the deceased, the presence of multiple clergy, and the attendance of a large number of people.

At the same time, people try to avoid negative reactions from others. They do not want others to criticize or reject them, ignore them, embarrass them, treat them with disrespect, or make them feel guilty. When others feel negative about them, others are likely to exclude them from social activities, not cooperate with them, not hire them, and discourage their own family members from associating with them. Moreover, they are likely to extend their negative feelings and reactions to their family members. When others do this, they make it much more difficult for people to obtain positive reactions and other resources. People try to avoid negative reactions from others and from themselves by proving that they have as much and are doing as well as others. In other words, they try to show they are not falling behind other people.

On the Island people react negatively to many kinds of behavior. On farms this includes failing to repair fences, buildings, and equipment; not chopping and stacking wood; having gaps in the crops one plants; getting one's crops planted and harvested late; having thin or dirty animals; and failing to remove manure. This also includes falling into heavy debt and having one's home or land sold at a mortgage sale. In addition, one does not want to look like one is doing poorly or that one is less successful than the neighbors. Other undesirable behavior includes refusing requests to loan equipment, not towing cars that are stuck in mud, not helping those who experience a tragedy, not helping out in community activities, not participating in community organizations, and neglecting the appearance of one's property. One is also likely to generate negative reactions if one tries to help others who do not want the help. A wife will receive negative reactions if she does not keep a clean and neat house, or has dirty dishes. On the other hand, she will be criticized if she gives visitors the impression that they are producing a mess in her home. She will also be criticized if she is stingy with food for visitors, or serves store-bought baked goods. When there are guests, it is bad if she does not offer them tea and a lunch, if she provides a meager lunch, if she runs out of home baked items, or if

she does not serve sweets. When people visit they will be viewed negatively if they accept "a tea" too eagerly. The family will be criticized if they do not have enough to eat, do not feed farm workers well, do not have meat on Sunday, or eat rabbit. It is also undesirable for a person to visit a family unannounced at mealtime. At community and other social events, one will be viewed critically if one does not participate, does not eat everything on one's plate, has to take some of the food that one brought back home, or if one goes overboard and serves too many sweets. A woman will be viewed negatively if she fails to compliment a hostess on what she is wearing, as well as the cleanliness of her home and any changes in it, and if she does not rave about the food she is served. It is very bad to criticize the furnishings in someone's home. One will also be criticized if one fails to comment on the success of another person's relative. One will receive negative reactions if one fails to invite someone to a social event, or if one invites them in a "lesser" way than one invites others. A family will be criticized if they show signs of success, live beyond their means, try to show others up, or otherwise act big. One provokes negative reactions from others when one does something that gets one noticed, brags, is lazy, hangs out with a person with a bad reputation, has an affair, stops attending church, changes one's religious denomination, leaves the priesthood, separates or gets a divorce, or runs away from home. A family is criticized if their internal disputes become public knowledge, or if their child behaves badly or gets into trouble with the law. You are likely to be criticized if you do not attend family events, if you buy a cheap coffin for a deceased family member, if you do things which cause your family to be gossiped about, or if you gossip about someone who is a relative of the person you are talking to. You will be criticized if you are cheap, rude, thoughtless, or crude; say something in front of a person that could hurt their feelings; make someone look poor or inadequate; overlook a person's contribution; make only half measures to help someone; or go overboard so that your behavior is extreme or affected. People will criticize you if you side with their opponents, or if you convey what they tell you about others to those they gossip about. Family members will criticize you if you do not provide family members with some resources to achieve their goals, if you do not do your share during a family crisis, if you neglect

or slight your own family members in order to help visitors or important Islanders, or if you restrict the use of the home by family members in order to make a good impression on visitors. Visitors from away are criticized if they say anything negative about the Island or the Island way of life.

People employ many models in these situations. A few of these are "Play down the compliments you receive so you do not act big," "Eat what you are served or you insult the cook," "Food from a dirty kitchen is not safe to eat," "Do not go to bed before the house is straight," "I should help a family member," "Members of the same family share the same behavioral traits," "I should not humiliate others or make them feel bad," "I do not need charity," "I do not want to look poor or unsuccessful," "I want to look as successful as my neighbors," and "I want to look as prosperous as my relatives who visit from away."

19. BAD FAMILIES

There are about 50 families in our village, and six or seven of them have a very bad name. A neighboring community has about 35 families, and three or four of these have the same kind of reputation. The bad families aren't respected, or considered as good as the other families, and they aren't liked by the other families in the community.

Every family in the community has some skeletons in their closet. Maybe they got a divorce, or their son was charged with drunken driving or using drugs, or their unmarried daughter got pregnant, or their uncle committed suicide. And every family has had a problem with alcohol at one time or another. All of these are prime pieces of gossip that people remember for generations. But generally speaking the members of the family hold regular jobs, do not blatantly do deviant things, and are not charged with serious crimes.

This is not the case with bad families. Often both the parents and the kids are bad. The parents are frequently unemployed, and they don't have much money or many material things. People say they don't want to work because they're lazy. And if they're not working, they're drinking. A number are alcoholics, and a couple of them stagger drunk along the streets where people worry they'll be hit by a car. Some of them get into fights. Still others don't care about their reputations, and run around and don't try to hide it. Running around, or having affairs, is a major, major thing you should not do. You just do not do it if you're proper. But if you're going to play around, at least have the decency to do it in secret. Also, their kids are poorly supervised and run loose. A couple of daughters have had more than one illegitimate child, and some of the sons steal. Stealing is not a good thing out our way. You just don't steal. People are very trusting and leave their houses and cars unlocked. We go away for days and don't lock our doors. But some of their children pick up things that belong to others, like music tapes in a car, or a watch on a table. Two or three have gotten in trouble with the police for breaking into cottages, houses, liquor stores, and the (Royal Canadian) Legion. One even broke through the window of a

house when the door was open. Also, someone from a bad family occasionally uses a weapon. One of the women threatened a policeman with a kitchen knife when he answered a call to break up a fight between two men in her house. The more bad things a family does, the worse their reputation is. People don't think that all of the bad families are equally bad. They consider some worse than others.

Everyone makes it their business to know everyone else's business, and every family is gossiped about at one time or another. If the newspaper reports that the son of a good family is sentenced for drunken driving, it's a big topic for weeks and weeks, or even months and months. When people first open the newspaper, they look at two things. One is obituaries, and the other is the court report, which lists the names of those who are found guilty for breaking the law. Running down other families is a hobby on the Island. But when the person is from a respectable family, people may express some sympathy for other members of the family. "Oh his poor mother and father. They tried hard to do something with him," and "He's always been the bad kid. His brother's the good one." Or they may show some tolerance and provide explanations and excuses for the offender. "Well now, he's bad. But he's had a hard life," or "Oh he'll grow out of it." If there's a divorce in a family with a good name, and the children are good, then someone will say, "Well she probably needs to get away from him," or "He's better off without her anyway. Thank God she's going." When someone from a respectable family does something bad, it gives the individual a bad reputation, but it doesn't give the whole family a bad name.

On the other hand, when it comes to something bad about one of the bad families, people are more likely to treat it as a permanent family characteristic. When you talk about bad families, you often mention things their relatives did in the past that prove they're bad stock. People say, "Oh, well, that's just natural. You might have known he'd do that. His mother was no good either. They're bad buggers, through and through." People seem to assume the worst about the bad families. If they hear about a divorce, they are likely to say, "She must have been sleeping around," or "He must have caught her in bed with somebody." If someone in a family does something bad enough, or if more than one person in a family gets a bad reputation, the whole family is likely to

get a bad name. Normally all of the members of a bad family are labeled as undesirable, even those who haven't done anything wrong. For example, one family includes a child aged ten and one aged six. Neither has gotten into trouble, but people group them together with the other members of their family. The result is that the whole family is labeled as a result of the actions of a couple of their members. If you mention the name of certain families, people are likely to say or think, "Oh Jesus, what a bunch!" It doesn't seem to matter which family member you are talking about.

When something bad happens in the community, members of the bad families are the first suspected. This last summer two cottages were broken into down by my place. A guy got into them and invited in the other kids. They just sat around and drank and never did any damage. But when the local police learned of it, they didn't ask any questions. They just went directly to three of these bad families, because they were sure one of them was involved. It turned out to be one of their friends, but none of the members of the bad families were responsible. The police consider the bad families the same way that the rest of the community does. So when a crime is committed the police concentrate on the bad families first. When someone broke into the Legion and stole a lot of money and some cartons of cigarettes, people were out for blood. Why would you break into something that belongs to the community? It's like breaking into your neighbor's home. So naturally everyone wanted to help the police get them. And the police zoomed in on the bad families in my village and in neighboring communities. What happens is the bad families search among themselves and their friends to try to find out who did it. Maybe you're all sitting around someone's living room some night, watching TV or whatever, and start talking about the break-in last week. In a small community, sooner or later someone will say or do something and someone else will get wind of it. The police go back to the homes of the bad families again and again, and they listen in on talk whenever people get together, so the police get a pretty good idea who's responsible. Members of the bad families are always getting in trouble, or at least caught for it. Other people in the community do bad things, but they are less likely to be suspected and to be caught.

No one wants their children to associate with members of the bad families. They think their own kids will get in trouble too and hurt their

family reputation. I can't emphasize enough how much parents are afraid that their children will give their family a bad name. Even the simplest things will make them worry and say, "Well, my God! Now you'll make us all look so bad." Family name means a lot on the Island. When I've been seen with one of the boys of a bad family, my father will demand to know, "What are you doing with Bobby B____?" I'll explain that I was simply talking to him, and Dad will say, "Well he's a bad geezer. You stay away from him." One time my parents came home and found my brother sitting there talking with a few males his age, and one of them was from a bad family. After they left, my father said, "I don't want you to bring him in this house again." My brother felt bad about this and discussed it with Dad. But Dad said, "Well you're living under my roof. I don't want him here. That family steals, and I don't trust him in my house." And my brother never invited him back. Mom says, "I came here with nothing, not a damn thing to my name. I built a nice home for myself, and I praise myself that my children are good. And they're going to stay that way. So don't you get around with the B____s, or the C____s, or anyone else. Just stay the hell clear of them, or you're bound to get in trouble. You're not going to disgrace me. We've worked years to get our name up. Don't you bring down this family name." Mom said this to my brother and sister, and she said it to me. Mom doesn't hate the bad families or anything. She talks to the mothers of the bad families when she sees them. She just doesn't want us to associate with them.

You can't do anything in your own backyard without your next door neighbor looking out his window and seeing. If I were to have anything to do with one of the B____s, people would know. Normally people wouldn't say anything to my parents about it, because they'd figure they should mind their own business. But if something happened in the community, like some place was broken into, people would think one of the B____s likely did it. And people would think my parents deserve to know. So someone would be likely to tell them, "I saw your boy with the B____s."

If I were to date a girl from one of the other families in the village that isn't considered bad, Dad and Mom wouldn't say anything about it. There are a few families near the bottom of this group that they might hesitate about. Like if there's something peculiar about the family and

something they don't like, they might object, but they wouldn't oppose it. But if I were to try to date a girl from one of the bad families? My God! My mother'd flip out! They would just have a fit.

It is so normal for my parents to say very negative things about members of the bad families that they hardly realize they are doing so. They just do it during the regular flow of conversation. They'll be saying something, attack a member of a bad family, and then turn to do something else. One moment they're ripping them to shreds, and the next they'll be calling up Sears to place an order. For example, Dad will say, "Well the C____s now, that goddamn family. They're all alcoholics and the mother's a whore. I remember this incident years ago, when she . . ." You'll be sitting there listening, when all of a sudden he'll completely switch topics and say, "Well, we gotta go to town tomorrow morning." Or Mom will be vacuuming and say, "I saw that goddamn Larry A____ in the store. He was drunk the other day and got mad at his boss. He used a pebble to scratch the paint off his boss's car. Jesus Christ! Those A____s are bad assholes! Well, what do you want for supper?" Or we'll be riding in the car and Dad will see one of the D____s walking along. "Christ, Jane," he'll say to my Mom, "Christ, did you see him? At least he got out of jail." And Mom will reply, "Aw for fuck's sake, he'll be back there by tomorrow. Stop the car. I've got to mail the letter." I'll be sitting in the back seat rolling my eyes up, thinking, "How in God . . . They're not even aware what they're saying. They can't see how biased they are." There have been times I've mentioned this to my parents. When I was a child I would get home from school and hear all the gossip over supper. It seemed so hypocritical to talk to these people when you meet them on the street, and then go home and cut them to pieces. I'd say, "You're ignorant (rude)." And they'd reply, "Don't tell me I'm ignorant. I'm your elder. I have a right to talk about anyone I want. It's my house, it's only us, and I have my own opinion. Right this minute, they're talking about us." Or even today, I'll listen to my Mom spout off for five minutes non-stop about someone. Then I'll comment, "You shouldn't say that about them." "Who's saying anything?" she'll ask. "You're talking about E____." "Oh, God! That was ten, fifteen minutes ago! What are we talking about this for?" She's said her bit, and it's just normal conversation for her. They aren't saying these things to be cruel.

When you get together with others in the community, you have to watch what you say about the bad families. Maybe you're out at the Legion or at someone's house playing cards. A group of parents will be sitting there, and the name of a bad family will come up. You can't just blurt out what you think. You don't want to say someone's a bastard or a whore. On the Island, everyone's close knit, and many people are related to each other. Someone's sister-in-law or great aunt may have married a member of their family. You've got to watch who you're talking to, because you might offend a relative. You don't want them to take it to heart. A few of the bolder people may come out and say something, but the majority will just sit there. But you can tell when you mention a name, and someone looks at you in a certain way, that they're thinking something. But they'll never say it, unless they're sitting around their own table at home.

When you talk to members of the bad families, you don't say what's on your mind. As Dad says, "That's being a bit too ignorant, saying it to people's faces." And you don't want to say something that will make them feel hurt in front of their friends. But occasionally comments are made to members of the bad families which reveal the feelings of others in the community. I went to a beach party for all those around 19 years old from our community. After the party I was walking home behind a group of a dozen or so young people, some of whom were members of the bad families. A car approached and drove alongside them. Inside the car were three guys and two girls. Those in the car singled out individuals in the group and began to call them names. They yelled, "Momma's Boy!" "Scum!" "Queer!" and "Bastard!" The individuals themselves knew who they were referring to because the kids in the car looked directly at them and frequently taunt them with a specific name. It's like a label they attach to a particular person, and everyone else in the group knew who they were referring to. Then a girl in the car called to one girl in the group, "You're a fat slob. Just like your father." The girl looked surprised and hurt. Another from the car yelled, "Why in hell didn't you stay home? You should know the party wasn't for social rejects." Those walking together didn't respond and eventually the kids in the car drove away. Although yelling at people from cars is a frequent occurrence, still some of these comments reflect the community status of those being yelled at. Some individuals are singled out just

because they have been in trouble, are poor, and wear dingy clothes. You have to realize that there are very few kids of a specific age in a small community. So if the other kids your age reject you, it feels like your whole community rejects you. Also, in a sense the tables were turned. Originally it was the older children in the bad families, without much to begin with, who yelled ignorant things at others. These kids ran wild, stole things, and gave the older children in better families a hard time. Now the younger brothers and sisters of better families occasionally strike back at the younger brothers and sisters in the bad families. I've definitely seen the kids from bad families do more yelling at people from cars than do the kids from good families. When I was younger I used to ask Dad all the time, "What right do they have to yell at my friends? Who do they think they are? My friends are ten times better than they are." Those who yell are trying to impress their own friends in the car. Take them away from their friends and they are nice, but put them back with their friends and they can be ignorant as hell. At the same time, yelling at people from cars is one way they can get back at the other kids who reject them and whose families have more than theirs do. It's their chance to feel better about themselves.

Many people treat those from bad families with an air of coolness. There are certain places where many different people get together, like the rink and the Legion. We don't have many community dances, but when we have one, everyone's there. Also, there's bingo. Basically, people sit with their friends and relatives, and the good families don't talk to the bad families. If you run into a member of a bad family there, you try to be nice and ask each other how you are. But members of the good families are likely to say something minimal like "Fine, fine," and not smile. It's like talking to an acquaintance, not a community member. You don't encourage a conversation. And the good families certainly wouldn't invite them to a card play, or a birthday or anniversary party, in their own homes.

If someone says, "I'm having an open-house party, and everyone's invited," they don't really mean that everyone's invited. People know who should come and who shouldn't. When it comes to bad families, people reject the entire family. When it comes to respectable families, people reject the individual members who have a bad reputation. A cousin of mine is married and told me about a big house party she was

at where "everyone" was invited. A woman who is known to be loose came to the party, and people asked, "What in hell is she doing here?" and "Did you invite her?" Even if you had invited her, you wouldn't have admitted it. The woman sat down on the couch next to my cousin's husband and started talking to him, and my cousin said, "That fuckin' whore! What's she doin' to him? Jesus Christ, well I'm leaving!" Her friend told her, "Oh, like hell you are. She'll leave." So my cousin and her friend sat down on the couch with them and started talking to my cousin's husband and didn't say anything to the woman with the bad reputation. When the woman said something, my cousin and her friend ignored her. The woman felt so uncomfortable, she got up and went into the kitchen. She stayed at the party for less than an hour and left.

As a result of my parents' influence, I have nothing to do with the young people of the bad families. I didn't play with them when I was a kid. And today, if I saw them in a lounge, I definitely would not go over to their table. It's because of upbringing. My mother trained me to stay away from them. After all this training, I just don't want to have anything to do with them. It's a bad thing to say about myself, but I'll admit it. I actually have the identical perception of them now that my parents do. I can't help it. They're troublemakers and bad geezers, and they'll never amount to anything. Just keep away from me; that's the way I feel.

If I have kids I'll definitely try to keep them away from these families too. I can see where you would want to protect your children, and make them something. You don't want them running around stealing things. I mean that's a nice start in life. So you want them to stay away from bad influences and bad people. And if I work long and hard and get a family name and people say, "Oh yeah, the J____s. They're a good people," I wouldn't want my children splashing my name in the mud. At first I was angry at my parents, but now I can understand what they were getting at. #5631

Analysis

Certain families in the community are recognized as bad families because more of their members do things that are considered bad, and they do these bad things more often than do the members of other families.

Bad families are constantly criticized in private by the other families. All of the members of "a bad family" are characterized as bad, even those who haven't done anything bad. As a result the community assumes that when crimes are committed, the bad families did them.

Parents try very hard to prevent their own children from doing bad things which would cause their family to be considered bad. Their model is "Don't hurt the family name." In order to establish consistency with this model, parents try to prevent their children from associating with members of the bad families. Parents also try to make sure their children would feel guilty if they damaged the family's reputation, by telling them, "You're not going to disgrace me," and "Don't you bring down the family name." Parents repeatedly talk about the bad families in very negative terms in the presence of their children, and identify precisely what they consider bad that the bad families do, such as stealing, having affairs, and becoming alcoholics. Parents adopt such measures because they are anxious that their children might do something bad and the parents want to take precautions to avoid this. The parents' efforts are successful and their children want to protect the family's reputation. Their children try to avoid members of the bad families, and plan to teach their own children to see things the same way. There are important advantages to having "a good name." When you have a good reputation, people are more willing to associate with you, trust you, and exchange resources with you. They are more willing to employ you, and to allow their family members to associate with you. In addition, people want to avoid the criticism and rejection which they know is directed at those who do bad things. There are other models in use here. These include "Be civil toward members of the bad families," "Do not criticize a person to their face," "Do not criticize people in front of their relatives," and the son's model, "One should not be biased against others."

People frequently run down others in order to make themselves look better. Thus they discuss at length the bad things that bad families do, and also the bad things that members of good families do. In addition, when youth are in groups, they sometimes taunt others that they resent or disapprove of. This is a way to get back at those who have hurt them previously by rejecting them, making them envious, or taunting them and their family members. Taunting others also enables one to get positive reactions from other members of one's own group.

20. BODY ODORS

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1. Introduction

People are sensitive to natural body odors, and usually consider them undesirable and unattractive. Consequently people frequently seek to avoid those with noticeable body odors, and go to considerable effort to prevent their own odors from coming to the attention of others. This concern is also applied to the smell of clothing, houses, and other items which are associated with a person. Often people seek to replace such odors with scents which they consider more desirable.

People commonly notice odors associated with other people.

> When I walk down the street and pass a pretty girl, I often find myself taking a sniff to find out what she smells like. #5632

> It's unpleasant when someone smells, and I often try to stay away from them. The other day I was in a line at the bank, and just ahead of me was this man who must have come directly from the barn. Not only were his overalls dirty, but he smelled like a barn too. I had to keep my place in line, but I maintained as much distance from him as I could. #5633

> It never ceases to amaze me how often people stop in mid-sentence, screw up their faces, and ask, "Where's that odor coming from?" The source is usually a farm and not another person, because people rarely ask the question so loudly when it's body odor. #5634

> Many houses have a distinct smell. In part it has to do with where the house is situated, because farm houses smell different from city

> homes. But people believe that the family who lives there is the primary cause of the odor. One woman I know forms her opinions of people based on the odor of their house. She believes that people can often disguise themselves in your presence, but their house will reveal their true nature. There is one family who she thinks only use deodorant when they leave their house, because she says she smells "BO" (body odor) when she walks in their door. She also "knows" that a woman in the community burns whatever she cooks, because her house smells of burned food. #5635

A person's odor can evoke reactions ranging from rejection to attraction.

> A friend of mine works in a store in Charlottetown, and she determines whether she likes a person on the basis of their cleanliness. Sometimes she points people out to me on the street and makes comments such as "The smell of him. I don't think he washes more than once a year," and "I hate him; I really do. He stinks." #5636

> I just love being at their house when Paul and Lois are getting ready to go out. As long as I've known Lois, she has worn the same mild perfume. I don't know its name, but the fragrance is beautiful. I've often heard people comment how nice her perfume smells. Paul, her husband, wears an aftershave lotion. The smell is quite strong and makes him seem more masculine. #5637

2. Unacceptable and acceptable odors

There are a variety of unacceptable odors. Probably the most undesirable is generalized body odor, or "BO."

> Some people really smell and you can encounter them anywhere. A friend of mine got a taxi home from work and there was another fare already in the cab. My friend told me, "I couldn't believe how bad this lady smelled. All I wished was that I would be the first out of the cab, but I wasn't so lucky. After the lady left, her smell continued to fill the car." A similar thing happened to me one day in class. This student was sitting next to me, and every time he moved I got this wicked odor in my face. Sometimes it was so bad, I had to gag or cough. #5638

> When I was growing up no one seemed to actually use the two words "body odor." Instead kids would whisper the letters "BO" behind their hands. There was never any need to explain what the letters meant, because everyone seemed to know instinctively. A person who was labeled as having BO was viewed as lacking in social graces, and likely ridden with filth and disease. The members of one family in the community always smelled horridly pungent, and the family was nicknamed "BO." Their children were ostracized from our playground activities, and our parents lectured us never to use one of their combs or to let them use ours. #5639

Body odor can originate from failing to bathe often enough, not using a deodorant, and/or wearing unclean clothes.

> If a person wears the same clothes too often, they begin to smell. I remember in high school my friends and I noticed a girl who wore the same clothes all week. We figured she must have gotten her outfit as a gift or something. When we walked by her in the hall we noticed her clothes had dirt on them and smelled. #5640

In addition to BO, there are odors from specific areas of the body, such as the mouth and feet. People notice such odors, which can stem from a variety of causes.

> Once I ate some taco-flavored chips, and as we all know the smell stays on your breath for hours. When I approached my fiancé, he said, "If those lips are touching mine, just keep the hell away with that terrible breath." I know from talking to a number of friends that they won't kiss their girlfriend or boyfriend if the other person has bad breath. #5641

> Brian doesn't smoke, but his girlfriend does all the time. Brian says, "It's like kissing a goddamn ashtray." #5642

> My girlfriend hadn't had her teeth cleaned for three years and they were badly stained. She hates going to the dentist and never considered it all that important. However, not only was it bad for her teeth and gums, but she always had bad breath. I finally got her to go to the dentist by setting up her appointment and paying for it myself as one of her Christmas presents. #5643

There are also odors in connection with bodily functions, such as menstruation, sexual intercourse, flatulence, urination, and defecation.

> Menstruation causes women a great deal of discomfort, odor, and embarrassment. My friends tell me, "I just feel terrible during my period. But the second day is worse because I can smell the odors," "I hate when red is here. I'm relieved I don't have to worry about being pregnant, but I find the smell unreal at times," and "I'm always thinking that the person next to me will be able to tell by the way I walk and my odor that it's me who smells." #5644

> Many people I know don't like the odors which result from sexual intercourse. They say things like "I don't mind having sex, but the smell bothers the hell out of me," "After a wonderful feeling like that, I can't believe it can take your nose right off," and "The motions feel great, but does it have to smell like fish?" #5645

> There is nothing worse than sitting in a room where someone lets out a big one and acts as if nothing is wrong. I wish I could say to the person, "Did you fart? If so, would you kindly leave the room so the rest of us can breathe." #5646

> My father occupies the bathroom longer than anyone in my house. I think other fathers do too. Dad always takes a magazine or newspaper in with him when he goes to have a shit. Afterwards, it isn't safe to enter the room. Mom tells him, "Your smell lasts a good half hour. We should build an outhouse to keep it out of our home." #5647

In addition, there are artificial odors on people which are disliked by others.

> I just hate the smell of my girlfriend's hair after she has had a permanent. I don't know what kind of chemicals they use at the beauty parlor, but I don't like to get near her head until the odor disappears, and it lasts for days. #5648

People seek to have no discernible body odor at all. They attempt to achieve this by bathing and wearing clean clothes. Actually this is the state most people would prefer for others. A desirable alternative is to

have no odor other than a scent provided by a deodorant, soap, shampoo, hair conditioner, hair spray, bath powder, cologne, perfume, mouth freshener, or aftershave lotion. Many of these substances carry a floral, herbal, fruit, or pine scent. Even when one wears a substitute scent, the odor is only supposed to be faintly detectable. As the following cases illustrate, too much of an acceptable odor is unacceptable.

> One evening three of us girls were at the same house getting ready to go to a beach party. One of us had a new bottle of perfume, and we all squirted some on. When we arrived at the party we parked next to our friend Mitchell and rolled down our car window to talk to him. Without even saying hello, he blurted out, "What is that awful stink?" We just looked at each other and cracked up. When we stopped laughing we explained to Mitchell what had happened. Because we were all wearing the same perfume, the odor must have been quite strong. Mitchell thought we were retarded for doing this. The rest of that night we kept our car windows down as we drove around. Thereafter we were careful never to wear the same perfume when we were going out together. #5649

> Each female puts on a different amount of perfume. I used to think that the more perfume I used, the longer it would last. I know better than to do this now, because if you put on too much, the smell can be overwhelming. My sister tells me, "There's a girl in school who wears an awful smelling perfume. It's bad enough that she wears it, but couldn't she just ease up on the amount she uses? She must spray about half a bottle on herself every day before school." #5650

Nevertheless, there are natural body odors which people find pleasant. Often these odors are associated with special circumstances or feelings.

> I like the odor of my fifteen-month-old girl, especially when she's just been washed and has on clean pajamas. #5651

> I don't like cologne or aftershave lotion on a male. But I do like the odor of maleness. I don't know if all males have this odor, but the males I get up close to, including my two grown sons, do. The odor gives me a sense of solid, steady, and dependable, as well as a feeling of security. #5652

> I have really good feelings about the odor of the woman I live with. It's really comforting to snuggle up in bed with my face against her back. #5653

3. Efforts to deal with one's odors

People employ a great variety of techniques to deal with their odors. These include cleaning themselves, their clothes, and their houses; preventing odors from occurring; masking odors; removing materials that smell; preventing other people from getting in a position to be disturbed by their odors; expressing their concern about having an odor; and seeking to hide the fact they are the source of an unpleasant odor.

A multitude of measures are taken on a regular basis to keep oneself and the things one is associated with free of odors. These include bathing or taking showers, washing clothes, brushing and flossing one's teeth, using a mouthwash, emptying the garbage, flushing the toilet, and frequently cleaning dishes, floors, and the toilet.

> I find for the most part teenagers are extremely concerned with cleanliness. Parents are always complaining about the number of baths and showers which their offspring insist on taking, and mothers are always griping about the backlog of towels in the dirty laundry. Some kids tell me they have absolutely refused to leave home in the morning without their shower, regardless of how late they are. #5654

> It always helps to let things air out. I normally leave some windows open or cracked when I leave my apartment so it won't start smelling musty. When I cook I usually turn on the kitchen fan to help remove any food odors. Also, after I wear a sweater I hang it up on a chair to air overnight. Otherwise it starts to get an underarm smell. #5655

> Odors associated with menstruation are considered very offensive, and some women describe the whole process as "a dirty trake." I know women who take two or three baths a day when they are menstruating. #5656

> People develop some pretty weird practices trying to keep themselves clean and free of odors. One guy I know always sniffs his fingers

after he defecates. I guess he's making sure his hands are clean. I have a practice myself. I started this practice after my girlfriend began to orally stimulate my anus when we have sex. Now whenever I defecate I use a washcloth to clean my anus. I sure wouldn't want that area to smell or be dirty when we get physical. Now it's become a habit. Every time I defecate at home I wash myself, even if I won't be seeing my girlfriend. #5657

Many people worry whether they are clean enough.

For me keeping clean is a continuous process, and isn't limited to shaving, taking a shower, and putting on fresh clothes in the morning. There are various situations when I take extra measures to make sure I don't smell. During the day if I get a bad taste in my mouth or I'm going somewhere, I often brush my teeth again so I won't be worried about having bad breath. I always carry an extra toothbrush and toothpaste in my briefcase. Likewise, if a female friend is coming by my apartment to see me, or I'm meeting her for coffee or lunch during the day, I'll apply my deodorant again and sometimes change my shirt if I'm at home where I can do so. If I get a damp or clammy feeling under my arms during the day, I'll often use a deodorant again if I have access to one. I keep a deodorant both at home and in my office drawer. If I have to go to a doctor I'll put on fresh underwear and sometimes a fresh shirt and use a deodorant, and I'll brush my teeth in the bathroom in the dentist's office just before I see him to make sure my breath is fresh. If I'm going out in the evening on a date or to a lounge or social event by myself, I'll have another shower and put on fresh clothes. I'm sure a lot of guys also shave a second time, but I don't bother. #5658

Girls and guys I know worry they aren't clean enough when it comes to sex. A close friend says, "I get very particular when it happens, because I constantly wonder if he thinks I'm not good enough or I'm not clean." Another friend tells me, "Every time it happens, I always worry whether my boyfriend thinks I'm too dirty or too smelly to have sex with, but is afraid to tell me." A guy I know says, "I shower every day so that if some occasion occurs, I'm prepared. The girl won't think I'm sticky." #5659

People take numerous measures to suppress their odors. These include avoiding certain foods, using underarm deodorants and antiperspirants, removing underarm hair (in the case of women), using deodorizing innersoles in shoes, and/or suppressing farts and belches.

> I really love onions and garlic in food, but when I eat in restaurants I won't order dishes with onions or garlic in them. If I do order a tossed salad, I ask them to fix it without onions. The only reason I do this is I never know when I might be talking to a girl sometime in the near future. I certainly wouldn't want her turned off by me because of bad breath. The only time I will order food with onions or garlic in it is when the girl I'm with does the same thing. #5660

> One thing I've learned to do is to avoid candy when I'm away from home. Candy leaves a fuzzy aftertaste in my mouth which lasts until I can brush my teeth. Not only do I find the aftertaste unpleasant, but it must make my breath smell. #5661

> I always shave under my arms. Not only does it remove odor, but underarm hair is really unattractive on a woman. #5662

> The thing I hate most is being in a conference and having to fart. When this happens I'll get up and go to the ladies' washroom to do it. #5663

People also employ techniques for covering up their odors.

> If I had a nickel for every breath freshener I've ever bought, I'd be very rich indeed. In high school especially, we'd never be without a trusty breath mint in case the latest star of the hockey team walked by. I know several people who carry breath freshening sprays on them wherever they go. One young man I know wouldn't go to a dance until he had found his spray. A friend of mine always chews gum before she'll kiss her boyfriend. It really bothers him, and he repeatedly says, "Can't you for once not be chewing gum." #5664

In an effort to get rid of odors, many people are even willing to use substances which they believe are detrimental to their health.

> I use an underarm deodorant every day, even though I think the substances in it are bad for the skin, especially after years of use. I just hope I never develop a problem like skin cancer. #5665

> I don't like to use an air freshener in my apartment, because I don't like to breathe the chemicals. But I won't hesitate to use one to get rid of a smell in a room. The smell really bothers me, and I would hate to have anyone else think my place stinks. #5666

> Gynecologists warn against applying chemicals to the vagina, because they can cause irritation and serious infection. Despite these warnings, I find many women continue to use deodorant panty liners, deodorant sprays, and scented douches. Apparently they have a greater fear of vaginal and menstrual odors. #5667

People also seek to remove smelly items from their person and vicinity. Thus they will cease to wear clothes which have begun to smell, and avoid items such as used towels which might transfer an odor to a person.

> A friend of mine changes her clothes four or five times a day to make sure she stays clean. I often wonder if she isn't part chameleon. Whenever she plans to wash clothes, she smells all her "clean" clothes to see if they need laundering. If she notices a smell on an item, it gets washed. She also assigns clothes to different sections of her closet on the basis of how fresh they are. I know other people who smell their clothing too, to check that they are clean enough to wear. #5668

Similarly, people change their bed sheets, frequently empty the garbage can in their kitchen, and soak dishcloths in an attempt to get rid of smells in their home.

> I really hate smells at home. If I notice a really strong odor of food when I open the refrigerator or a cupboard, I try to find the offending item so I can throw it away. If I have any potentially smelly garbage, I want to get rid of it quickly before it stinks up the place. #5669

Another strategy when you think you have an odor is to keep some distance between yourself and others.

> If I think my breath might smell, I try to avoid standing too close to other people, and often keep my face somewhat averted so I'm not facing them directly. I'm not alone in doing this. When I entered a business office the other day, a female executive stated, "Excuse me for not getting close, but I had a Caesar salad (with garlic) for lunch." #5670

> My fiancé is embarrassed if his breath smells and will tell me, "Don't kiss me!" When I ask why, he'll say, "I have bad breath." I tell him, "Go brush your teeth if you feel that bad." I'm also picky about my own breath, especially when I want to kiss him. I'll check my teeth to make sure they are clean, and I'll wonder if he'll think my breath stinks. #5671

Similarly, many people are careful to keep their feet away from another person's face, and many women avoid sex, particularly oral sex, when they are menstruating.

In some cases people mention that they are worried they have an odor. This indicates they recognize that having an odor is undesirable and that they don't want to make things unpleasant for another person. The other person is then in a position to either reassure the concerned person that they don't have an odor, or to talk and act openly in terms of the odor, such as to say it doesn't matter or offer them use of a toothbrush or a breath mint.

> I've gone to kiss a girl and had her mention she's been smoking. She's concerned her breath will smell and there'll be a tobacco taste in her mouth. Sometimes she'll go brush her teeth first. #5672

> When I was in the hospital after my surgery I wasn't supposed to get the bandages wet and couldn't take showers. I felt grungy and was really concerned that I smelled. When my girlfriend came to see me I asked her about it, and she assured me I didn't smell, which made me feel much better. But as soon as I felt up to it, I spent considerable time and trouble trying to bathe myself each day using a basin and washcloth. #5673

Another approach is to try to hide the fact one is responsible for an odor.

> I farted during English class and because of the smell and little crackling noise the student next to me had to know I did it. Boy, did it ever smell. But I couldn't get up and leave because it would look suspicious. People would know for sure I did it. So I sat there and felt like a damned fool. Meanwhile all my friends nearby almost gagged to death. #5674

> I'm always careful as to when I fart around other people. I don't hesitate if there's no way for them to know I did it. If I'm walking along and a number of other people are around I go right ahead and let it go, because any one of us could have done it. Sometimes when I'm walking with one or two other people, I'll let myself drop behind them or make sure I'm on the downwind side before I go ahead. But when I'm near others and sitting down or standing still, I hold it back, because they wouldn't have much trouble guessing who did it. It makes no difference whether I know the people or not, I don't want them thinking I'm the one who farted. #5675

People will also open a window or turn on the bathroom fan to allow an odor to dissipate.

Much of the difficulty is that people are not the best judges of whether they themselves smell. People quickly get used to odors in their vicinity, particularly their own, and are therefore often unaware of their own smells. Also allergies and colds interfere with one's ability to smell. One solution is to ask someone else if one smells, but people usually feel very uncomfortable asking this question of others. Sometimes people adopt measures to deal with this on their own.

> Your nose gets used to its environment, which makes it hard to detect familiar smells. If someone is coming over to visit me, I'll sometimes go check the mail or empty the garbage just to have a reason to get out of my apartment. Sometimes I'll simply go outside on the porch. This is just so I can change what my nose is used to. Then I can reenter my apartment, take a deep breath, and make sure there is no noticeable smell in the place. #5676

> Sometimes, if I want to check whether something is clean, I'll wait until just after my bath. Then I'm clean and have been smelling soap and shampoo, so I'm better able to smell other odors on a towel or piece of clothing. #5677

If one takes measures to become clean, such as by taking a bath and changing to fresh clothes, then whether or not one had any odor beforehand, one can go ahead and deal with other people without having to worry about the possibility one smells.

There are a variety of reasons why people are so sensitive about their odors and work so hard at keeping them from the consciousness of others. One reason is because other people have criticized them about their odors previously and caused them to feel ashamed and embarrassed. These feelings hurt, and one wants to avoid them in the future. Moreover, people have heard others criticized and ridiculed for their odors and likely have participated in such criticism and ridicule themselves. There is no way they want to give others the opportunity to direct such feelings and comments at themselves, either face-to-face or behind their backs. People also have witnessed individuals who were avoided, rejected, and ostracized because of their odors, and certainly do not want to be treated the same way. Such reactions by others can lead to a serious reduction in a person's access to resources. In addition, the knowledge that one smells and the implication that one is dirty is upsetting to most people. It is highly discordant with their self-image and the image they want to convey to others that they are clean, desirable individuals.

4. Dealing with people who smell

People find most body odors repugnant. When they encounter someone with an odor, they respond in a variety of ways. This includes trying to avoid smelling the person when nearby, avoiding the person, attempting to ignore the odor, telling the person they smell, leaving hints, commenting on the situation to others, and ridiculing the person.

> With her standing so close to me, I was afraid that people who came into the office would think it was me who smelled so bad. #5678

> I'm sure everyone has been to a hockey game and seen how much hockey players sweat. If a game is held in the middle of the winter and the rink is relatively cold, then you don't smell the team. However, on a warm spring day it's a different story. One year my family

attended a playoff game on the first of April, and sat directly behind the players' bench. As long as the players didn't move, the smell wasn't noticeable. But by the third period, fans dreaded when lines of players were switched between the bench and the ice. Whenever the whistle blew I would take a deep breath in case the line was going to change. The odor was ghastly. It was interesting to sit back and watch the expressions on people's faces as the team's body odors spread among them. One small boy held his breath so long I thought he would turn blue. My suggestion would be to keep the rink colder and have the players take a shower before each period, but this is a little too much to ask. #5679

Gary, who lives in my community, attended an anniversary party I was at. We were in a small room and it was too cold to open a window. Gary's problem was he didn't take a bath or use a deodorant. The guy sitting next to Gary would take very obvious deep breaths and hold them, and the other guys mimicked him. Every time Gary turned his head, people out of his sight would laugh or hold their noses. I started feeling sorry for Gary, probably because I had a cold and couldn't smell his odor. It was a terrible way to treat Gary, but he really should try to clean himself up. It's not as though he doesn't have any money. He works, and if he can afford to buy cigarettes, he can afford to buy deodorant and soap. #5680

I run a small retail store, and I would guess that one out of every ten customers who enters the store smells. Maybe they have body odor, or a barn odor, or their breath smells, or they smell strongly of cigarette smoke. I always worry that their odor will contaminate the store and alienate the other customers. I open the front door, and after they leave I repeatedly spray the area they were in with an air freshener. #5681

People tend to have a great deal of trouble telling others that they have an offensive odor. Often they are unable to say anything to the other person about it.

I had a roommate at university who always had an unpleasant smell. I think it was because he didn't get his clothes cleaned often enough. At the time he was very interested in finding a girl to get involved with. I thought it would do him a real favor to mention his odor

problem, but I never could get up the nerve to do so. We got along fine, and I guess I didn't want to hurt him or alienate him. #5682

Nevertheless, when they have to continue dealing with a person with an offending odor, many people do decide to take some action.

My friend works in a grocery store and she finds it extremely difficult to work every day next to one of the men who packs groceries. This is because of his odor. She says, "Someone is going to have to have a talk with Glen about hygiene. The smell of him today; I almost got sick. I told another clerk about it, and she noticed it too. It was awful." Although Glen's smell has become a big joke among other employees at the store, no one is willing to say anything to him about it. Recently my friend told me, "It was awful today. Glen, I mean. He smelled to high heaven. Something will have to be done. I couldn't stand it, so I went and got a can of air freshener from the shelf and sprayed it all around the counter. I had to do it; it smelled so bad. I don't think he caught on though. And what if people thought I was the one who smelled? I'd die." #5683

It can be quite unsettling to live with another human who doesn't take the pains to smell good or at least presentable. We used to share a bathroom with two girls in the next apartment. The problem is that one of the two didn't keep herself properly clean and stunk up the bathroom terribly. Her roommate was quite disgusted and didn't want to go on rooming with her. She complained to me about how gross and smelly her roommate was and even started to burn incense to get rid of the girl's odor. Apparently the other girl had no idea she was doing anything wrong. After two months of misery over this, the girl who was so upset finally told her roommate as tactfully as she could that she smelled. She also presented her with a care package of perfumed soap, body powder, antiperspirant, and numerous other articles. Thankfully no offense was taken and the two managed to continue living together. #5684

When our bowling team went to Halifax, no one wanted to share a room with James because of his body odor. We left on a Thursday and on Friday evening the guys gave him two gifts, a bar of soap and a deodorant. But on Saturday he still hadn't had a shower and his hair was all greasy. So after the game Saturday night the guys had had a bit to drink and grabbed James and threw him in the shower with a bar of soap. After he got out of the shower they held him down and

> covered him with powder and deodorant. James didn't get mad, probably because of his good nature or because he was half smashed. He just laughed and went along with the others. But he must be terribly thickheaded, because he didn't take measures to get rid of his odor even after this episode. #5685

One wonders if some of the actions taken by people to deal with a person's odor are misunderstood by the person who smells. Perhaps the person who smells sees the actions taken by others a) as dealing with an environmental odor, instead of a human one, or b) as constituting hazing. People often do not actually tell a person that he or she smells, and may falsely assume that their actions will be correctly understood. In this situation it is possible that words would speak louder than actions.

The ability to tell individuals they smell is related to a variety of factors. People seem better able to tell another person when they are the person's parents, older sibling, close friend, boyfriend or girlfriend, spouse, or someone who holds a superior position in the other person's organization.

> When my brother farts at home, my mother always tells him, "Larry, you'll have to get the stuff from the drugstore, so I can get you cleaned out. Something must have crawled up your hole and died." #5686

> When I was cleaning my brother's room I noticed an underarm smell on his shirts. I wasn't deliberately smelling them, but got a good whiff simply by picking them up and putting them in a pile. When my brother got home, I told him, "I think it's about time to use your deodorant, if you have any plans of getting a girlfriend." He just looked at me and laughed. I continued, "I didn't intend that to be a joke. I'm dead serious!" #5687

> Two friends of mine, Cathy and Tania, were sitting next to each other in class. Every time they talked Cathy smelled something awful and realized it was Tania's breath. Cathy said, "Excuse me, Tania. I hate to tell you this, but your breath really stinks." Cathy explained to me that it was easy to tell Tania because they are very close friends. Tania was pretty embarrassed. She had Cathy give her something to put in her mouth so no one else would notice her breath, and Cathy was thankful to do so. #5688

> I teach a ballroom dancing class at a local fitness center, and find that personal odors are always a problem. People often do not know what they smell like, but their dance partner certainly does. In every class I have a few students with bad breath, smelly clothes, or body odor. Occasionally I've taken a student aside and discussed it with them. But it is always difficult guessing just how to do this diplomatically. Often what I do is pass out a handout at the beginning of class so everyone gets one. That way I do not have to single anyone out. My latest handout was worded as follows: "Helpful Reminder. Personal hygiene is an important part of social dancing and dance classes. Dance is physical exercise and we are in close contact with each other. All of us are capable of upsetting our partner in regard to our personal hygiene without realizing we are doing so. In fact, students tell us that they have problems with their partners. This is a universal concern. Many dance studios and clubs have spray deodorants and bottles of mouthwash in washrooms. If we had our own studio, we would do this. However, many dancers carry a deodorant and bottle of mouthwash in their kit bag. The best way to minimize the problem is to take a shower, put on clean clothing, and use a deodorant, toothbrush and toothpaste, and mouthwash before class. Also, light, cool shirts made of cotton, silk, and rayon will reduce perspiration (shirts made of polyester, nylon, wool, acrylic, etc. are *not recommended*). Your partner will appreciate this. Going to a dance class is like going to a party or special event! Thank you." #5689

In contrast, people seem less able to tell another person they smell if that person is a stranger, an acquaintance, or holds a position senior to them. Nevertheless, there are cases in which people do tell others who they do not know well that they smell.

> Julia is very mouthy and says whatever she feels like. She's not that popular, because she's so ignorant (rude). One day she said to a guy in class she didn't know, "You got some nerve to smell up this room. Get the hell out and clean your hole!" #5690

People with body odors are also subject to ridicule, either openly or behind their backs.

> One of my teachers in high school was known for having bad breath. Students carved this fact on desktops throughout the school. #5691

Mom told us about a man in her church with a very offensive body odor when she was growing up. People referred to him as "The Seven Mile Smell." We use this name today in our house to refer to people who smell bad. #5692

My friends are quite unkind in discussing people with bad body odor. They say such things as "She smells to high heaven. A good bath would scare her to death," and "Soap and water are cheap and there's no excuse in this day and age to smell like that. I just can't believe that anyone who smells that bad to everyone around them can't smell themselves. I even commented on the foul smell in the room and she never said a word. It's just disgusting." #5693

One of my friends, Alice, has really bad foot odor. One day a few of us girls were driving around and Alice took off the white plastic shoes she'd been wearing all summer. None of us wanted to tell her that her feet were giving off a terrible smell, but after an hour passed a girl spoke up and asked her to put her shoes back on. Everyone just roared laughing at this, including Alice. For the rest of the summer we teased her about it. We'd tell her to either throw the shoes out or keep them on her feet. By the end of the summer Alice didn't care that her feet stunk and was keeping her shoes off just for spite. If I'd remembered, I'd have bought her "Odor Eaters" on her birthday to put in her shoes. #5694

Those who are told they have an odor often feel highly embarrassed or humiliated.

As a female teacher I have occasionally been asked to speak to females at school about their body odor. The other teachers feel unable to talk to them about this. One teacher commented, "I wouldn't mind telling one of the guys, but you feel so stupid talking like that to a girl." When those involved were students, I didn't feel at ease in introducing the subject, but did so as openly as possible. The students usually reacted with excuses, "Oh, it must just be I was having my period," or "I wear this back brace and have a lot of trouble with perspiration." Thus the students were able to respond with some dignity which allowed me to feel OK about bringing up the subject. On another occasion, however, the principal asked me to have this kind of conversation with a teacher's aide. This was much more difficult for me, and the girl reacted with anger and a lot of resentment.

> She did not come into work the next day and even considered quitting her job. In the end she returned to work, but our relationship was quite strained from then on. Obviously it is much easier to discuss such matters with subordinates than with peers. Even though I usually feel it is better for a person to be aware of the problem than to allow others to laugh at them behind their back, these conversations are among the most difficult I've ever had to initiate. #5695

Often those who are told attempt to cover up their embarrassment with laughter.

> Brian and his friend Kent stopped to eat at Burger King. As they approached the door Brian turned to Kent and said, "I hope this food does wonders for your fuckin' breath." Kent laughed off the remark, but on the way out he turned to Brian and said, "Well, bastard. How does my breath smell now?" #5696

Nevertheless, there are instances in which an individual's body odor is noticed by someone else and the individual does not seem embarrassed.

> Ronnie is a funny character who doesn't give two hoots about others. One time he farted in class, and because he had been out on the town drinking the night before, it really smelled. The student next to him kept looking around trying to figure out who had done it, and Ronnie said to him, "OK, I farted. Do you mind? If so, the door is that way." #5697

Analysis

People very much do not want others to think that they smell bad. As a result they take numerous measures in regard to themselves in order to insure that their odors do not come to the attention of others. In other words, they get themselves to establish consistency with the model "I do not want to smell bad." They also try to make sure that the things associated with themselves, such as their clothing and house, do not smell bad. They bathe, brush their teeth and use a mouthwash, wash their clothing, empty their garbage, flush their toilet, and avoid foods with strong odors. They try to get rid of bad odors. They also seek to cover

up odors, by using desirable smells produced by deodorants, air fresheners, perfume, and scented soap. They try to hide the fact when they produce a bad odor, and they avoid others when they think they themselves smell. The reason they do so is that they do not want other people to criticize, ridicule, avoid, or exclude them. These things hurt, and by making sure they do not smell, they avoid this hurt. As a result, when they make sure they do not smell, they are less likely to lose the resources they get from other people. Also the knowledge that one smells bad, conflicts with a positive self-image and interferes with giving oneself positive reactions.

At the same time people do not want others around them to smell bad. They try to avoid those who do, and in many cases they try to change them so they no longer smell bad. In other words, people try to establish consistency with their model that "I do not want to experience bad smells" by getting others to change. Nevertheless, people frequently find it difficult to tell others that they smell bad. They know how hurt (embarrassed and humiliated) they themselves would feel if someone told them they smell bad. They do not want to alienate others and make enemies by hurting them, and they do not want to feel guilty for having hurt them.

There are evolutionary advantages to being sensitive to bad smells and wanting to avoid them. This sensitivity encourages one to clean oneself, to get those that one associates with to clean themselves, and to avoid things and places which are unclean.

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PHOTOGRAPHS OF EVERYDAY LIFE ON PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

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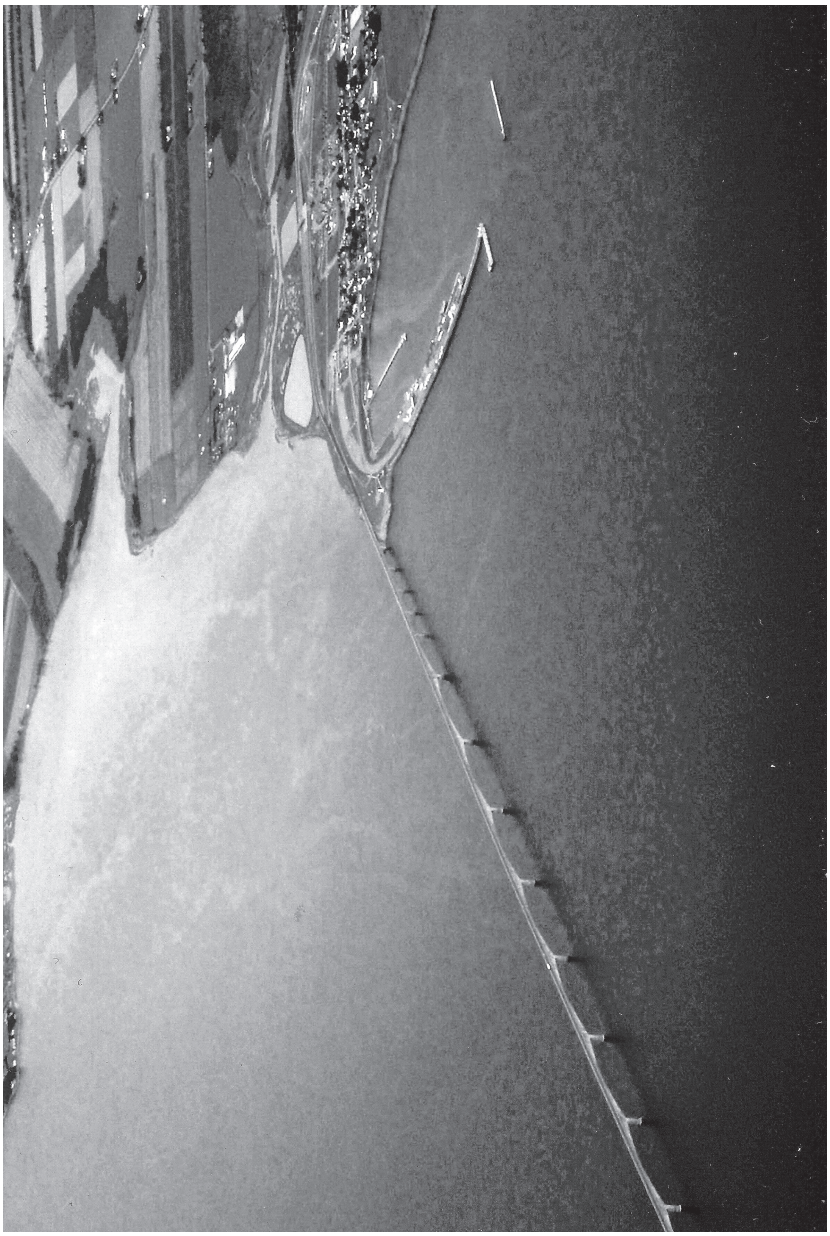
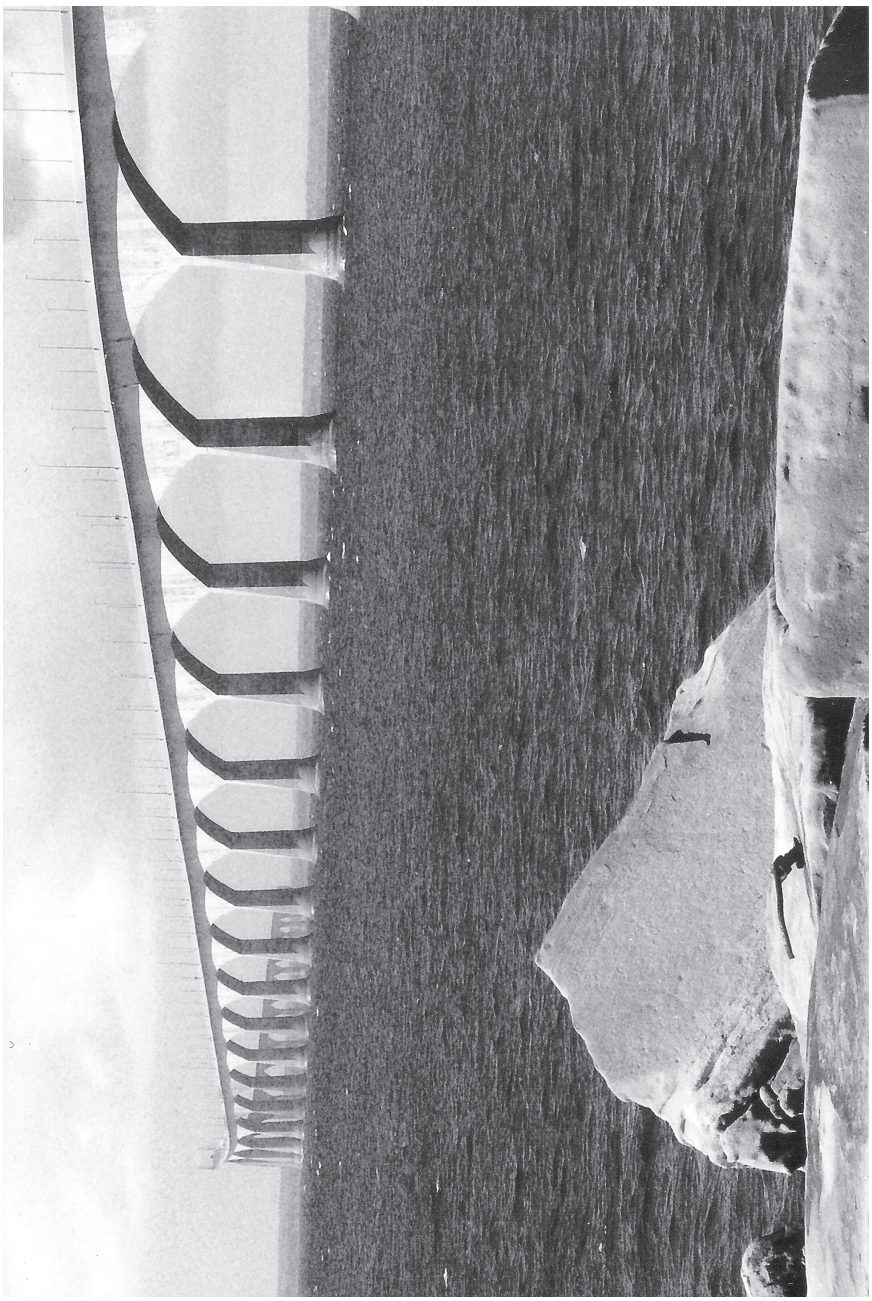


1-4. Confederation Bridge between Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick.



2.

3.

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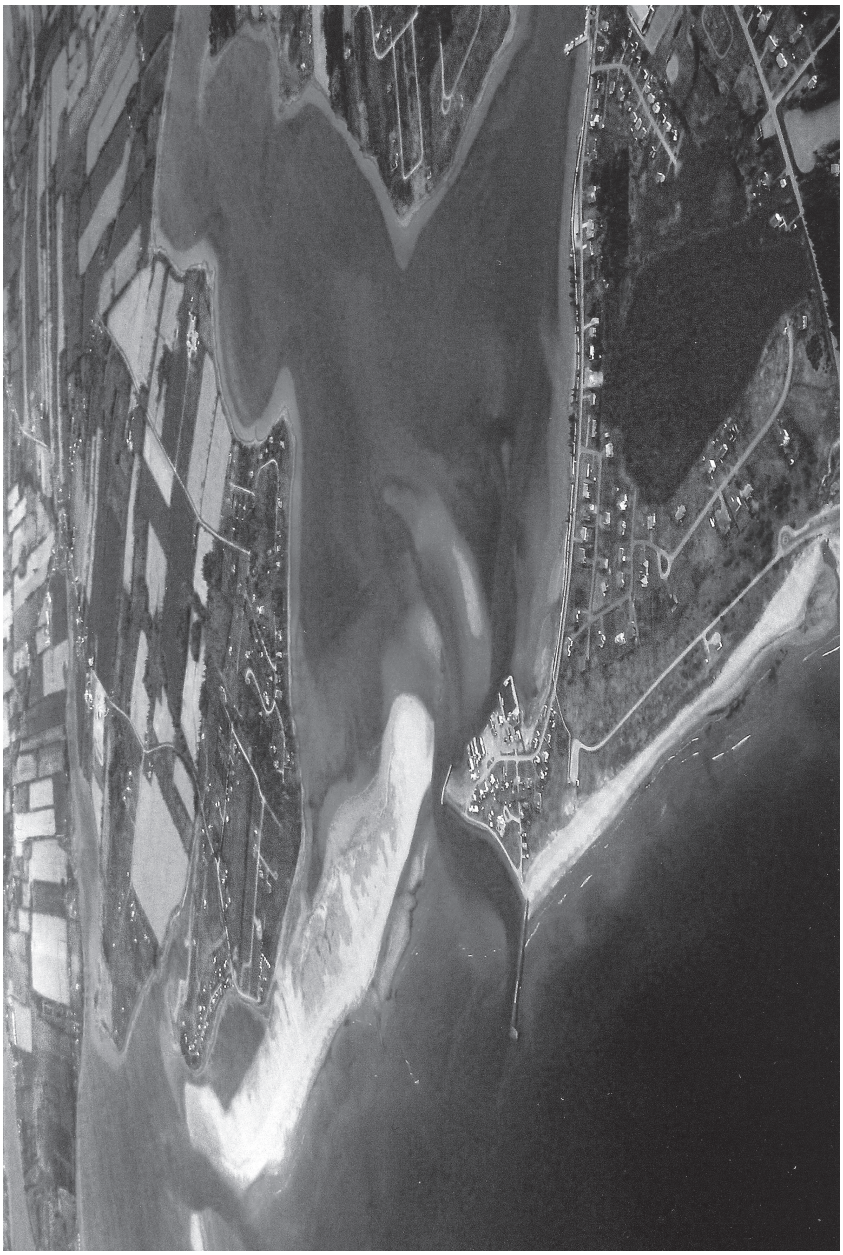
5. Line of campers waiting to drive onto the ferry boat.

6. Ferry boat between Nova Scotia and Wood Islands, Prince Edward Island.

7. Bus for tourists touring the maritime provinces.



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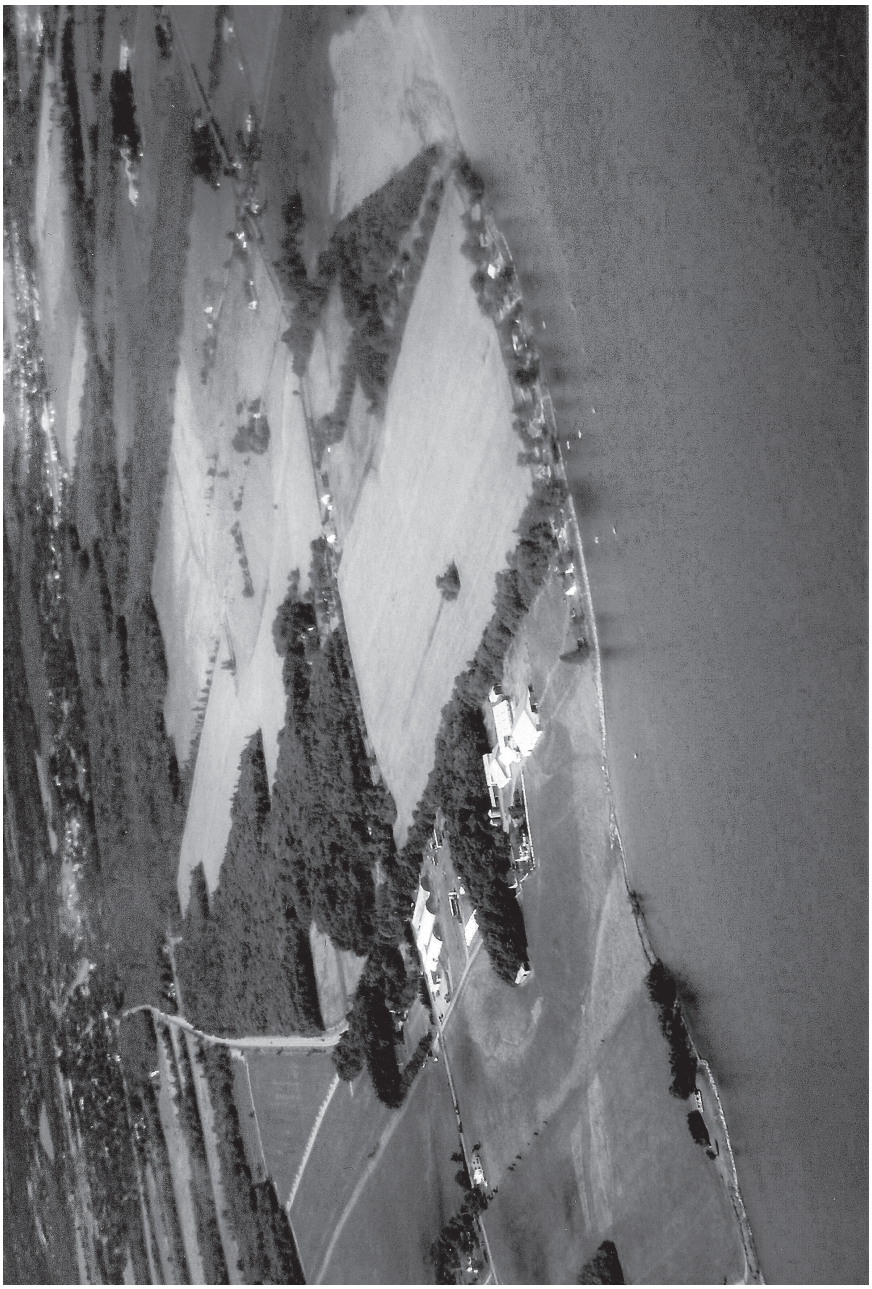
10.

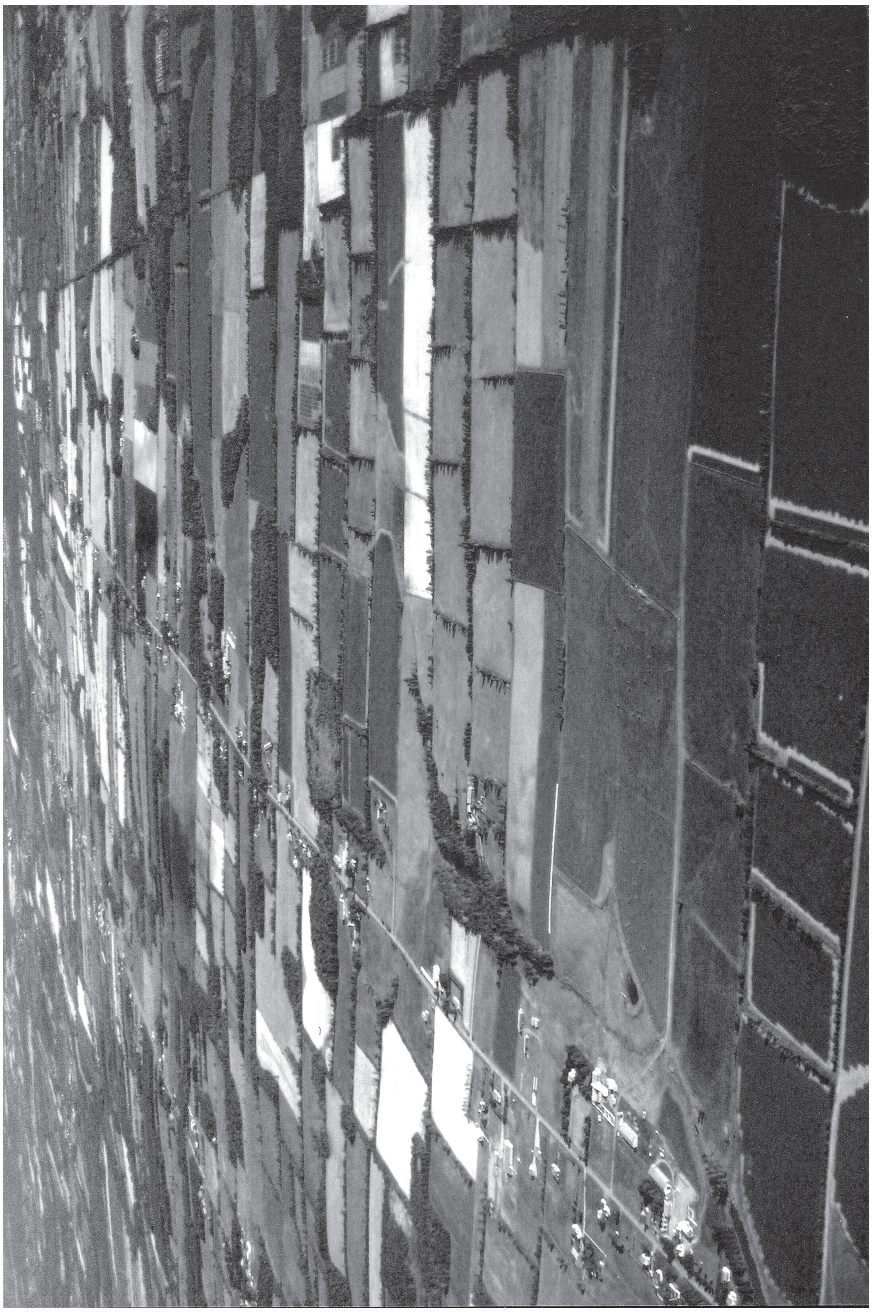
11.



12.

13.

14.



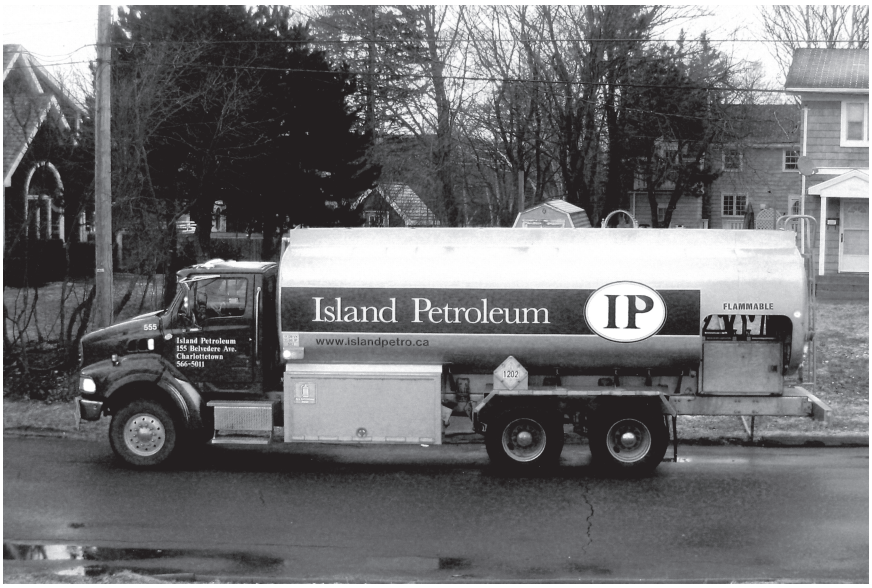
15.

16.

2. Seasons

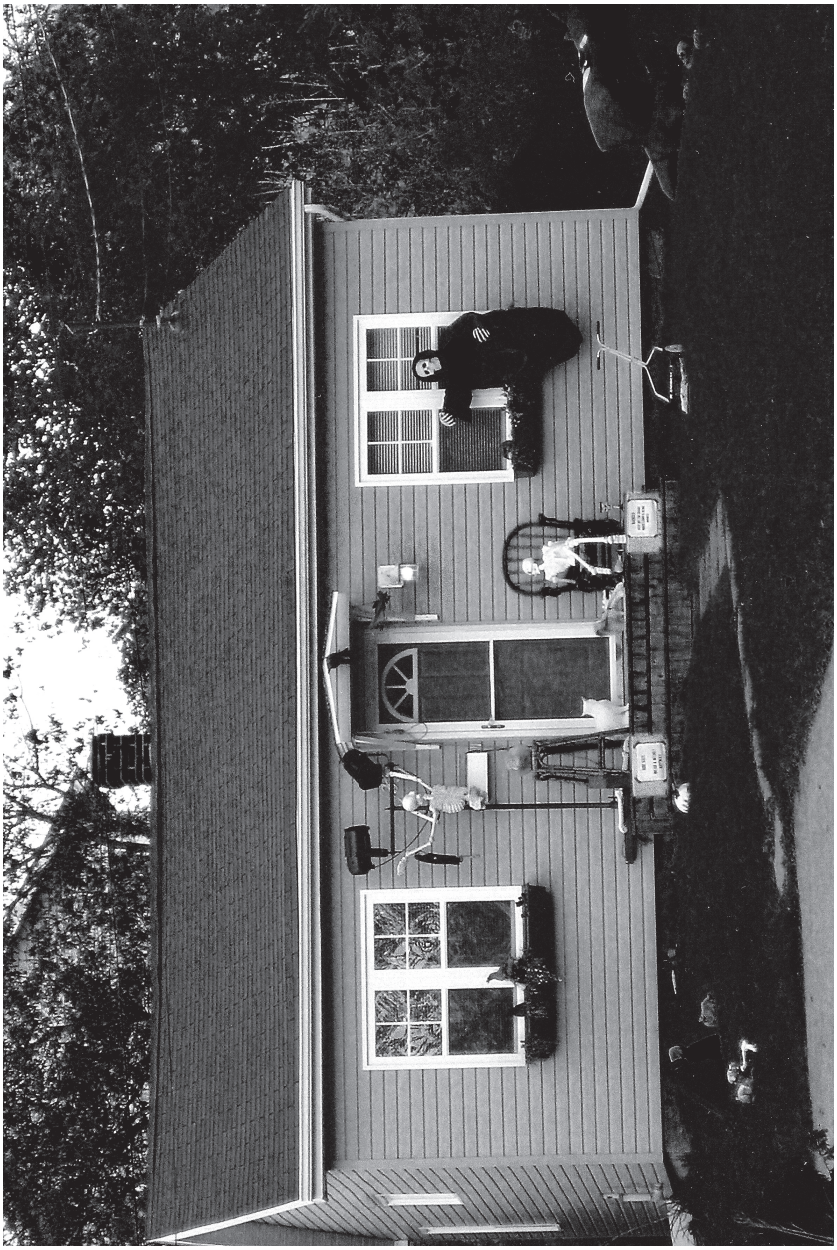
17-18. Leaves and bags of leaves in November.

19. Early frost in the middle of September.



20-21. Trucks delivering heating oil to homes.

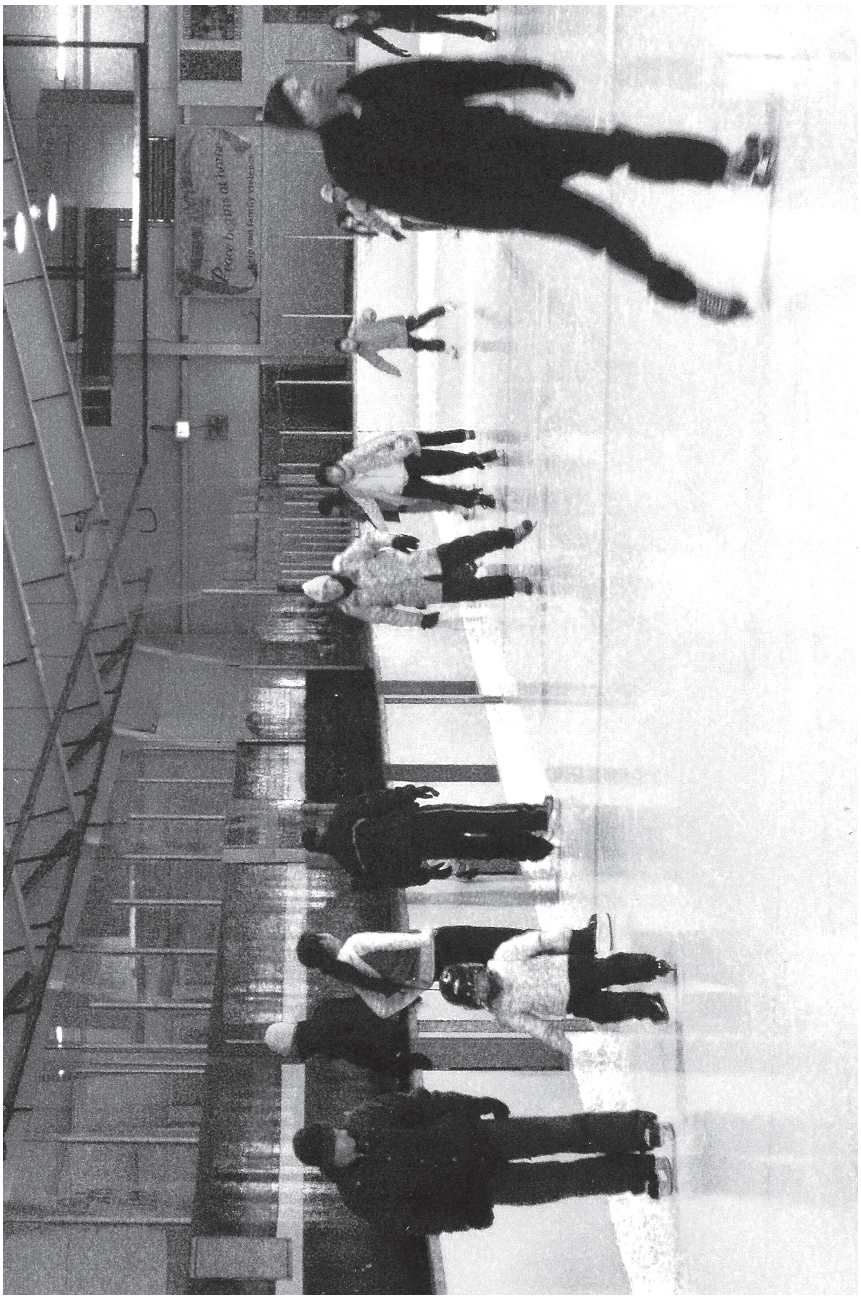
22. Store window decorated for Halloween.



23-24. Home decorated for Halloween.

24.

25-26. Community skate.



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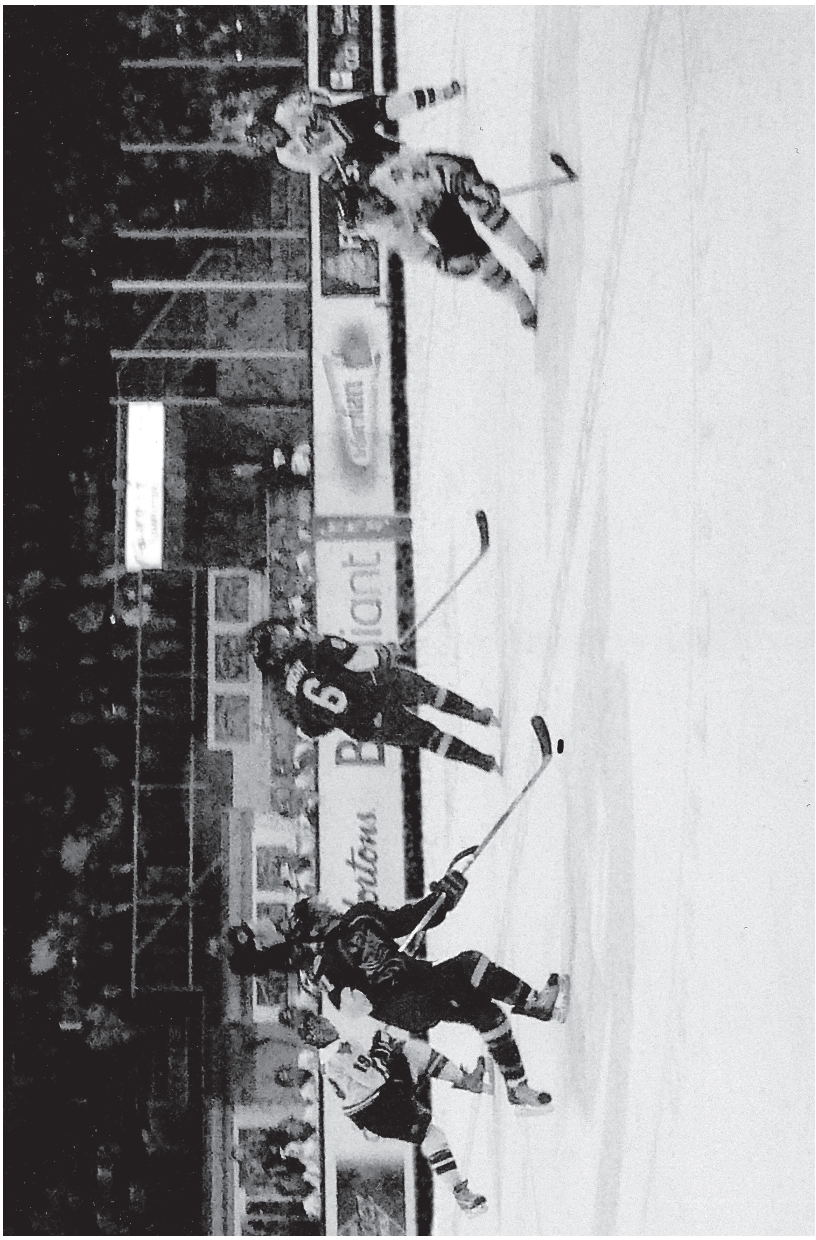


27. Hockey game.

28. A Zamboni resurfaces the ice.

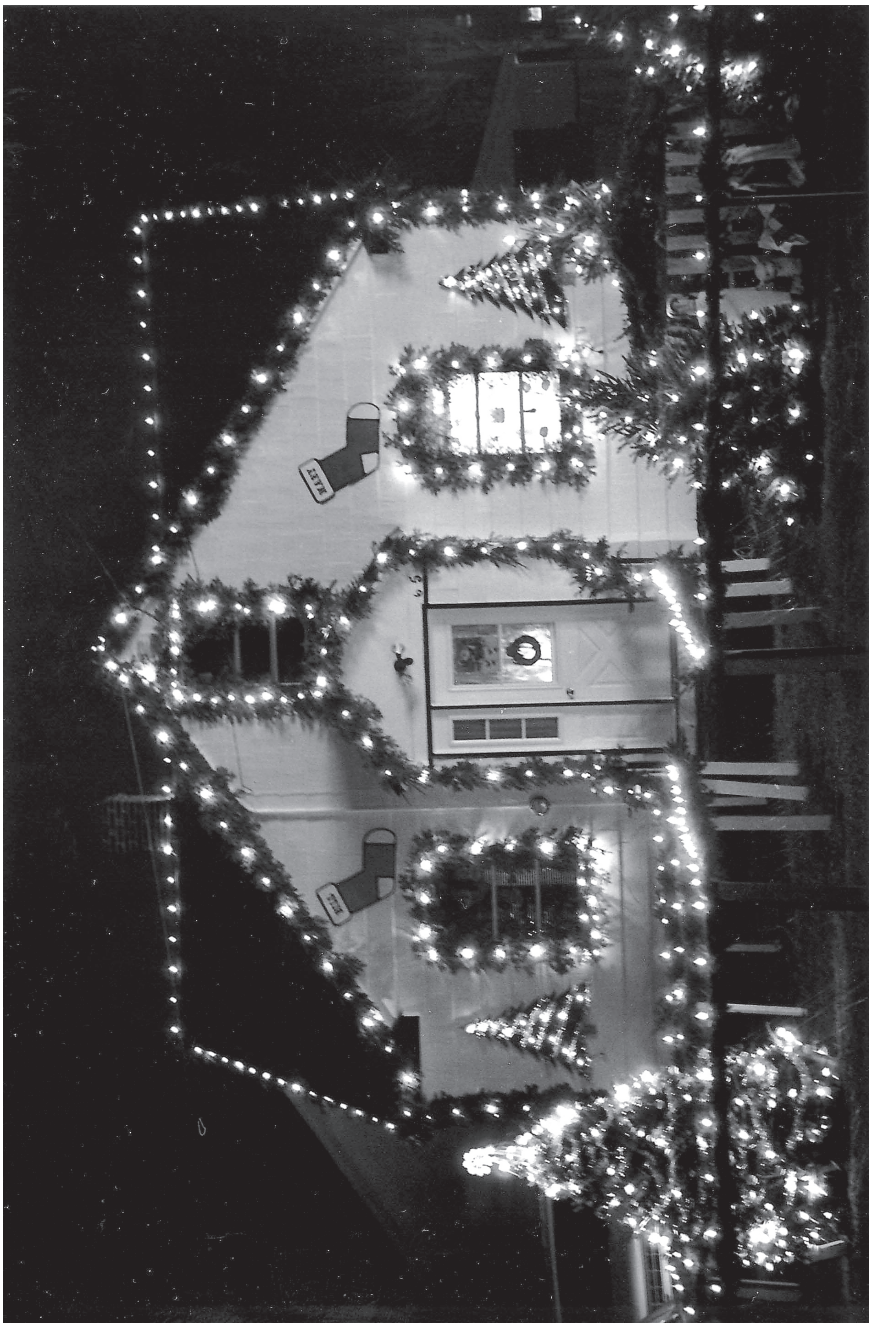
29. Curling.

30.

30-31. Decorating downtown Charlottetown for Christmas.

32. Store decorated for Christmas.

33-34. Homes decorated for Christmas.



34.

35. Children who are accompanied by parents waiting to be photographed with Santa in a shopping mall. Charlottetown.

36. Listening to a Christmas concert in a shopping mall.

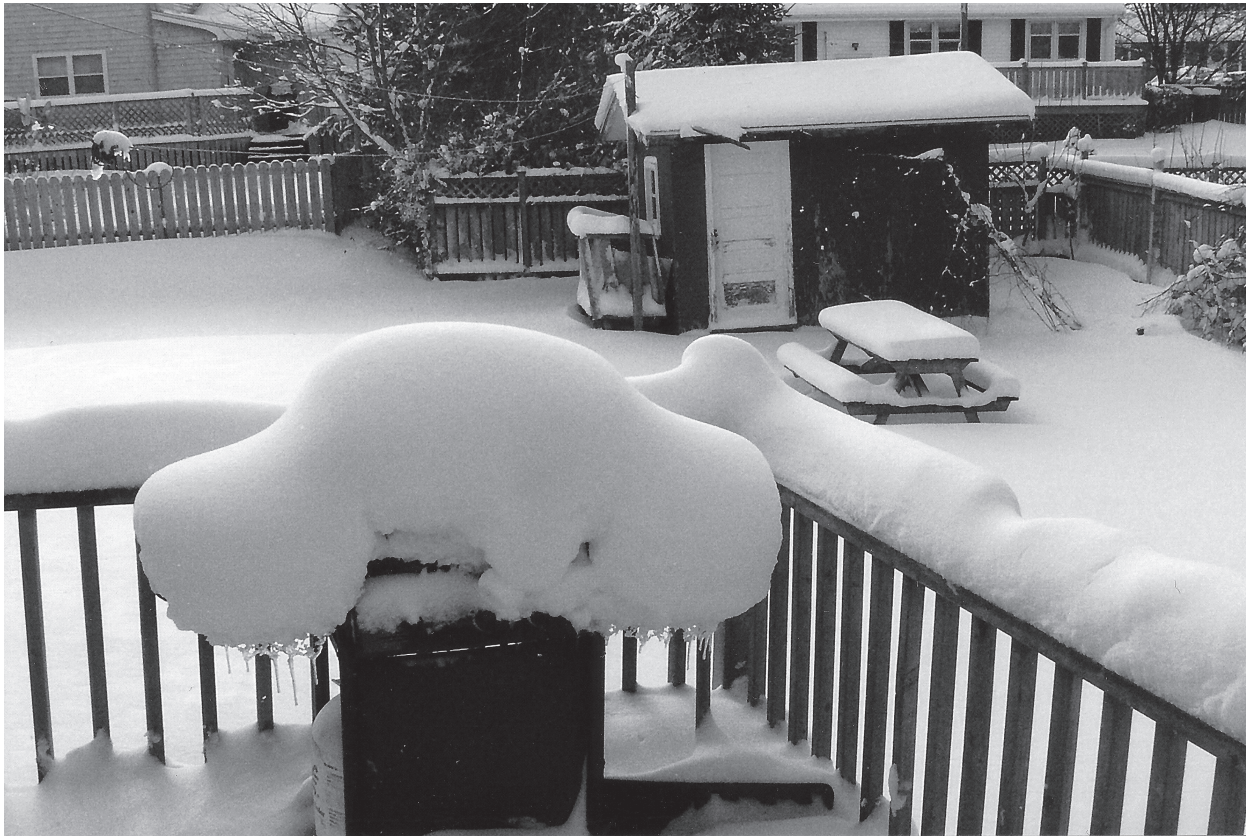
37. Sign for motorists in front of the Highway Safety Offices. Charlottetown.

38. Winter snowfall.

39-45. Winter scenes following a heavy snow.

39.

40.



41. The object in the foreground is a barbecue unit on a deck.

42.

43.

44.

45.

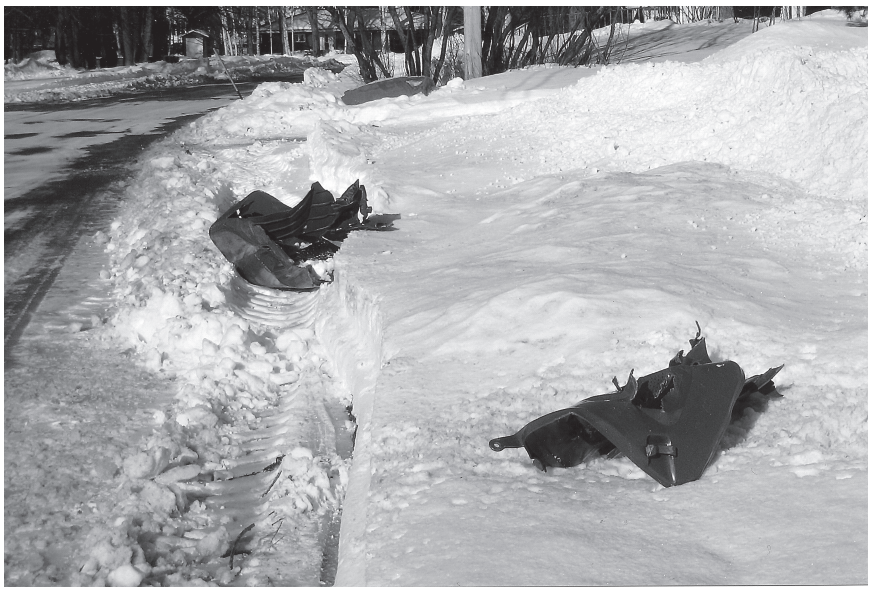
46-47. Snowplows clearing roads and driveways.

47.

48. Removing snow from a driveway.

49. Cleaning car windows.

50. Snow deposited in the middle of the street by snowplows. This will be removed later using trucks. Downtown Charlottetown.



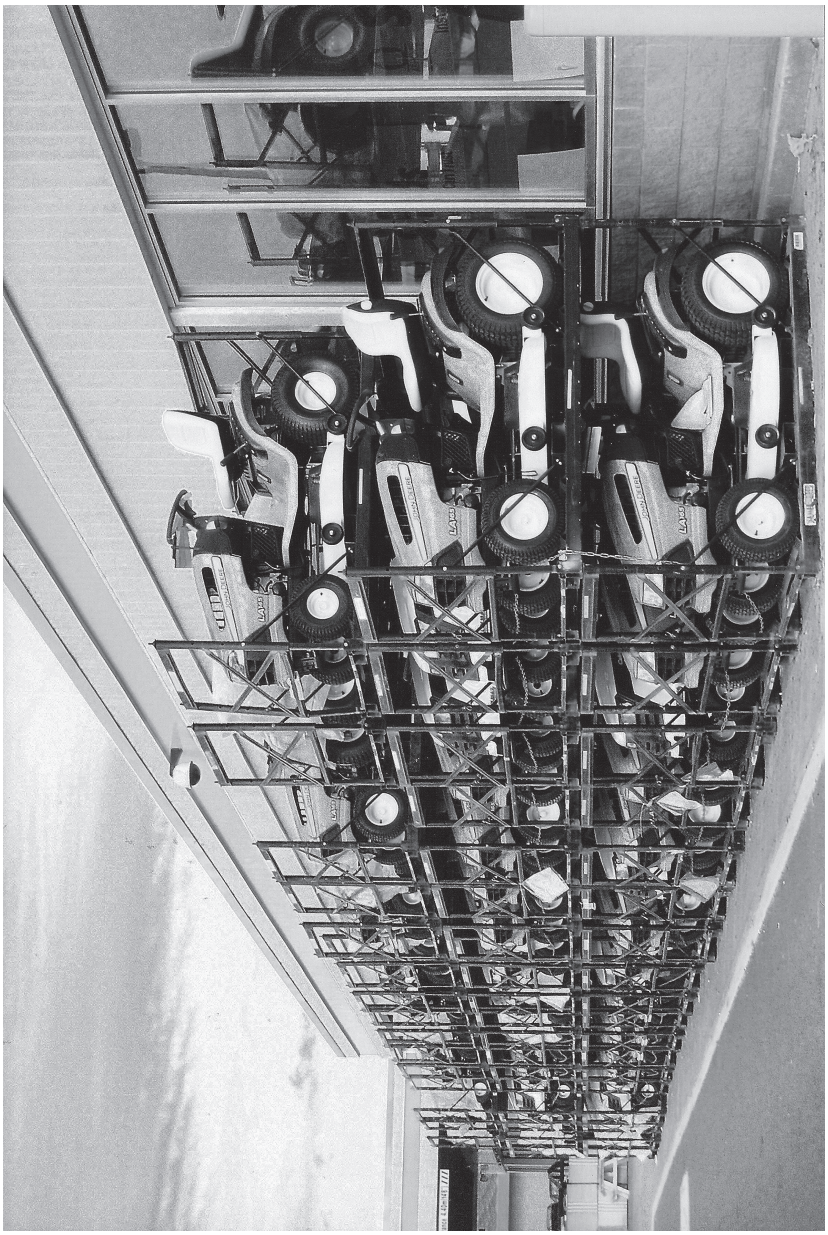
51-52. Recycling container that has been demolished by a snowplow.

53-54. Building a snowman.

55-56. Gardening in May.

57-58. Flowers in late May and early June.

59-60. Mowing grass in June.



61. Lawn mowers for sale.

62-63. North Shore in late June. Brackley Beach.

63.

64. Jogging in June.

65. Boating in Charlottetown Harbor.

66. Swimming on the South Shore.

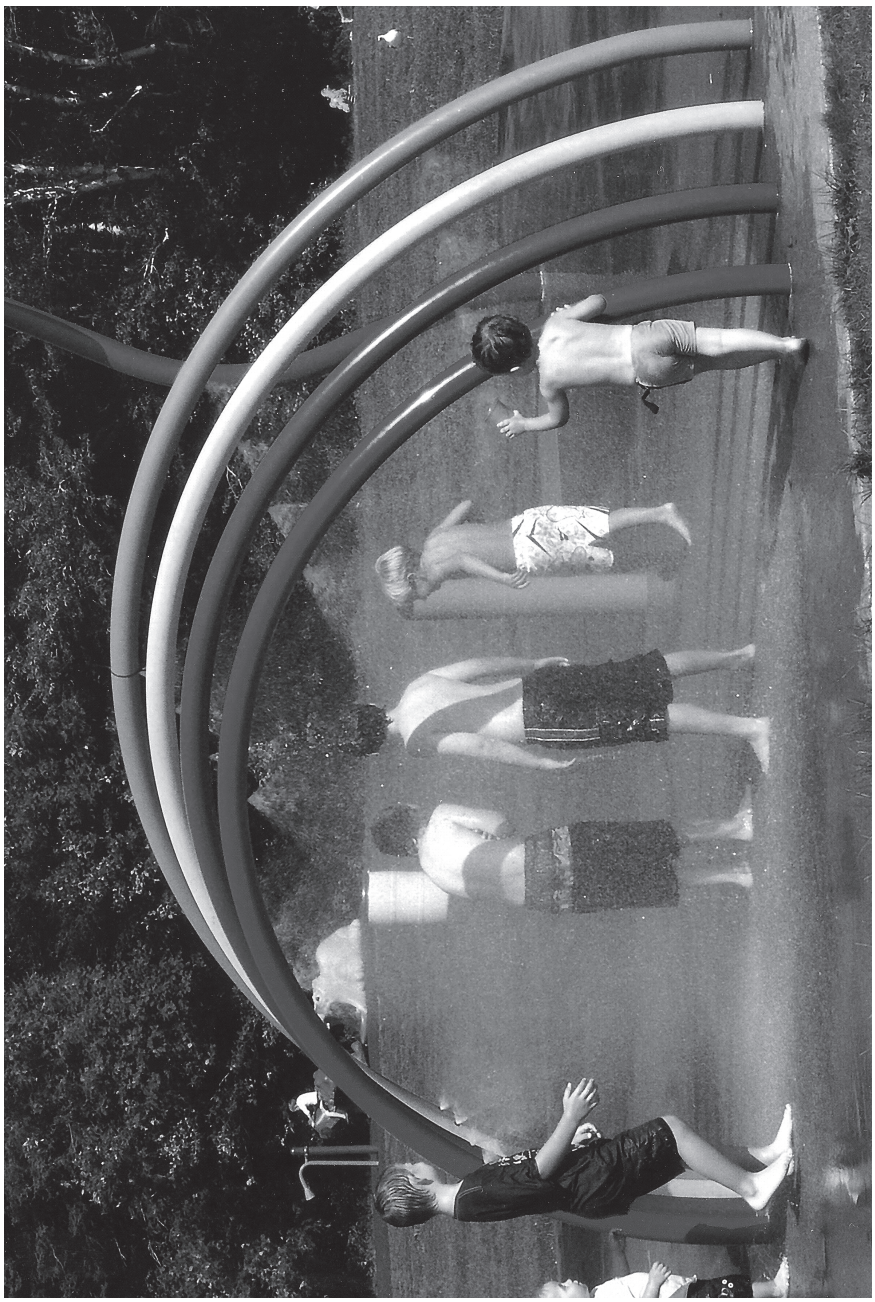
67. Race held just before the Old Home Week parade in August.

68-72. Scenes from Victoria Park in Charlottetown in mid-August.

ATTENTION USERS
• PROPER SWI
• NO SPLASHIN
• NO RUNNING
• BATHERS MUS
• NO BREAKAB
• NO SMOKING
• NO DIVING

69.

70.



71.

72.

3. Farming

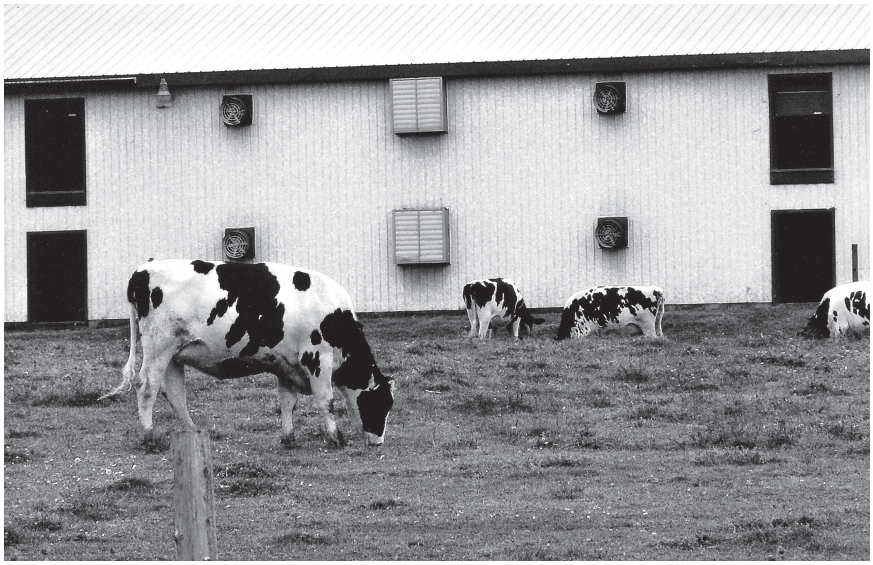
73-80. Farm buildings and structures.

74.

75.

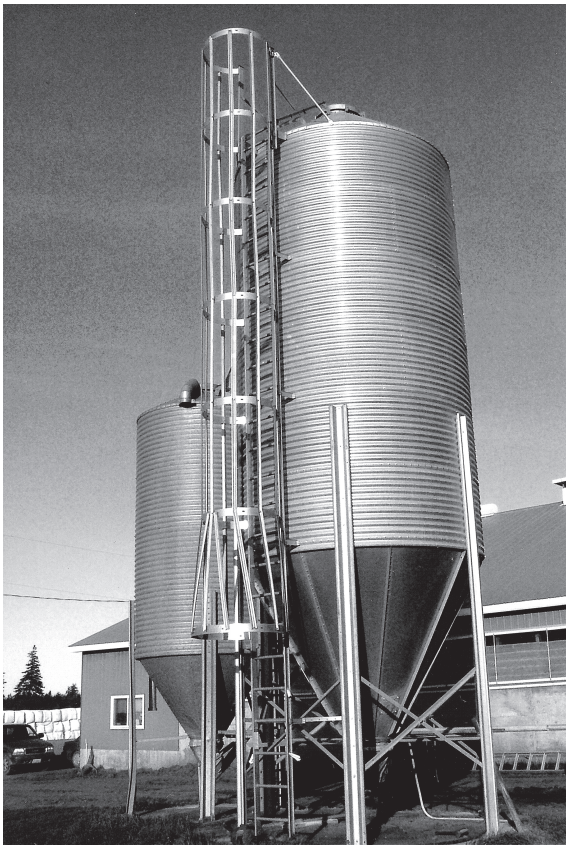
76.

77.



78.

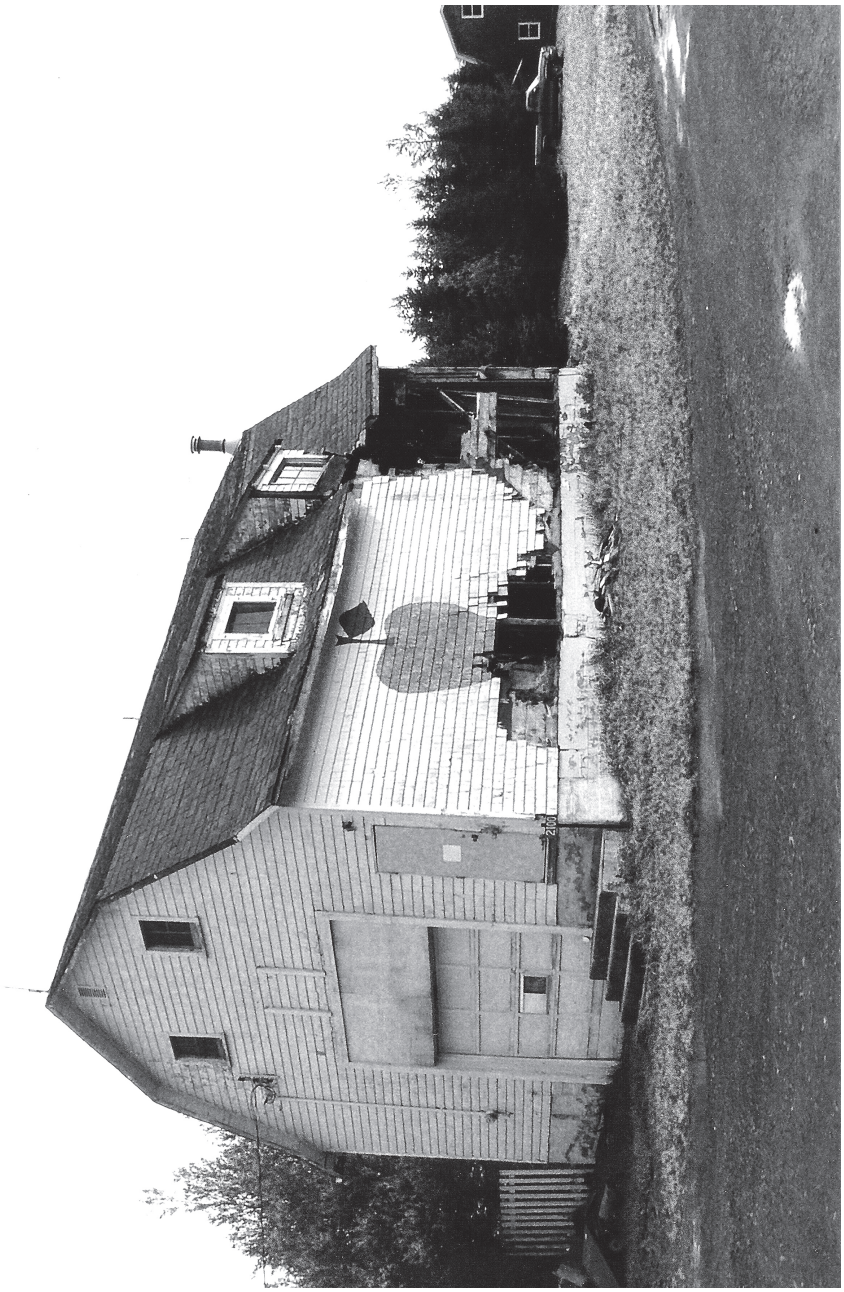
79.



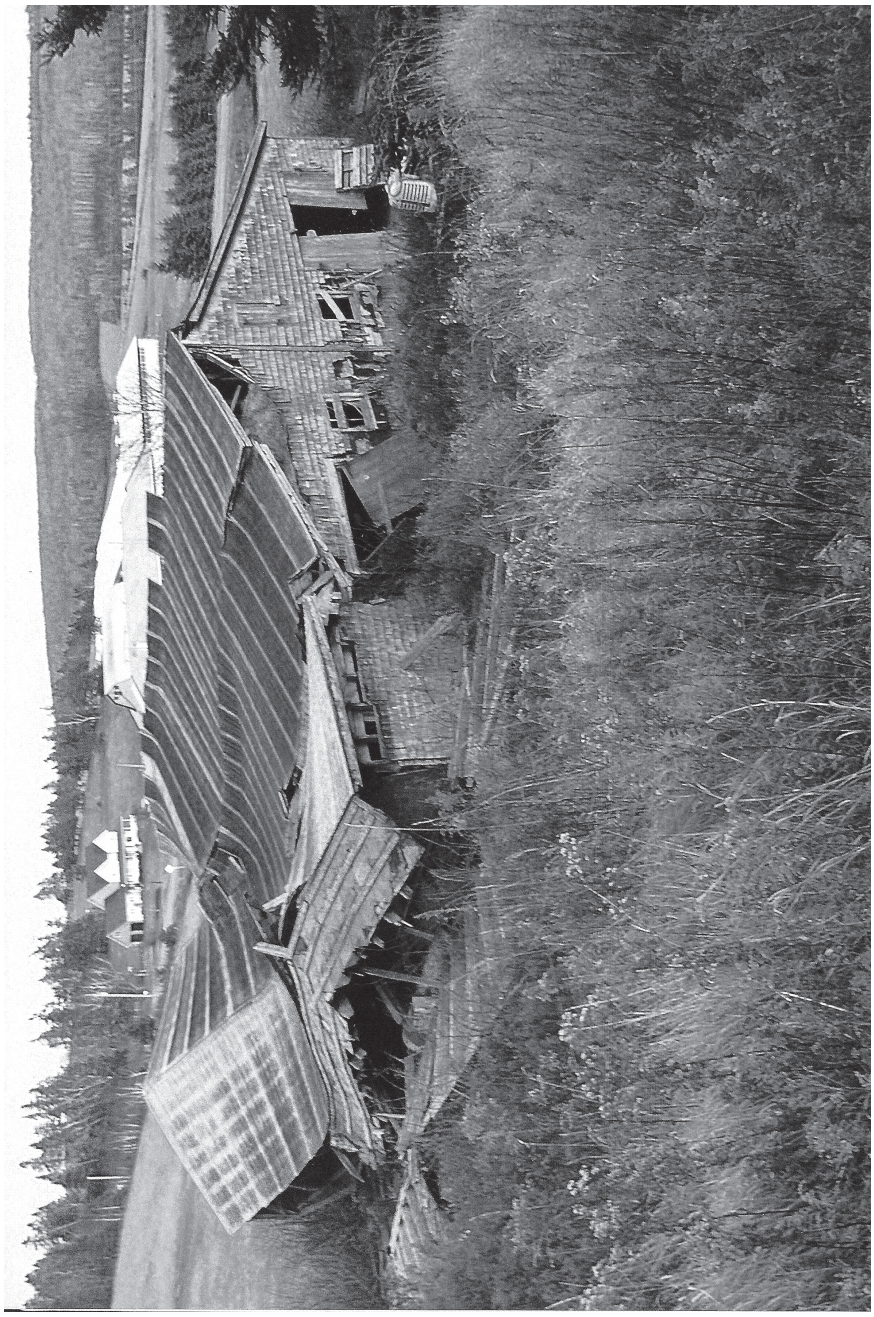
80.

81-84. Collapsing buildings.

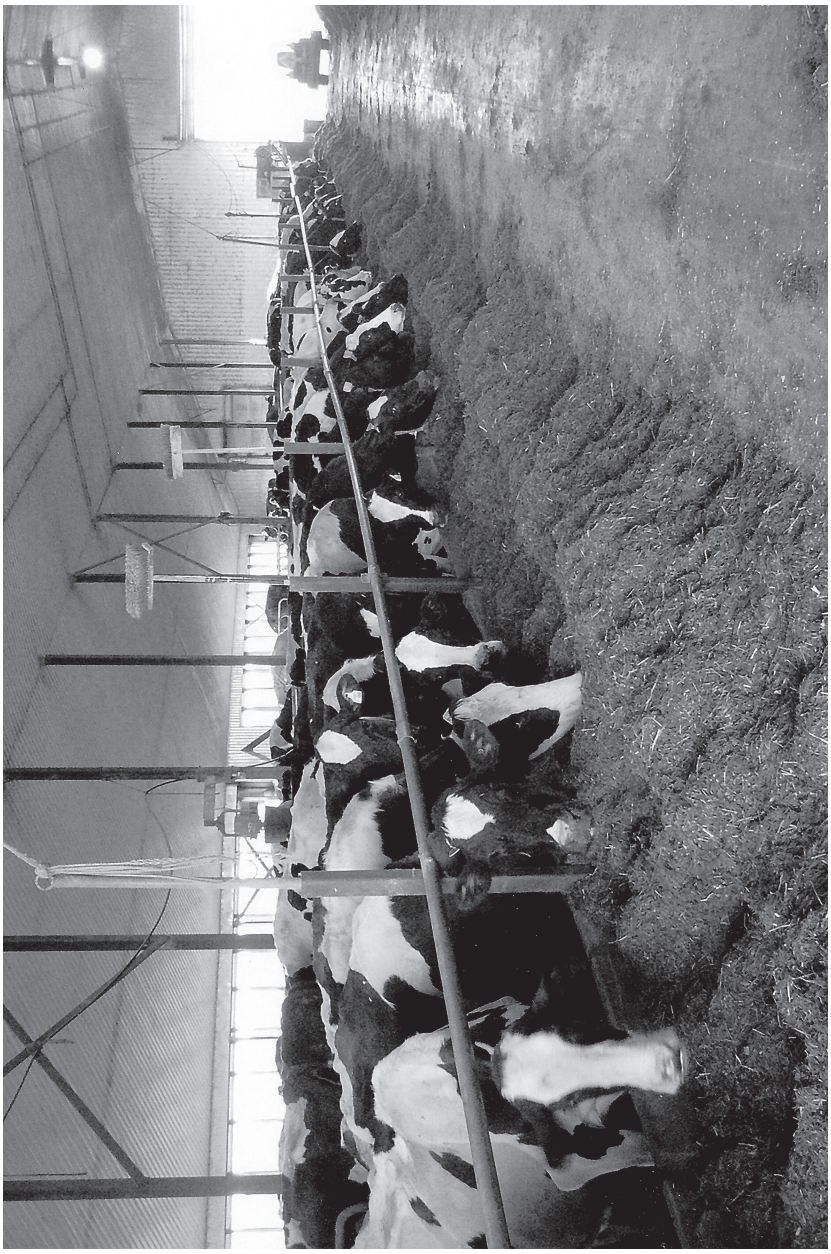
82.



83.

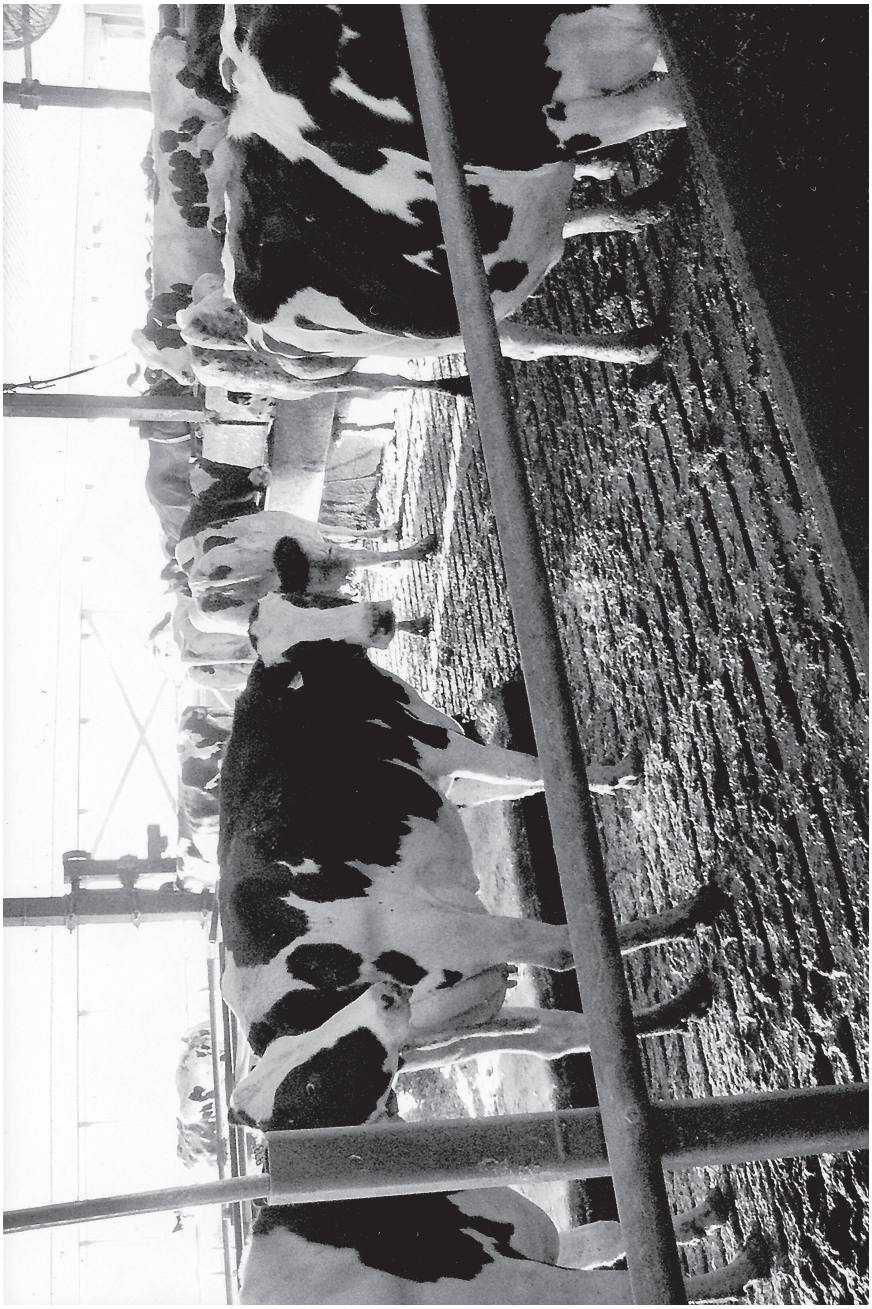


84.



85-89. Cows in large barns at two different farms.

86.



87.8

88.

89.

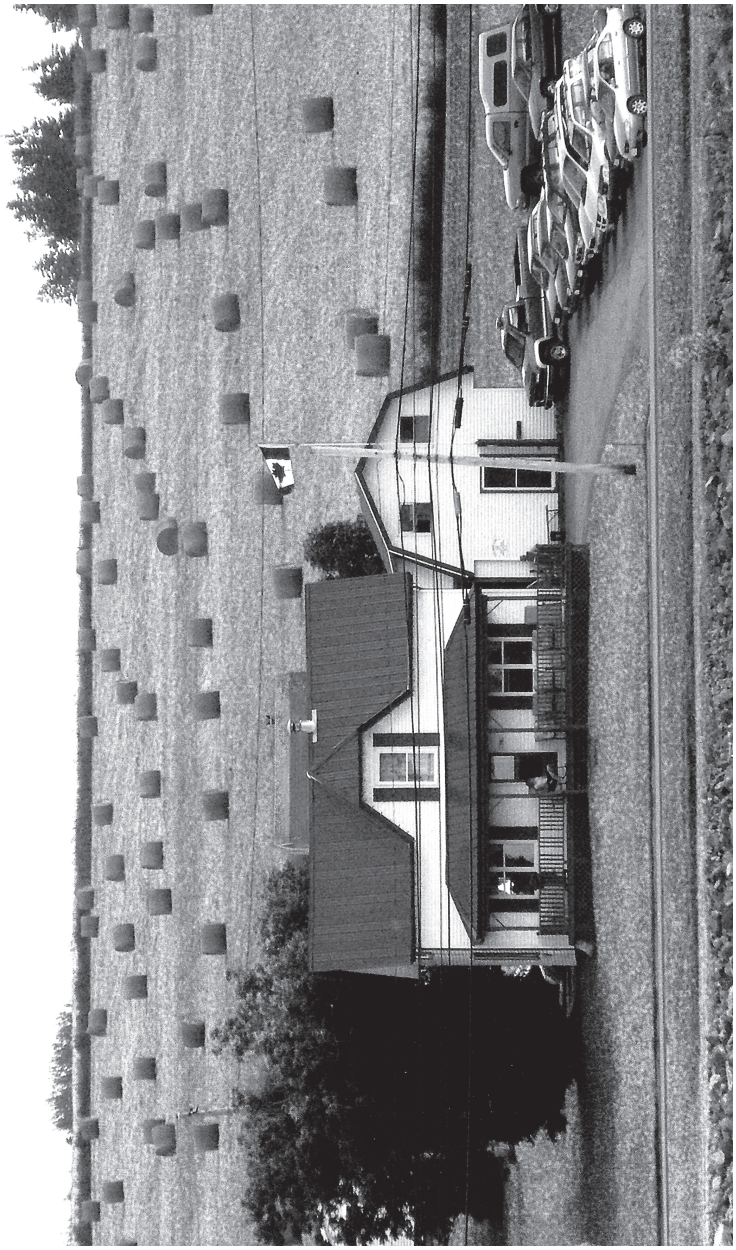
90-91. Pregnant cows.

91.

92-93. Calves.

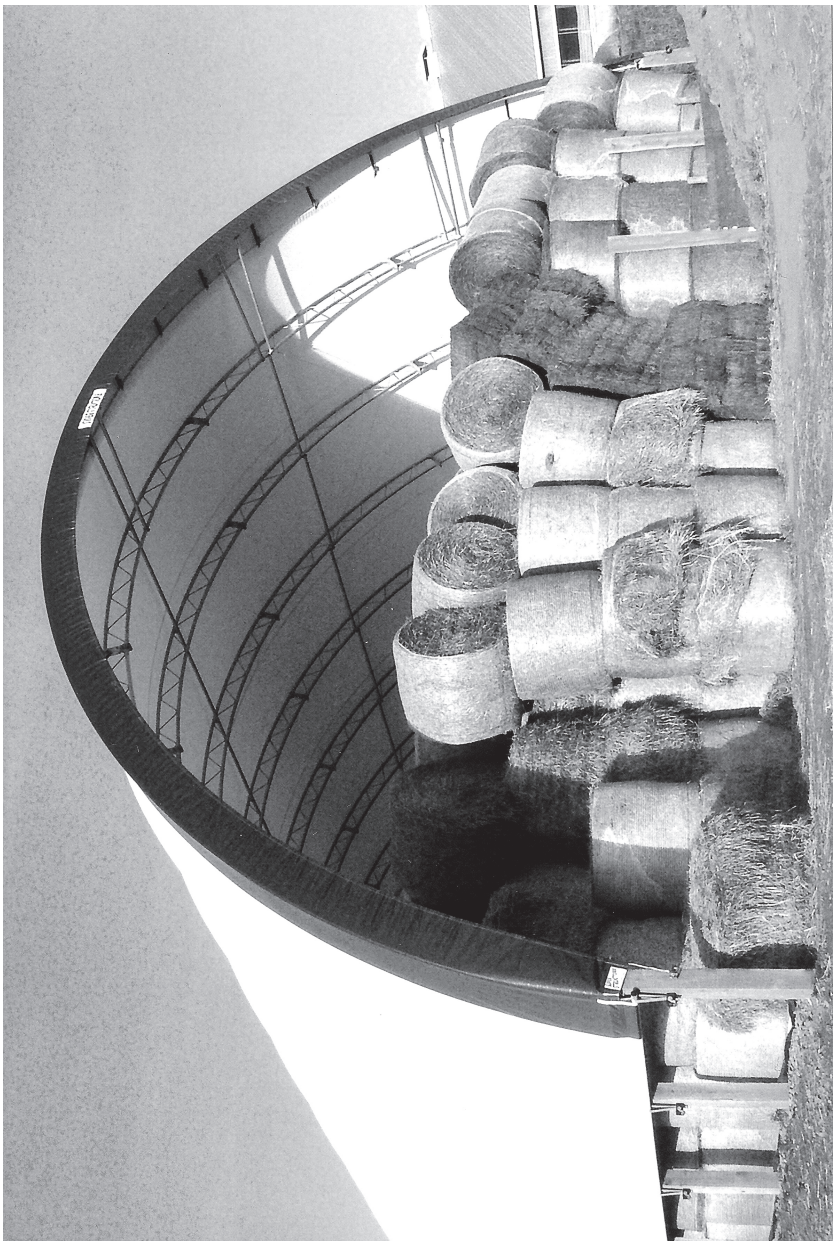
93.

94. A stillborn calf.



95. Bales of hay on a hillside.

96-97. Collecting bales of hay in late July.



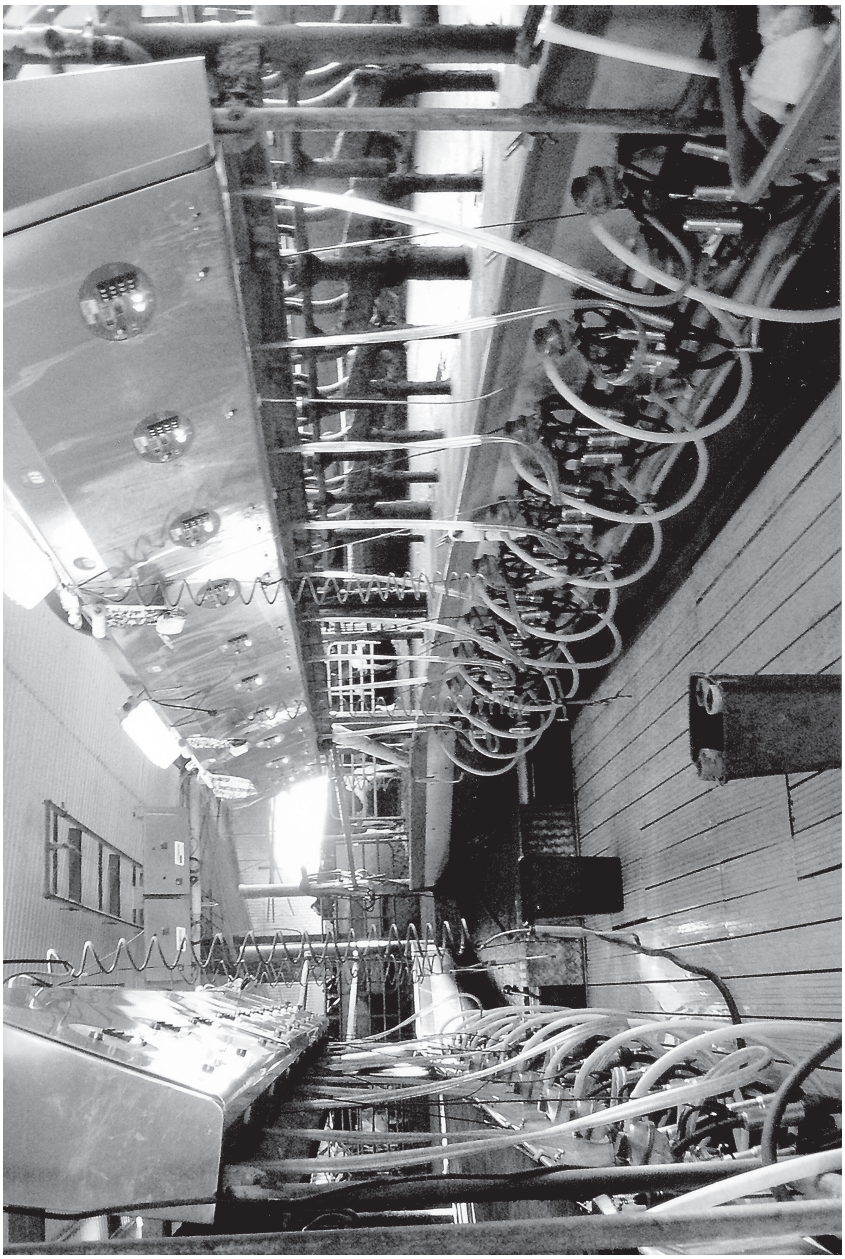
98. Bales of hay stored at a large dairy farm.

99-100. Bales of hay wrapped in white plastic.

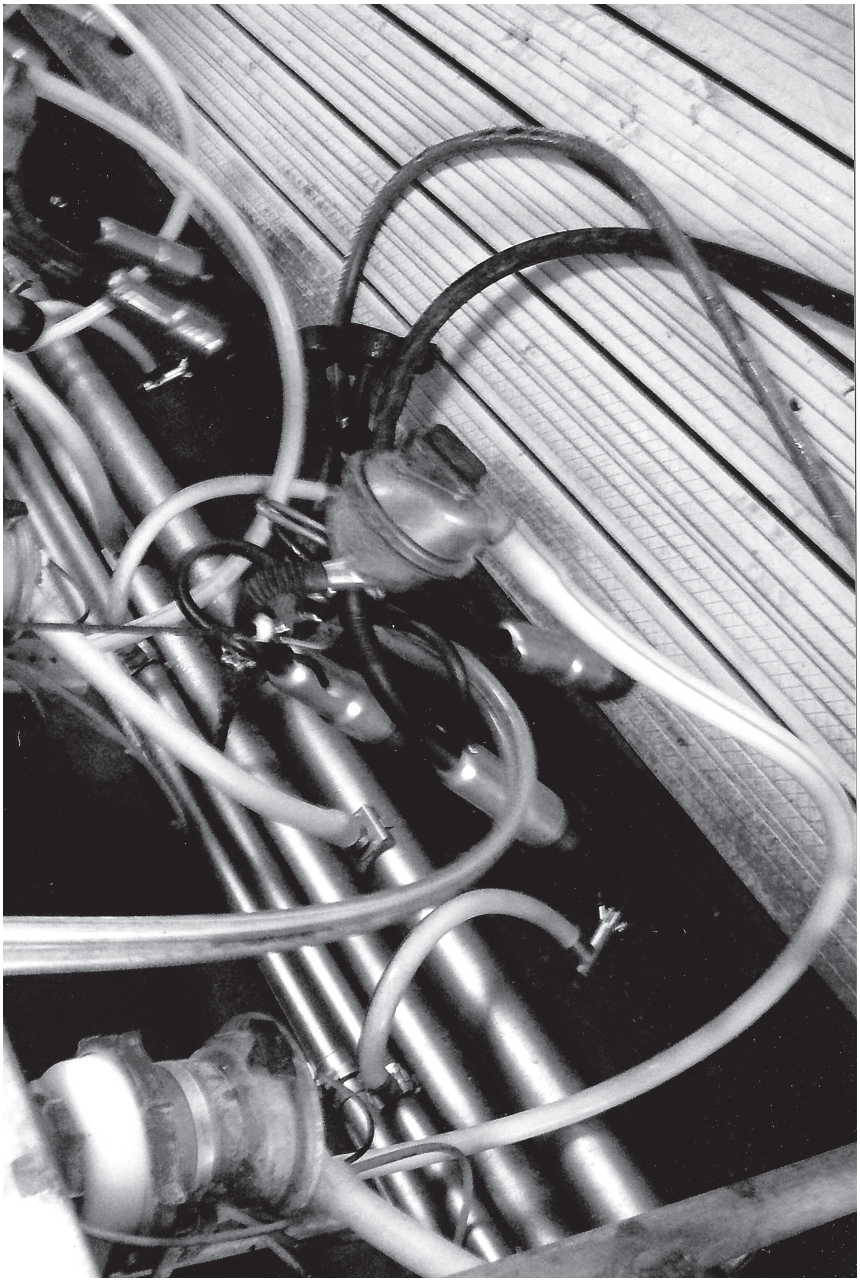
100.

101-102. Covered silage pit at a large dairy farm.

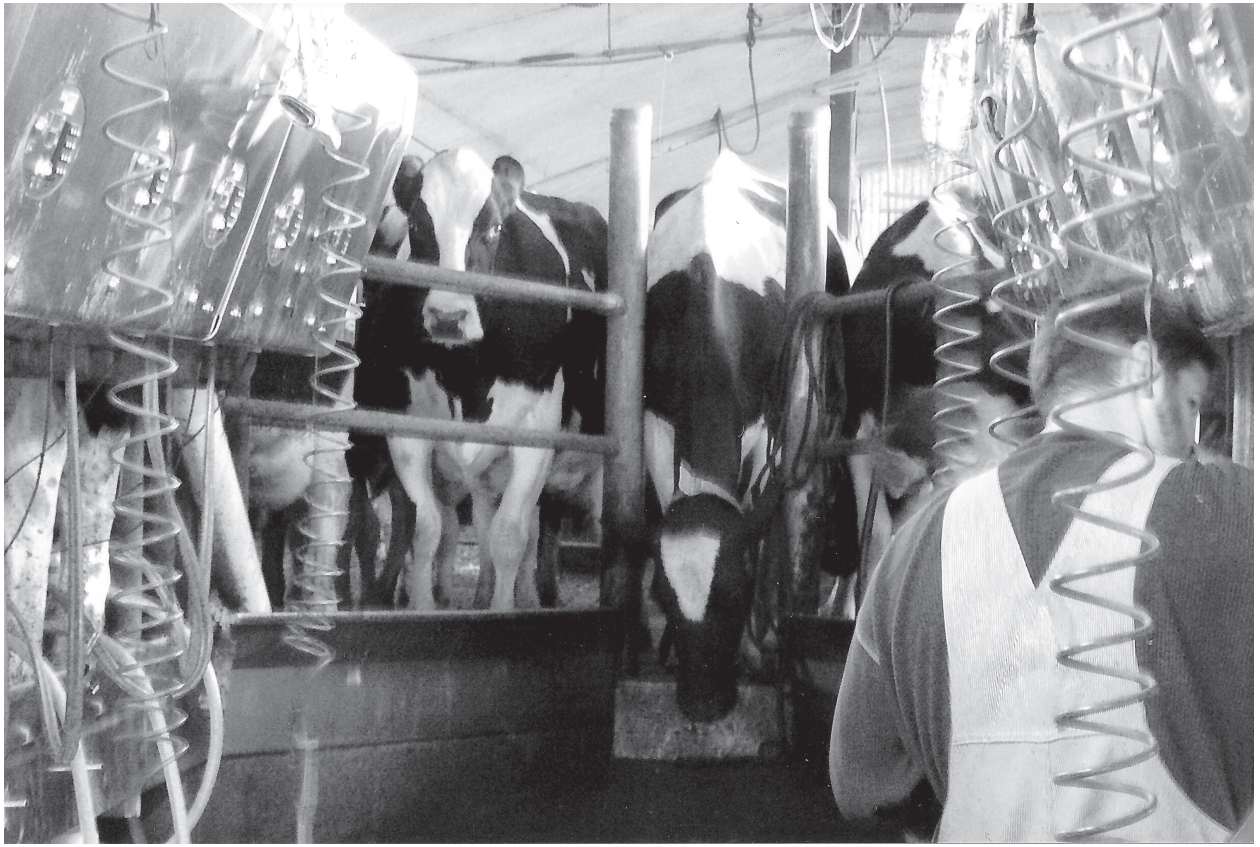
103. Bulk tank for milk at a large dairy farm.



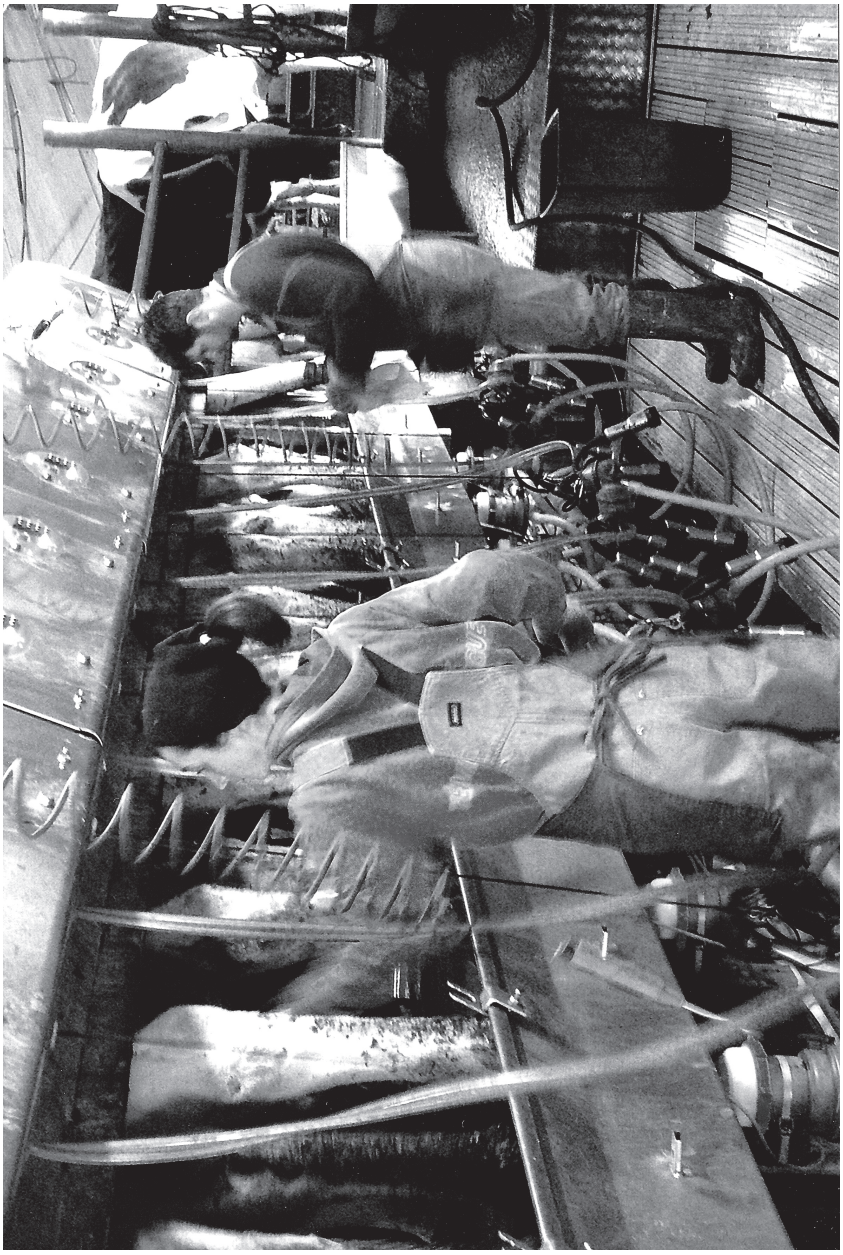
104-109. Milking parlor with milking equipment.



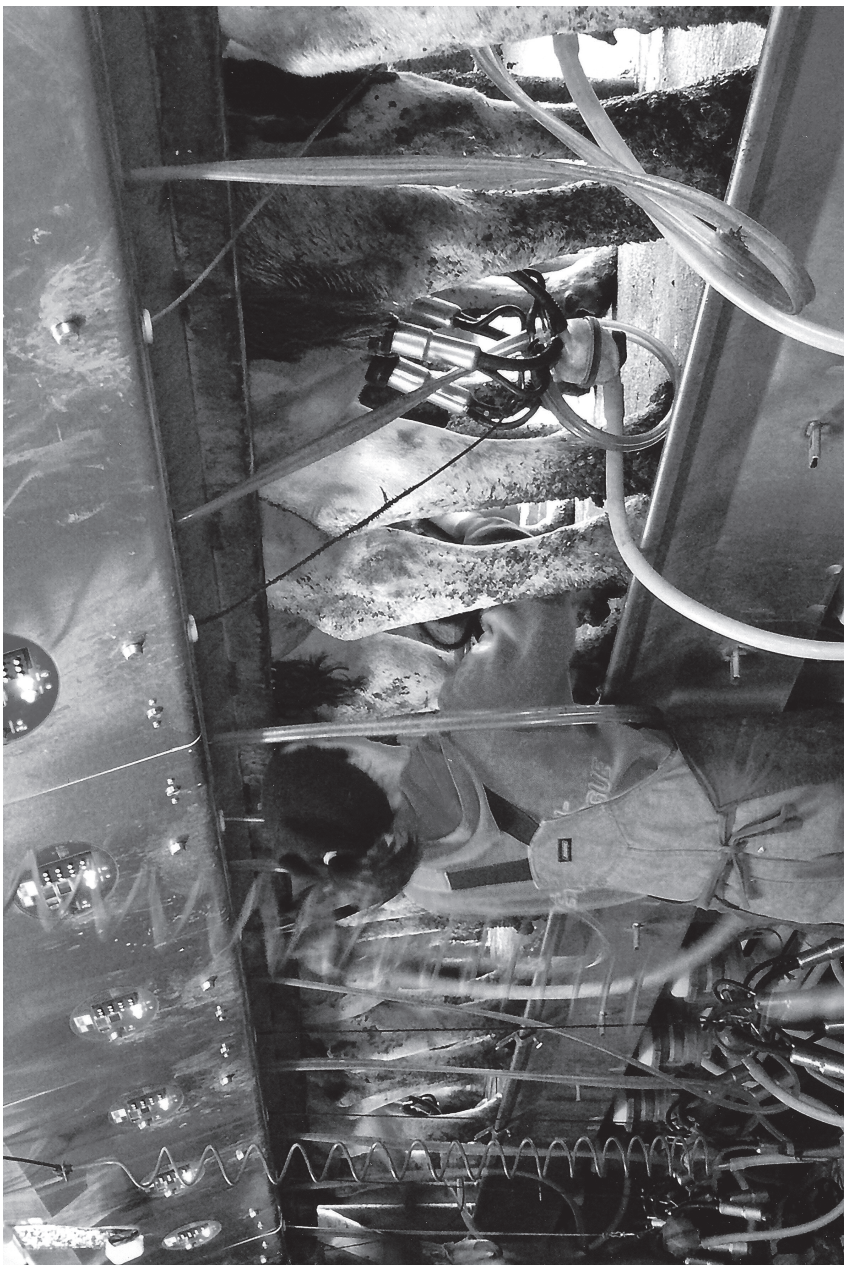
105.



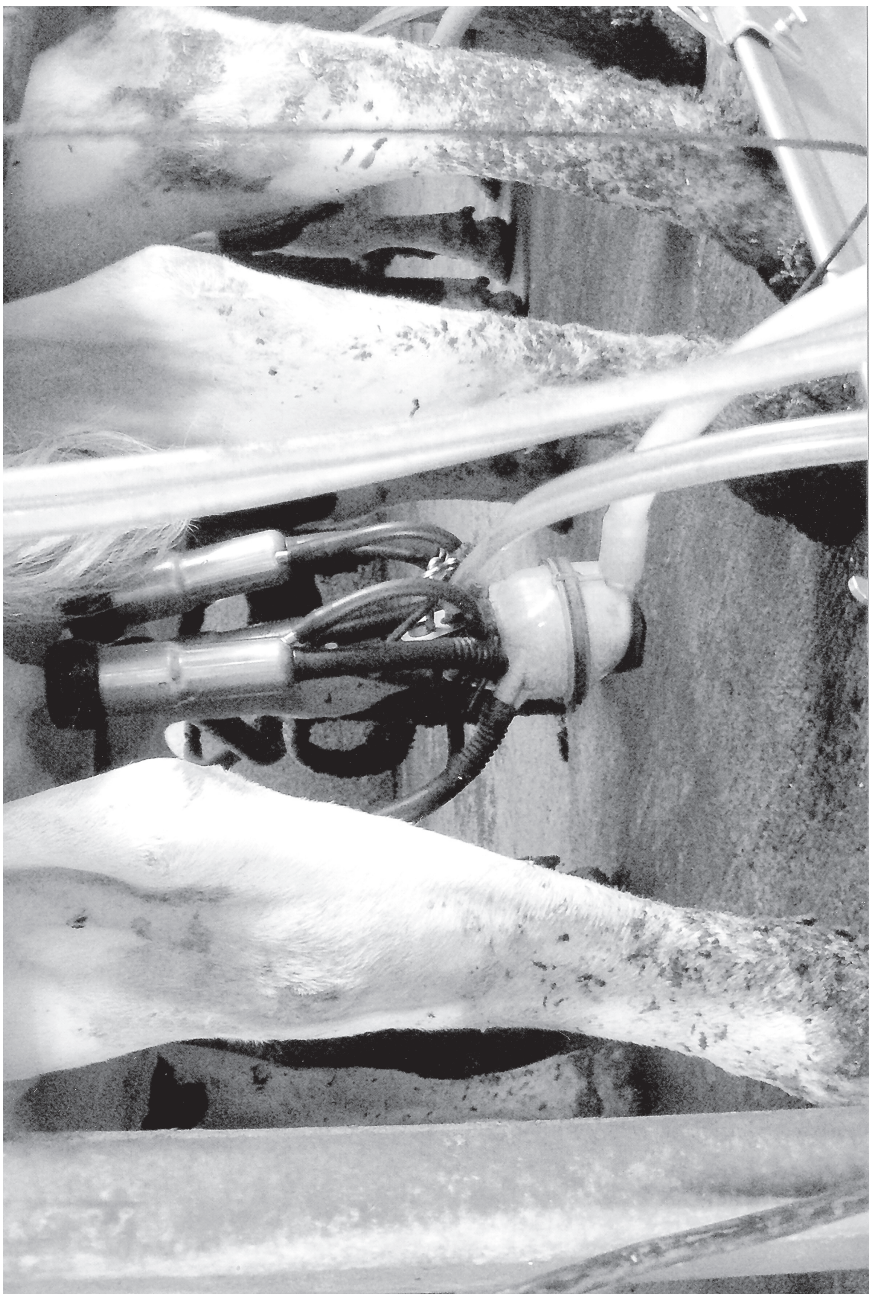
106. Cows waiting for a place at the milking machines.



107. Workers sterilizing teats.

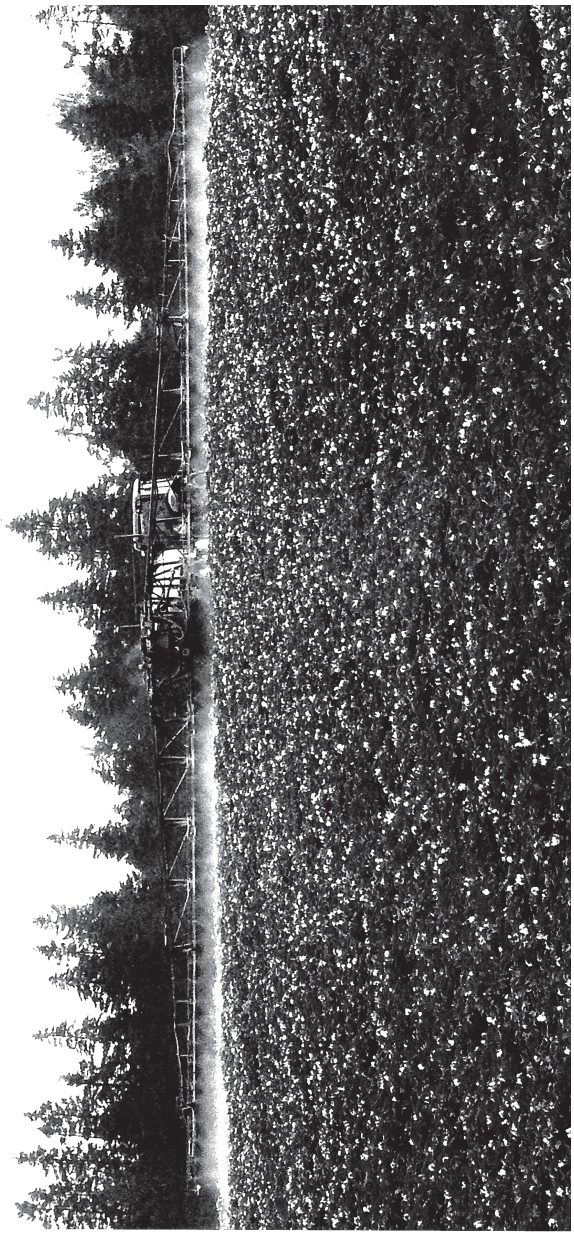


108. Worker attaching pumps.



109.

110. Spraying the land in late June.

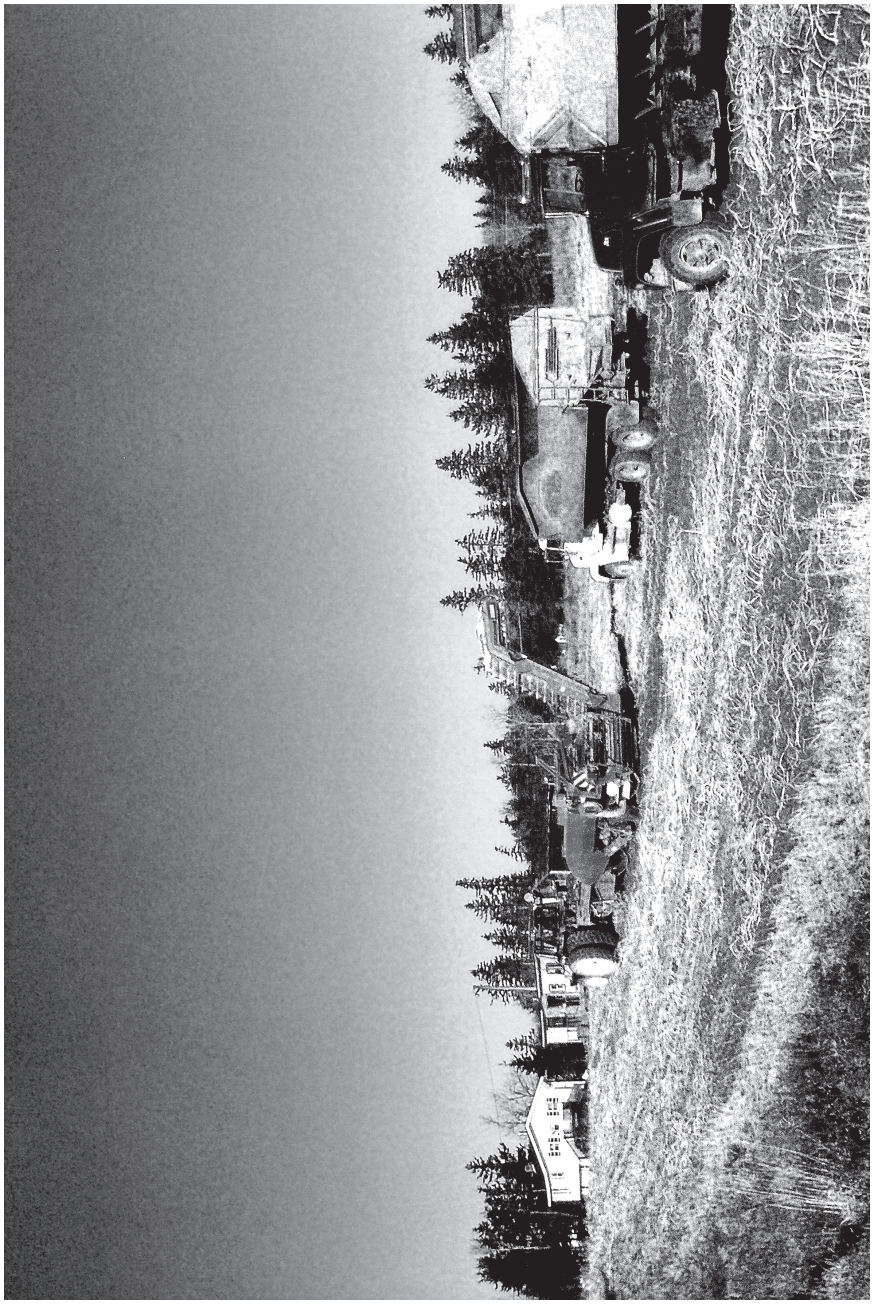


111-113. Spraying potato plants in late June.

112.

113.

114-118. Harvesting potatoes into trucks in the fall.

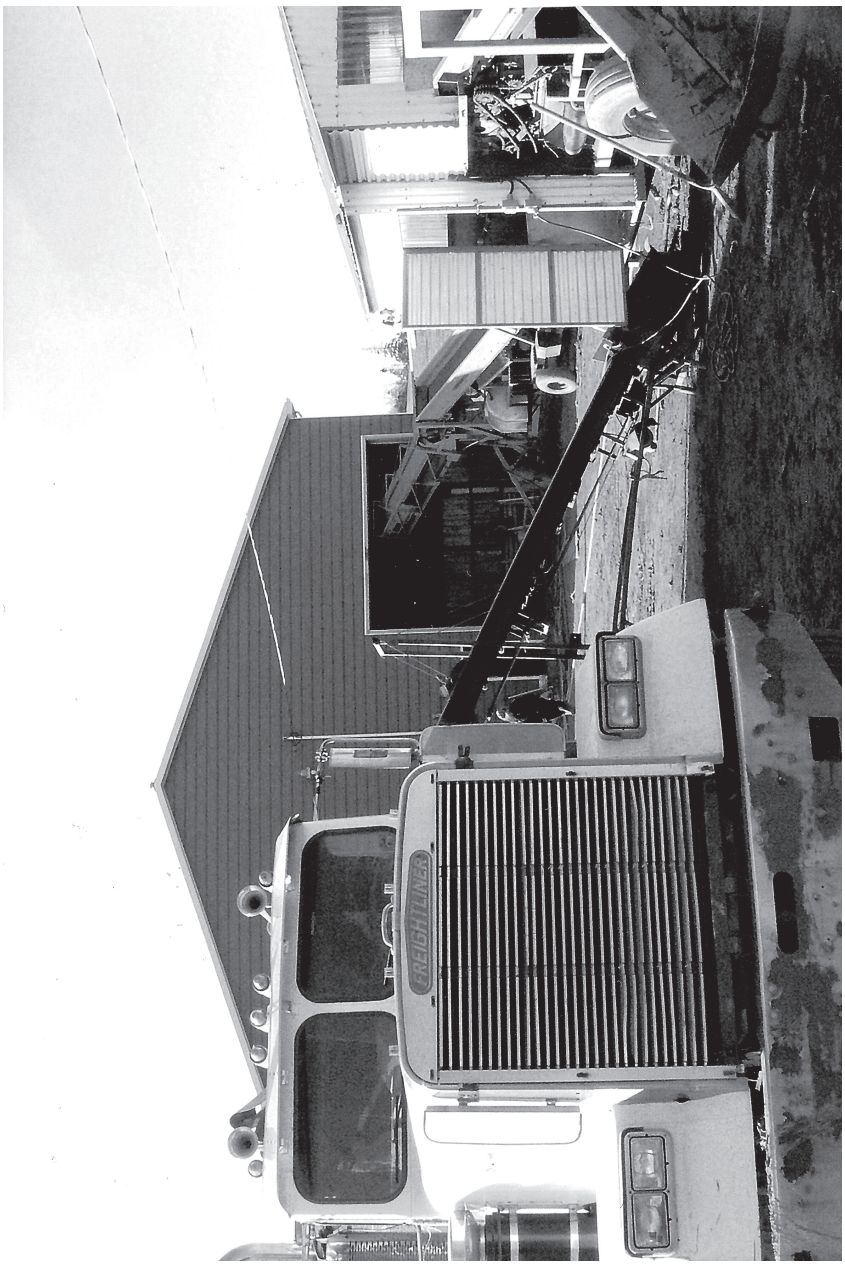


115.

116.

117.

118.



119. A potato warehouse.

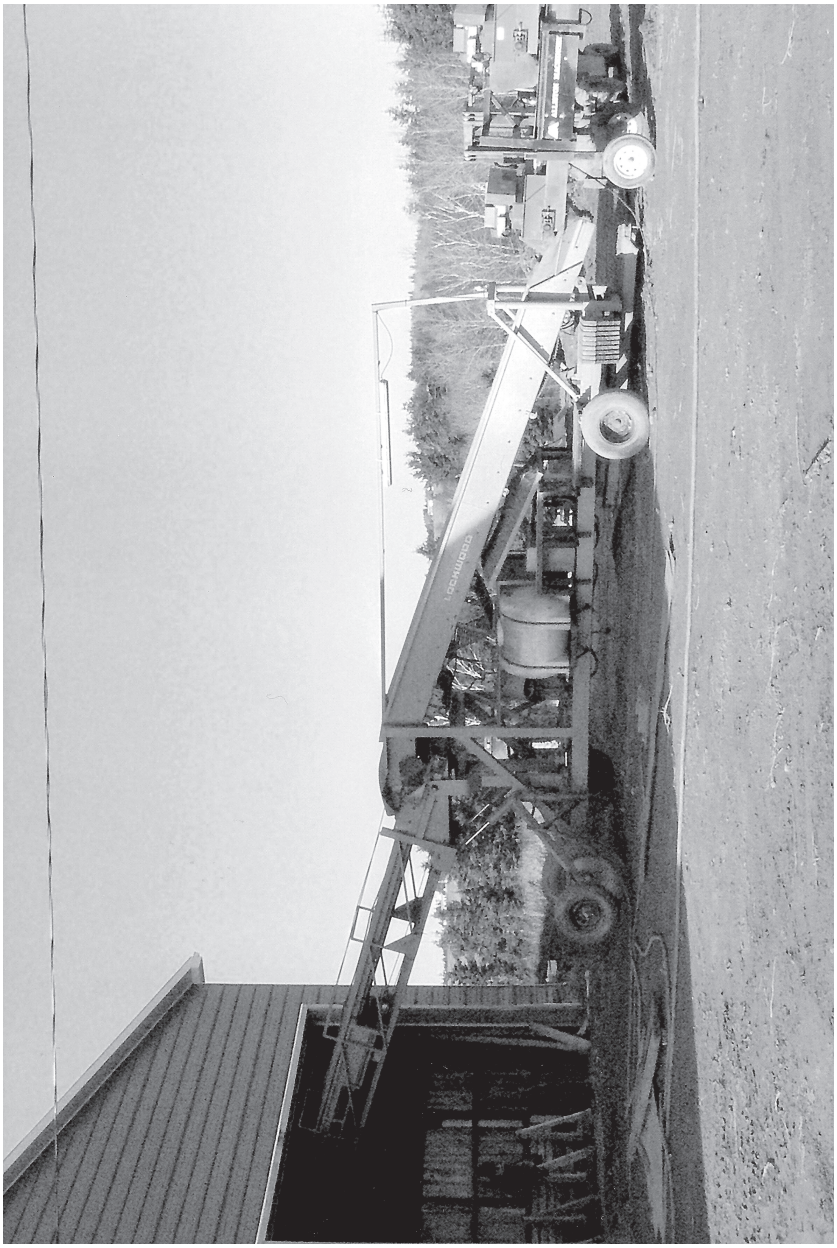
120-121. Unloading potatoes from the back of a truck that was in the potato field onto a conveyer belt at the potato warehouse.

121.

122-124. Culling the potatoes that have been unloaded onto the conveyer belt at the culling station.

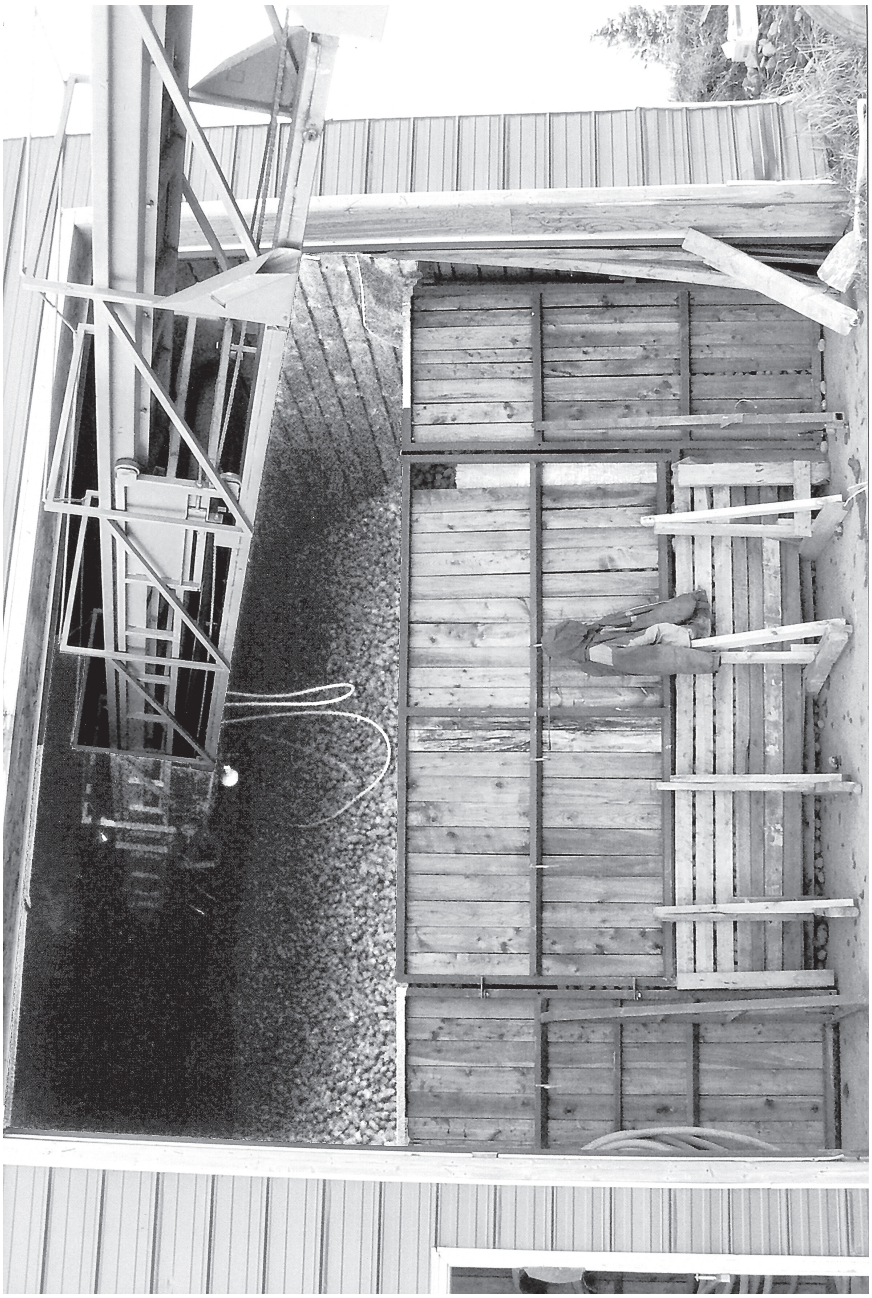
123.

124.

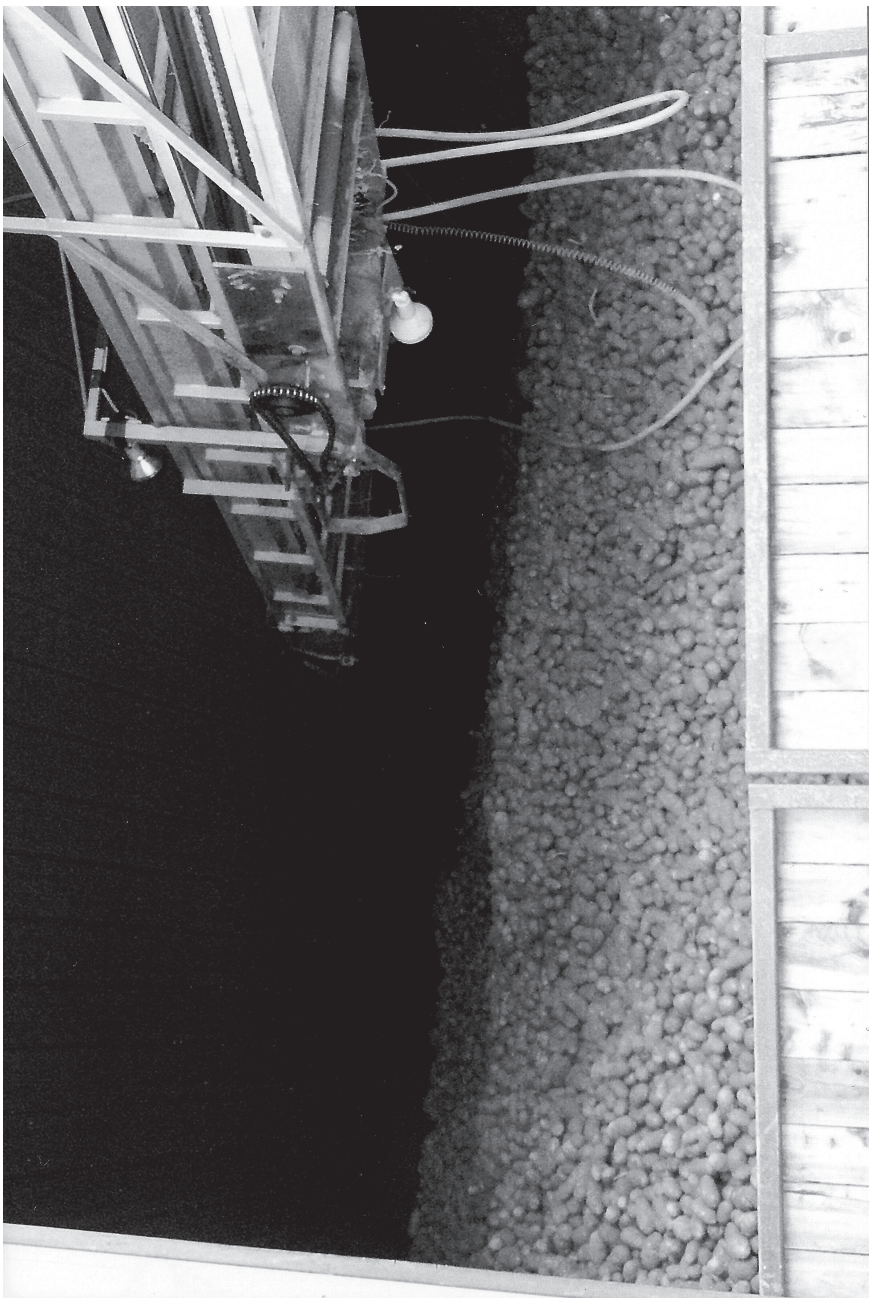


125-128. Conveying potatoes into the warehouse.

126.



127.



128.

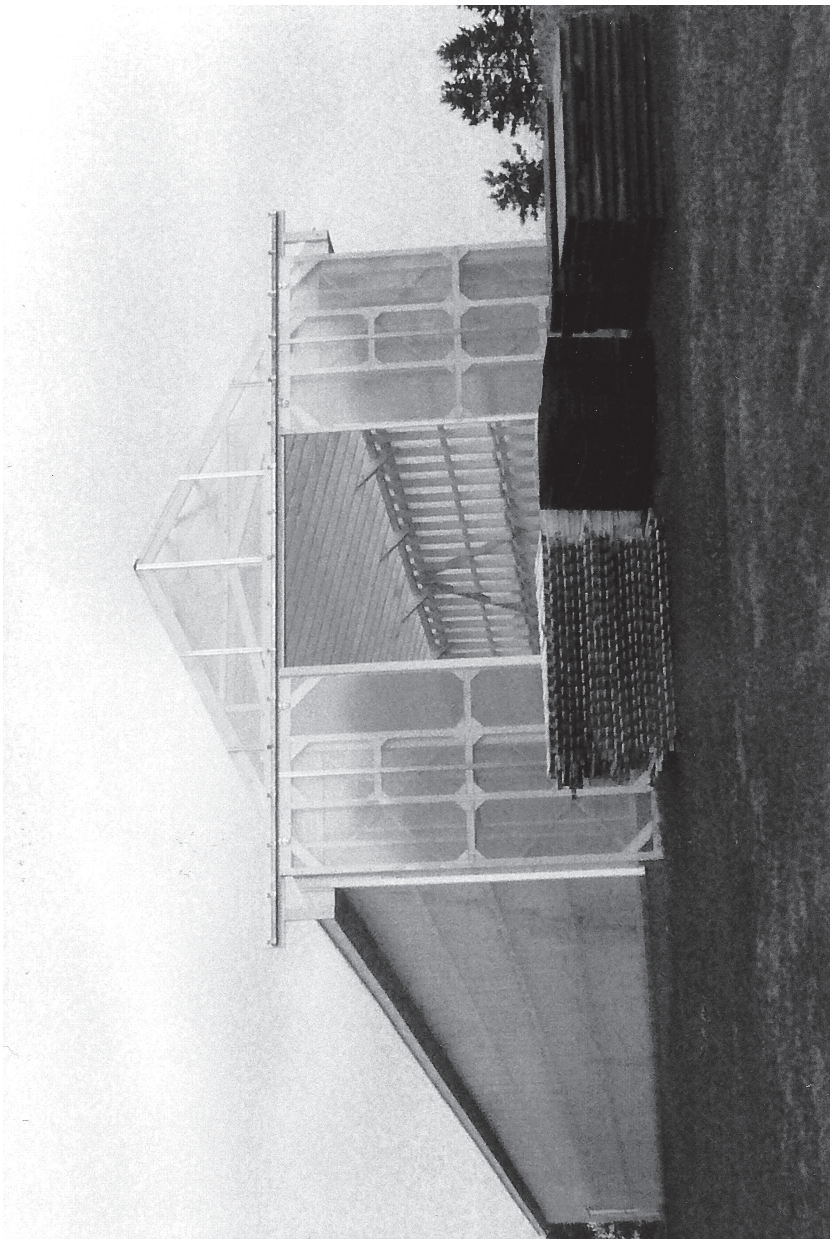
129. An opening that provides access to the potatoes in the warehouse.

130. Piles of culled potatoes outside the warehouse to be sold for cow food.

131-133. Growing soybeans.

132.

133.



134. Greenhouse for starting tobacco plants.

135. Young tobacco plants in a greenhouse.

136-138. Tobacco plants in late July.

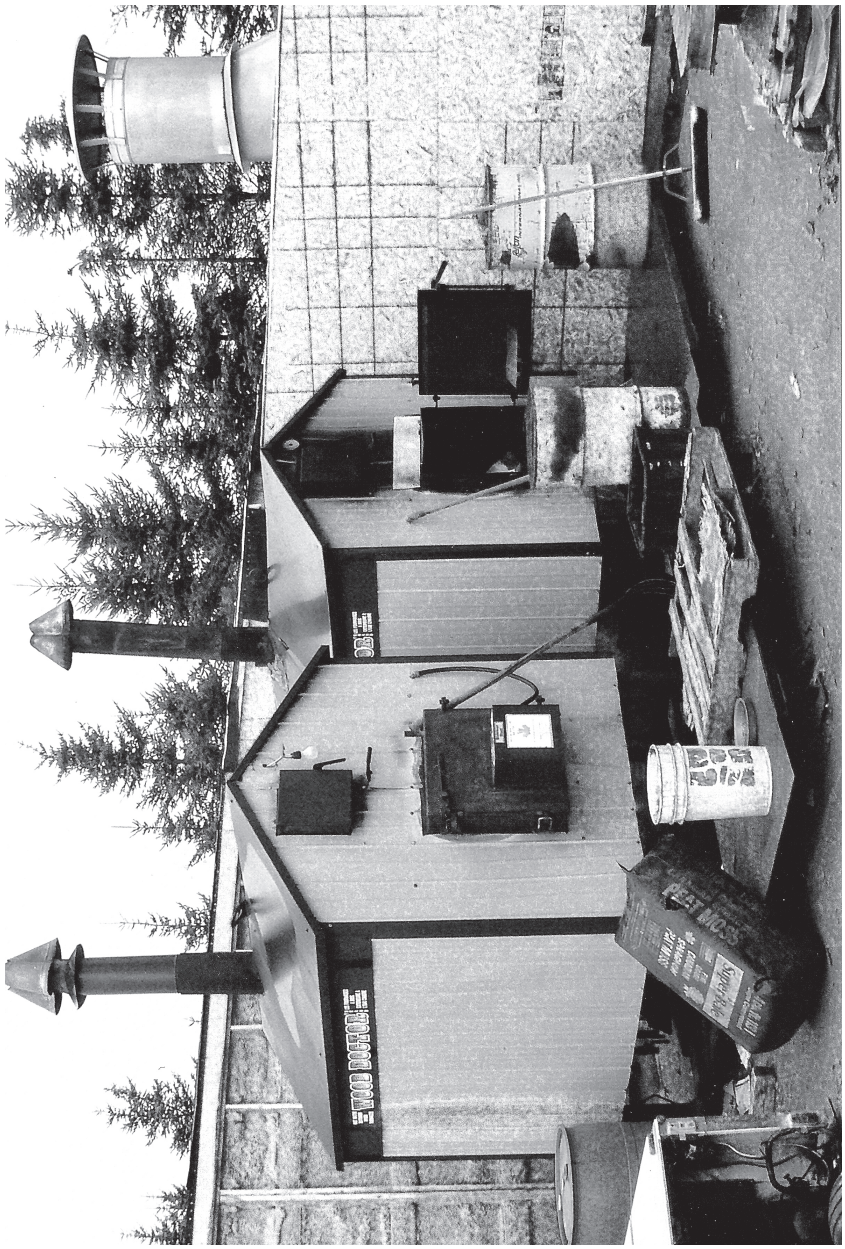
137.

138.

139-140. Priming machine for harvesting tobacco.

140.

141. Kilns curing tobacco.



142. Heating units for the kilns.

143-145. Tobacco that has been cured.

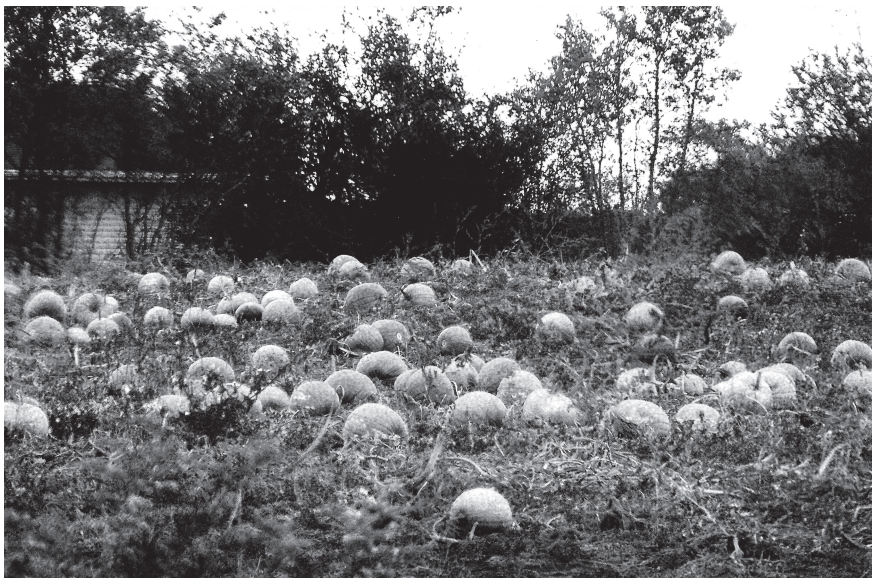
144.

145.

146. Field of tobacco on September 19th after an early severe frost on September 17th. The frost causes the tobacco leaves to change color and smell. If a buyer finds any leaves which have been affected by frost, he will not buy the crop.

147. The same field on September 22nd. Because it is no longer useful, the tobacco has been plowed under.

148-152. Crops of cabbages, pumpkins, and rutabagas.



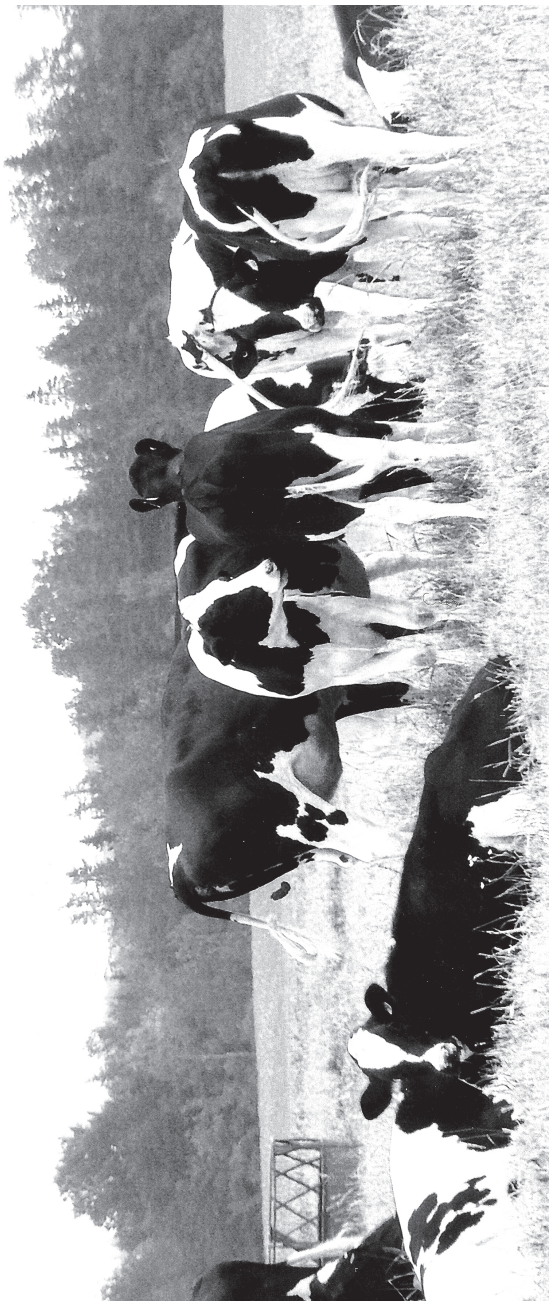
149-150.

151-152.

153. A truckload of carrots.

154. Culled carrots that will be sold for animal food.

155-163. Livestock outdoors. Cattle, horses, sheep, and goats.

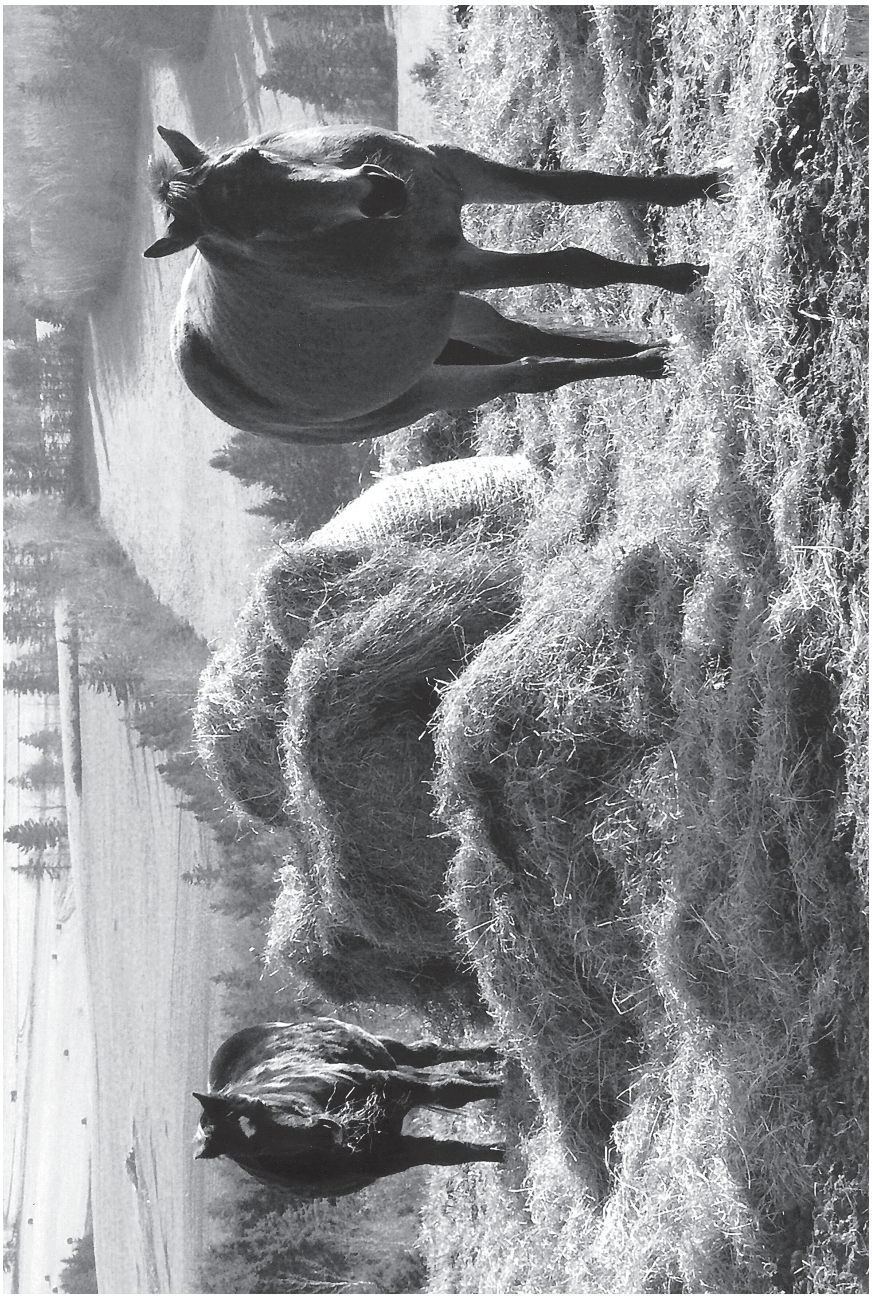


156.

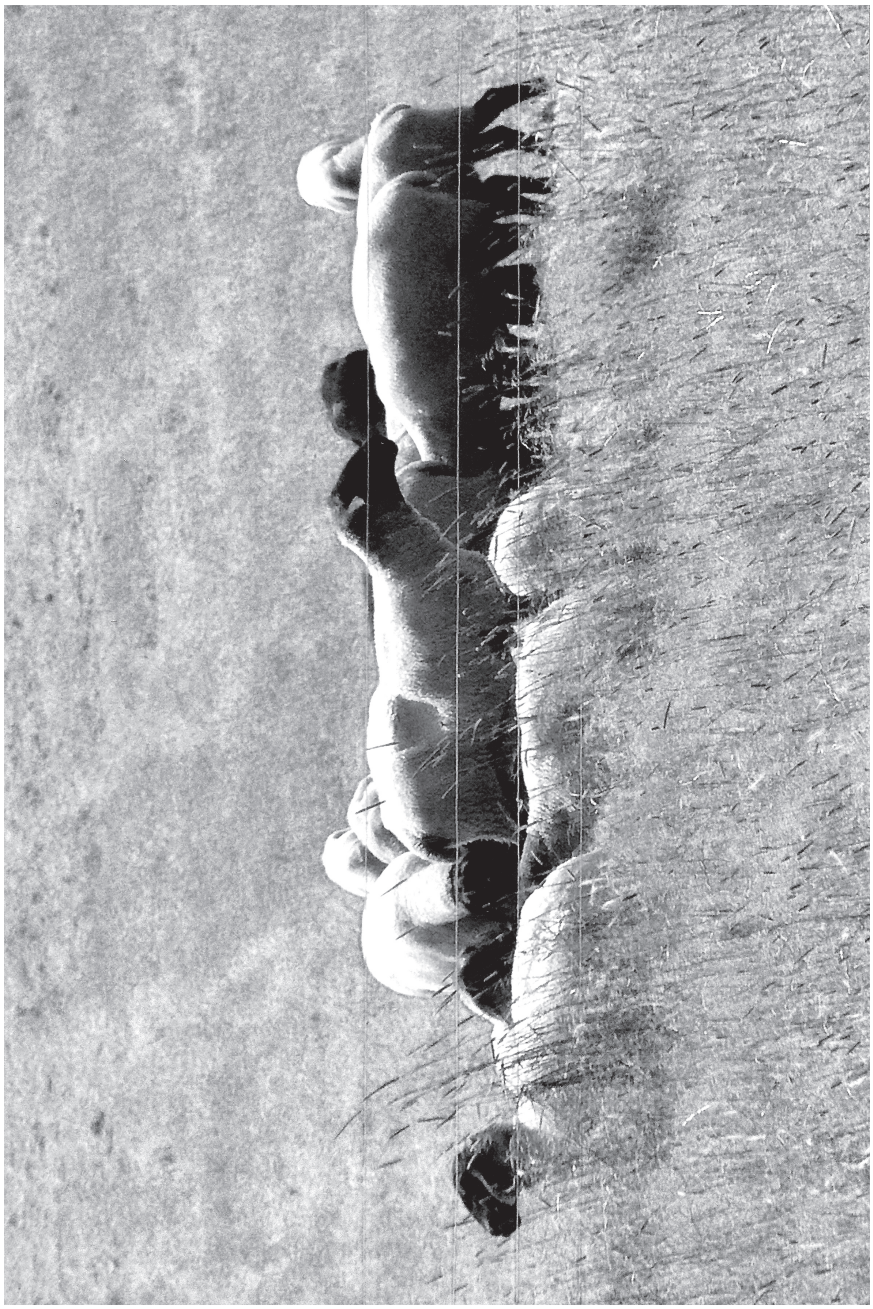
157.

158.

159.

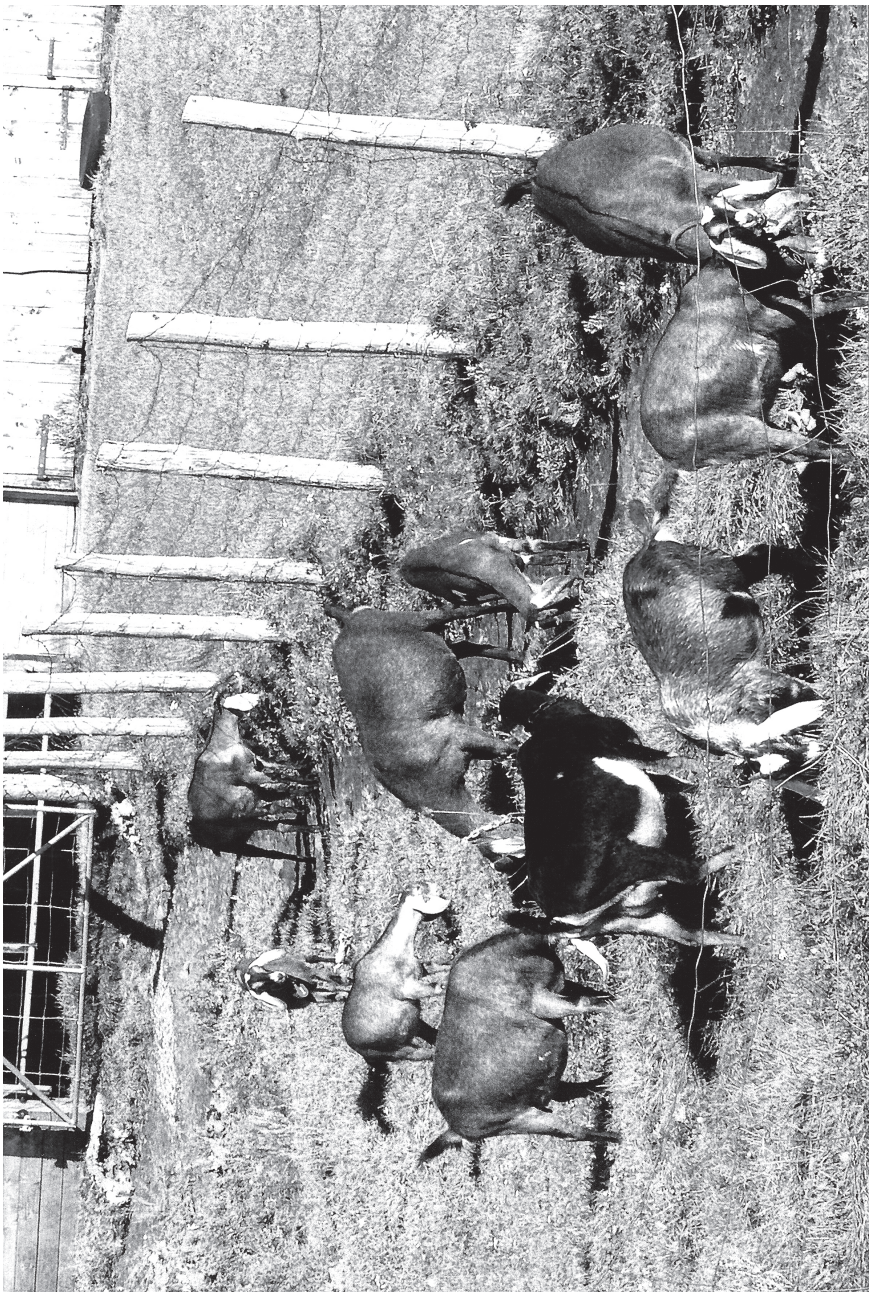


160.



161.

162.

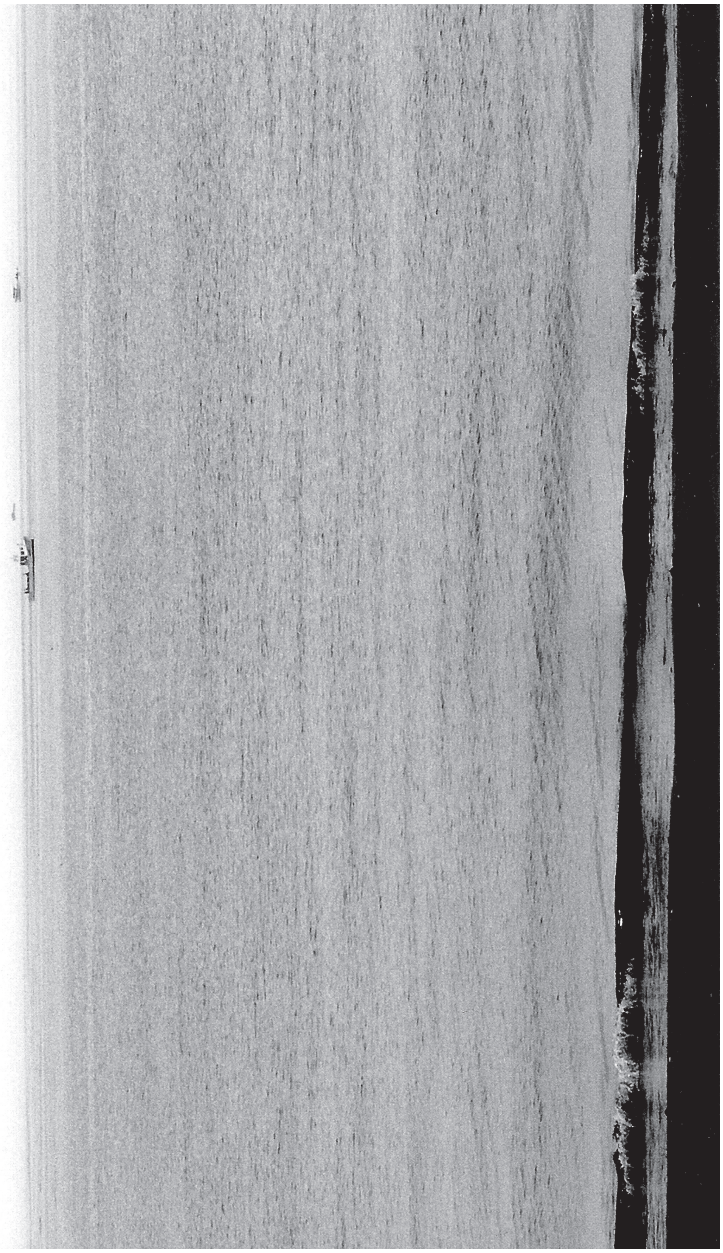


163.

164-165. AFA's, or Animals From Away.

165.

4. Fishing



166-167. Lobster boats offshore on the North Shore.

167. The buoys in the water are barely noticeable.

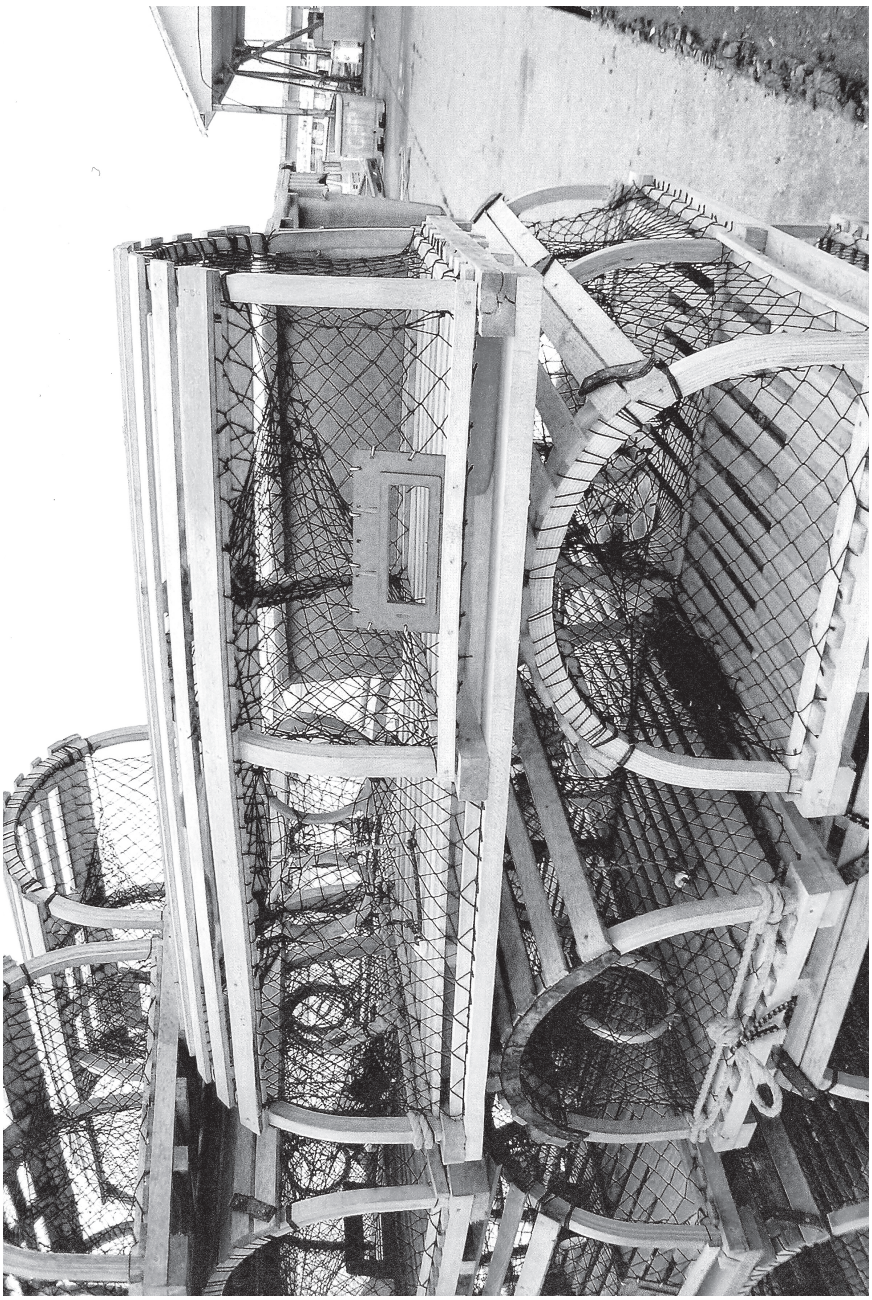
168-170. A lobster boat returns to the wharf.

169.

170.

171. Lobster boats at the wharf.

172-173. Lobster traps at the wharf.



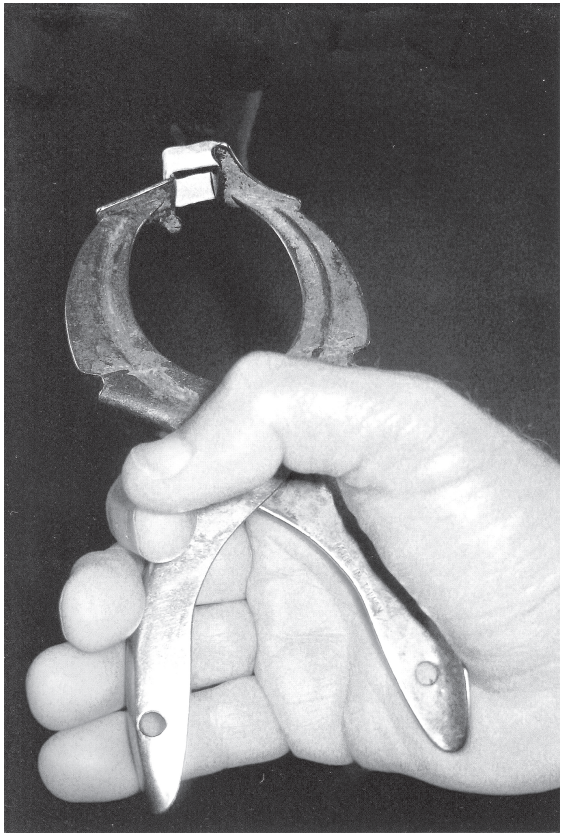
173.

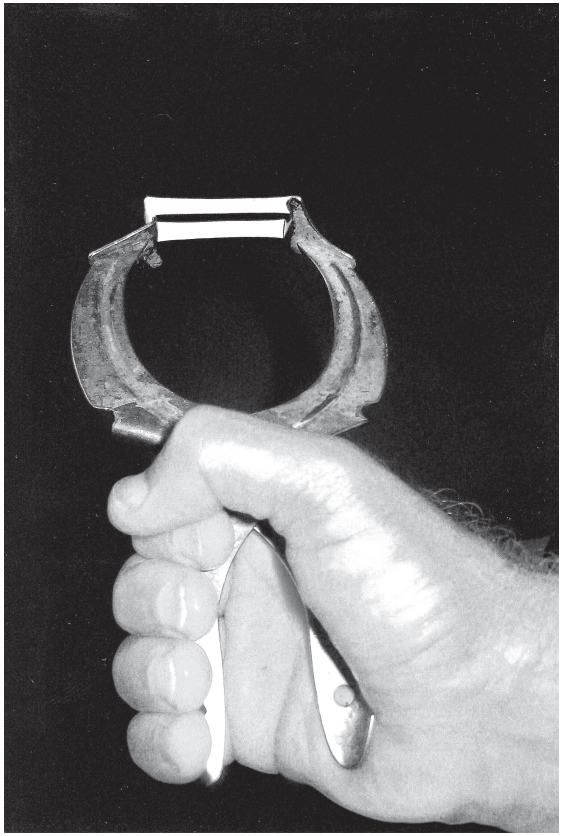
174-176. Numbered identification tags on lobster traps.

175.

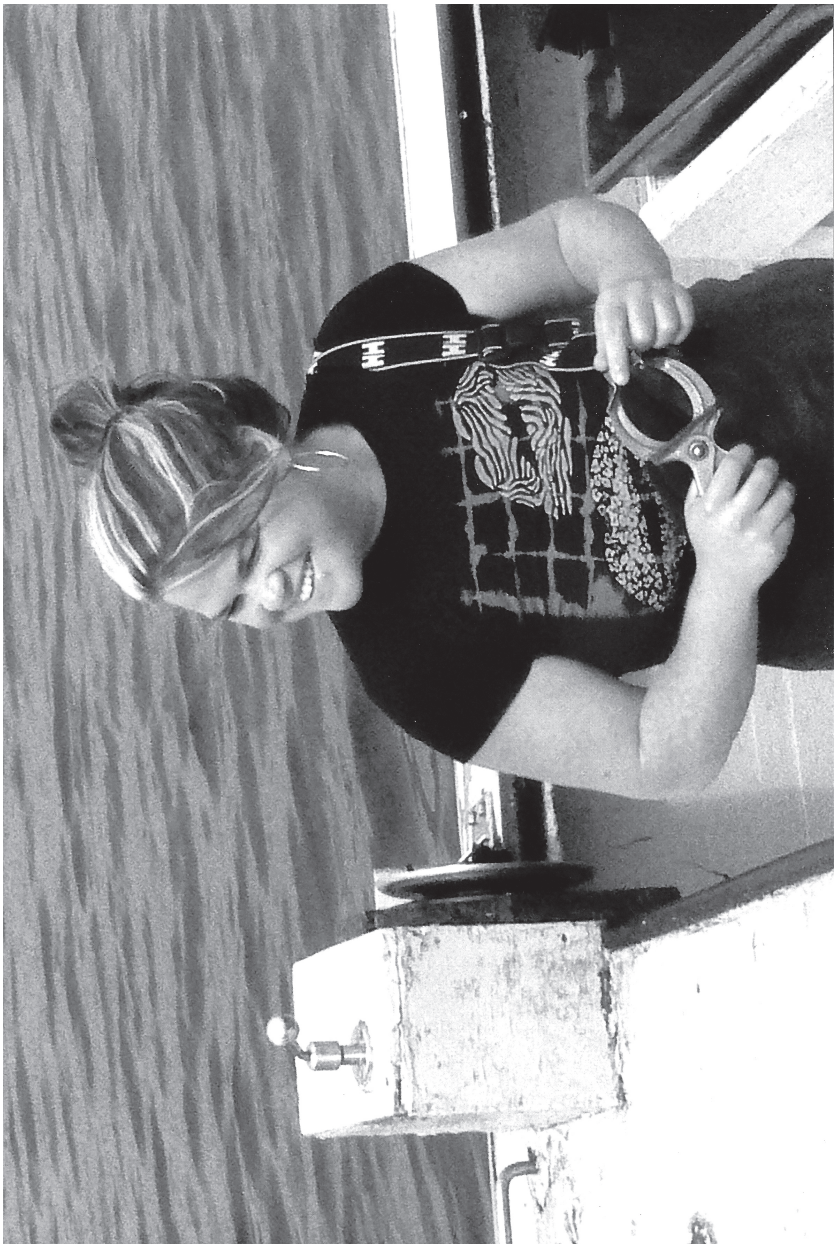
176.

177. Hauler for lobster traps at the back of the boat.





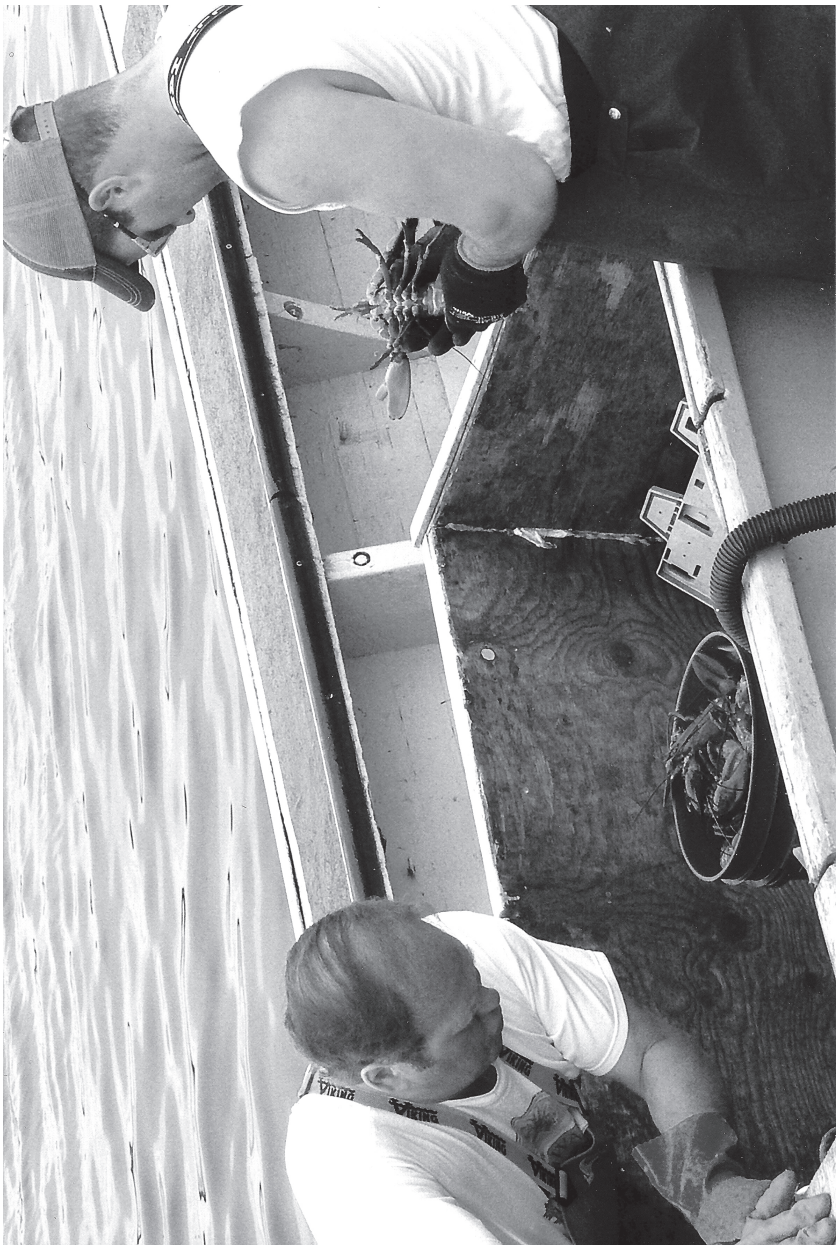
178-179. Pliers for stretching rubber bands to place them around lobster claws.



180-181. Placing bands on lobster claws.

181.

182. Lobster with bands on its claws.



183. Examining a lobster.

184-187. Unloading containers of lobsters from the boat.

185.

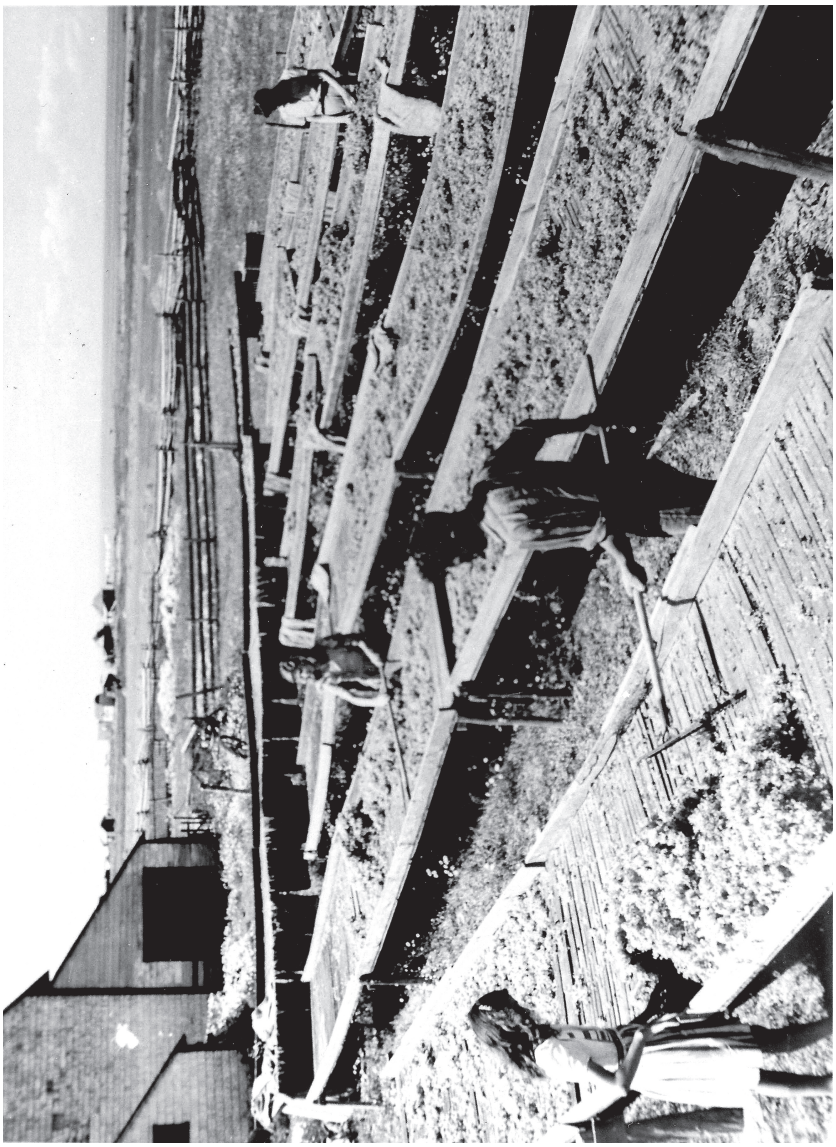
186.

187.

188. Dumping water from containers before weighing.

189. Weighing containers of lobsters.

190. Seafood processing plant. Georgetown.



191. Spreading Irish moss to dry in 1962. PEI Public Archives.

5. Tourism

192-197. Travel counselors helping tourists at a tourist information center.

193.

194.

195.

196.

197.

198-202. Tourists taking a tour around Charlottetown.

199.

200.

201.

202.

203-204. Tourists from cruise ships.

204.

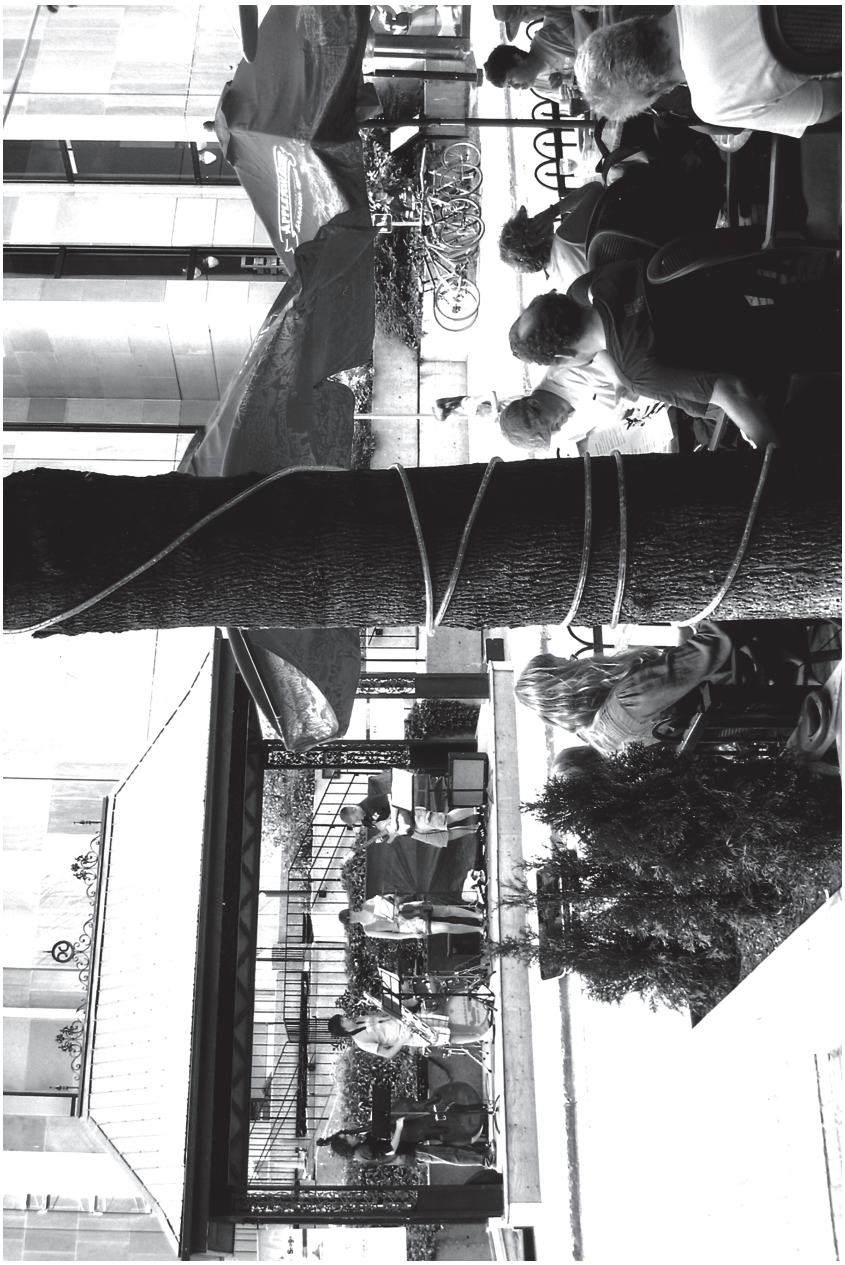
205. Tourist taking a photograph.

206. Tourists in a Charlottetown park.

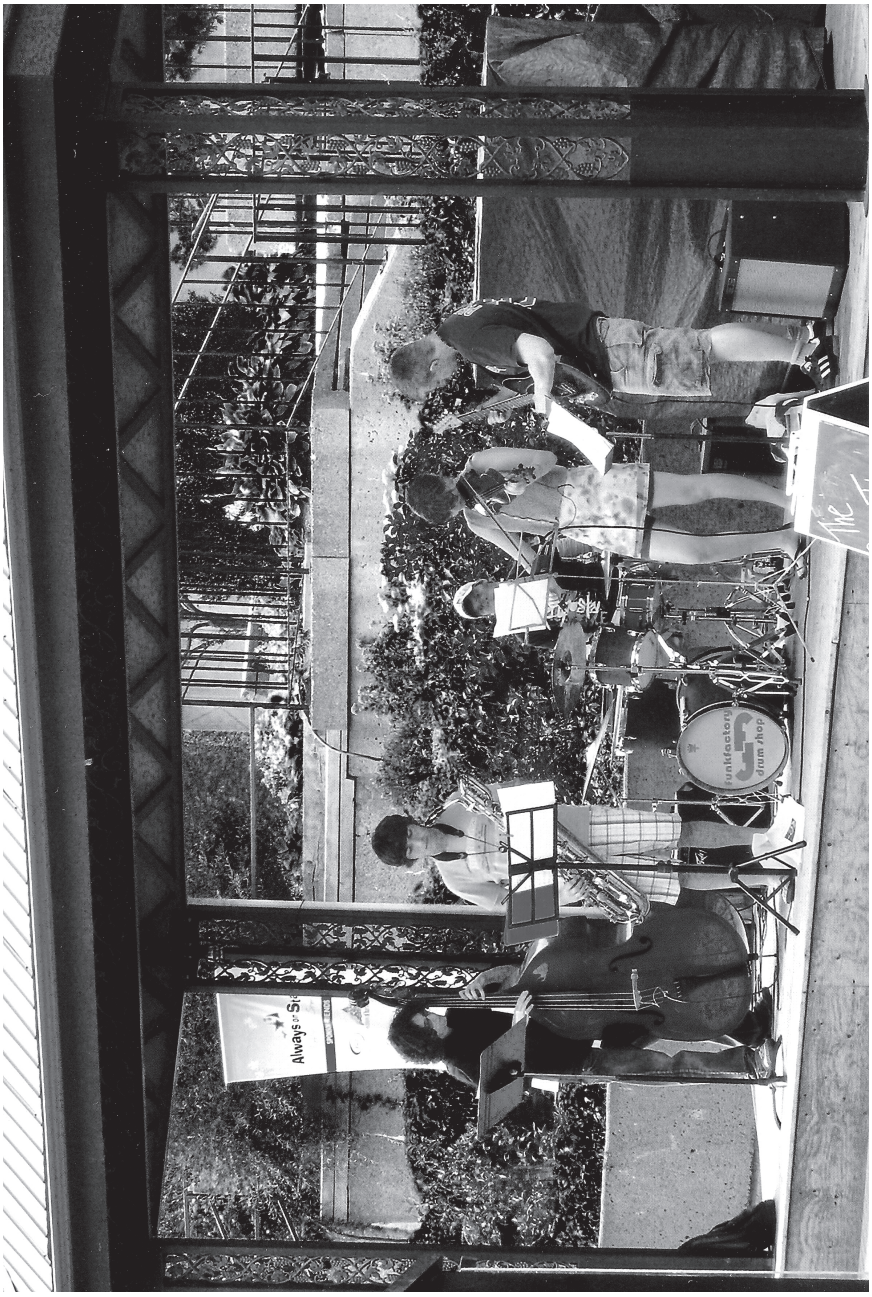
207-208. Tourists having their photos taken in a vintage fire truck at the fire department.

208.

209. Tourists in an outdoor café.



210-211. Musicians playing across from outdoor cafés.



211.

212-215. The Confederation Centre, where tourists attend performances of the popular musical, *Anne of Green Gables.*

ANNE OF
GREEN GABLES
-THE MUSICAL
Box Office / Billetterie • Gift Shop / Boutique • Mavor's Bistro & Bar
Box Office

213.

PILATES
DYNAMIC FITNESS
Box Office
Shop the Centre
THE SHOWCASE
TOURIST

214.

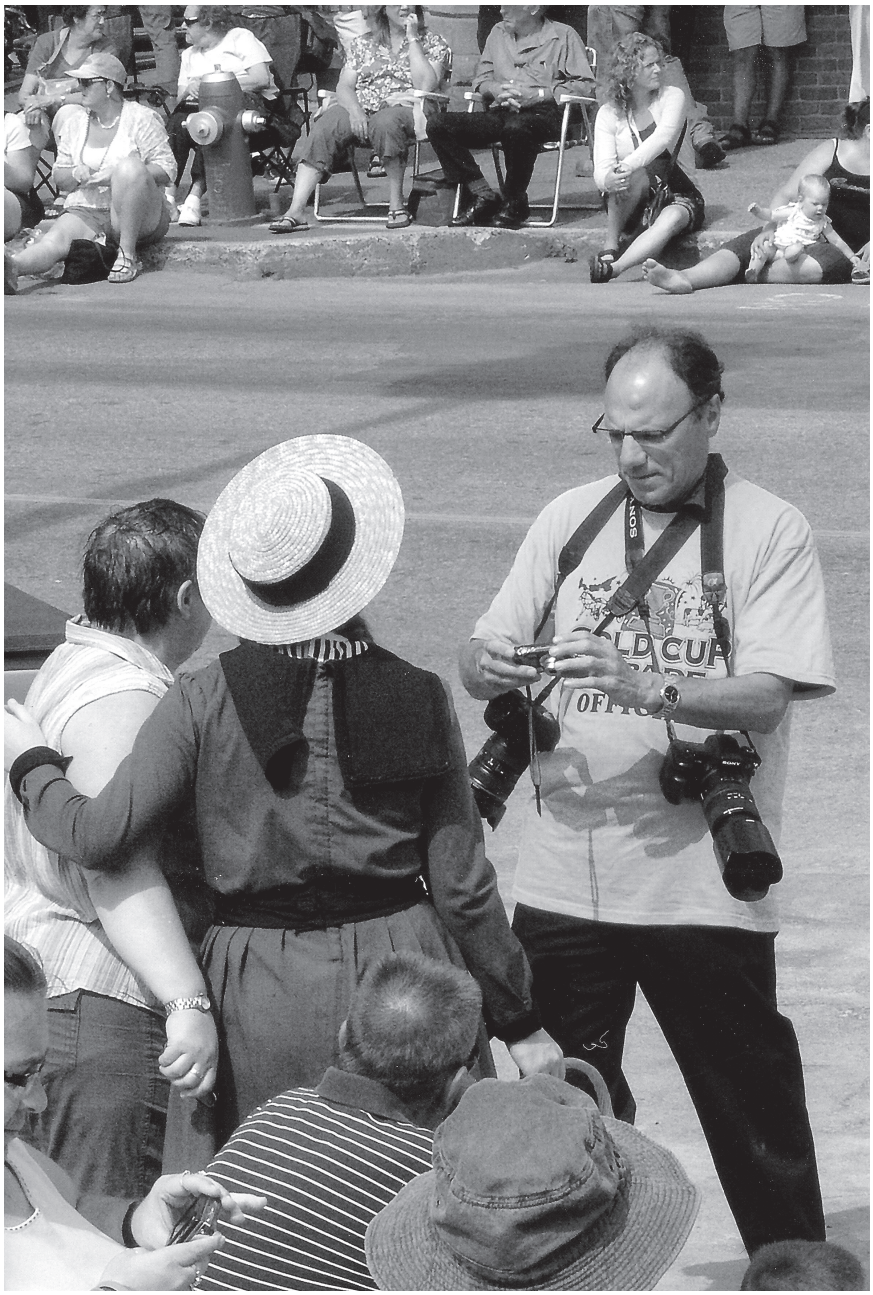
215.

216. Tour guides dressed as representatives at the conference held in Charlottetown in 1864 to consider the formation of Canada.

217-220. A person dressed as Anne of Green Gables poses for photographs with tourists.

218.

219.



220.

221-222. The "home" of Anne of Green Gables in Cavendish. This is the most popular destination of tourists visiting Prince Edward Island.

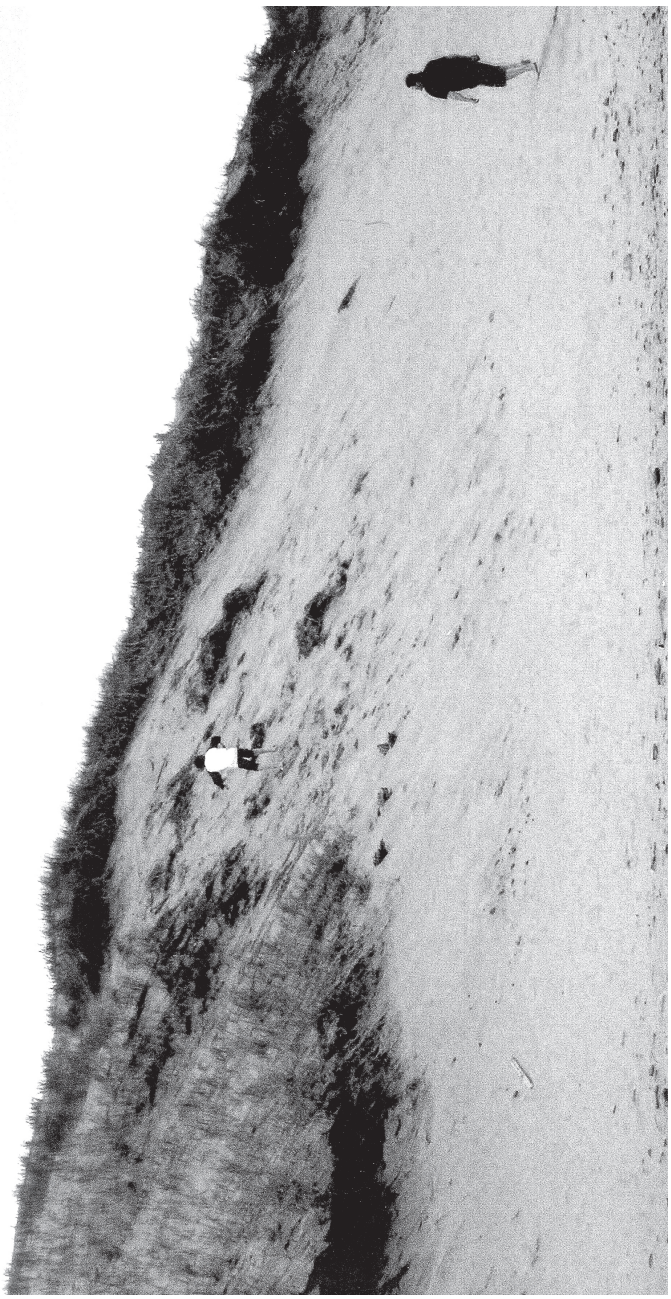
222.

223. Tourists examine a carriage at the "home" of Anne of Green Gables.

224-231. Scenes at Cavendish Beach in late May. Many tourist facilities open in early June.

225.

226.



227.

228.

229.

230.

231.

232-233. Restaurant in North Rustico that specializes in lobster dinners.

233.

234-235. Hotel and hotel dining room on the North Shore.

235.

6. Forestry

236-238. Trucks transporting logs.

237.

238.

239-245. Using a chainsaw to remove a tree from a residence.

240.

241.

242-243. Small pieces of wood are fed into a wood chipper which blows the chips into the back of the truck.

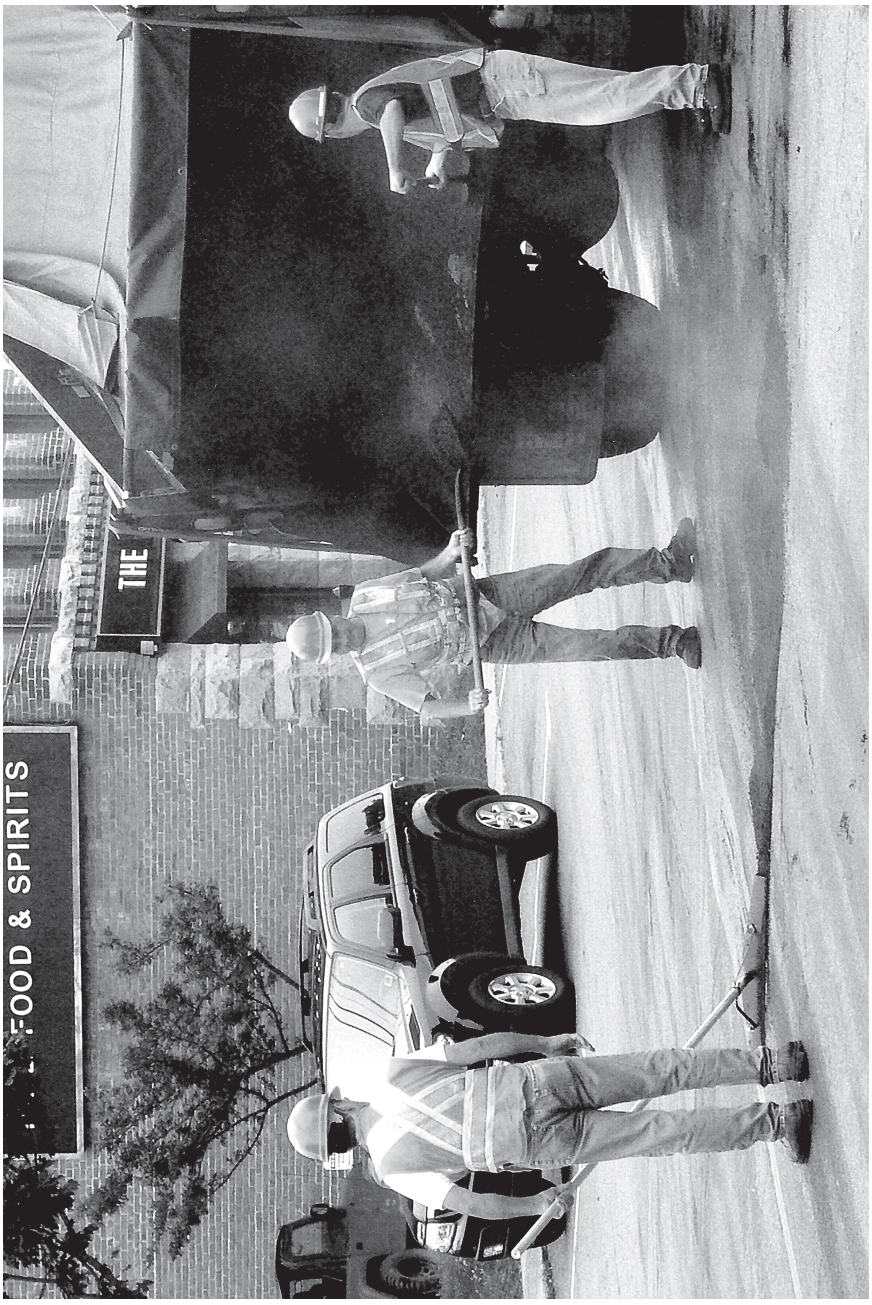
243.

244. A handheld blower is used to blow the sawdust off the road.

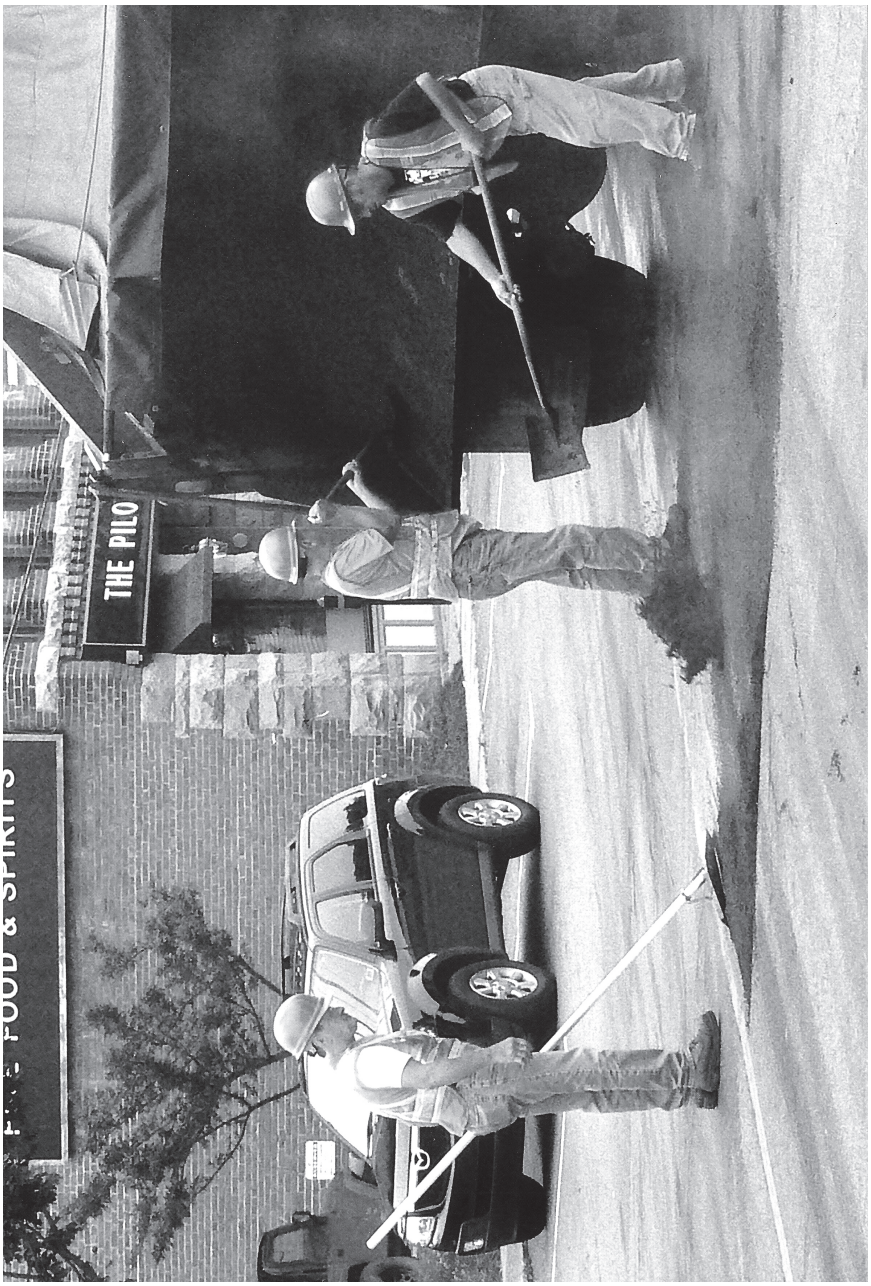
245. Larger pieces of wood are left by the side of the property.

7. Road crews

246-252. Road patching crew at work.



247.



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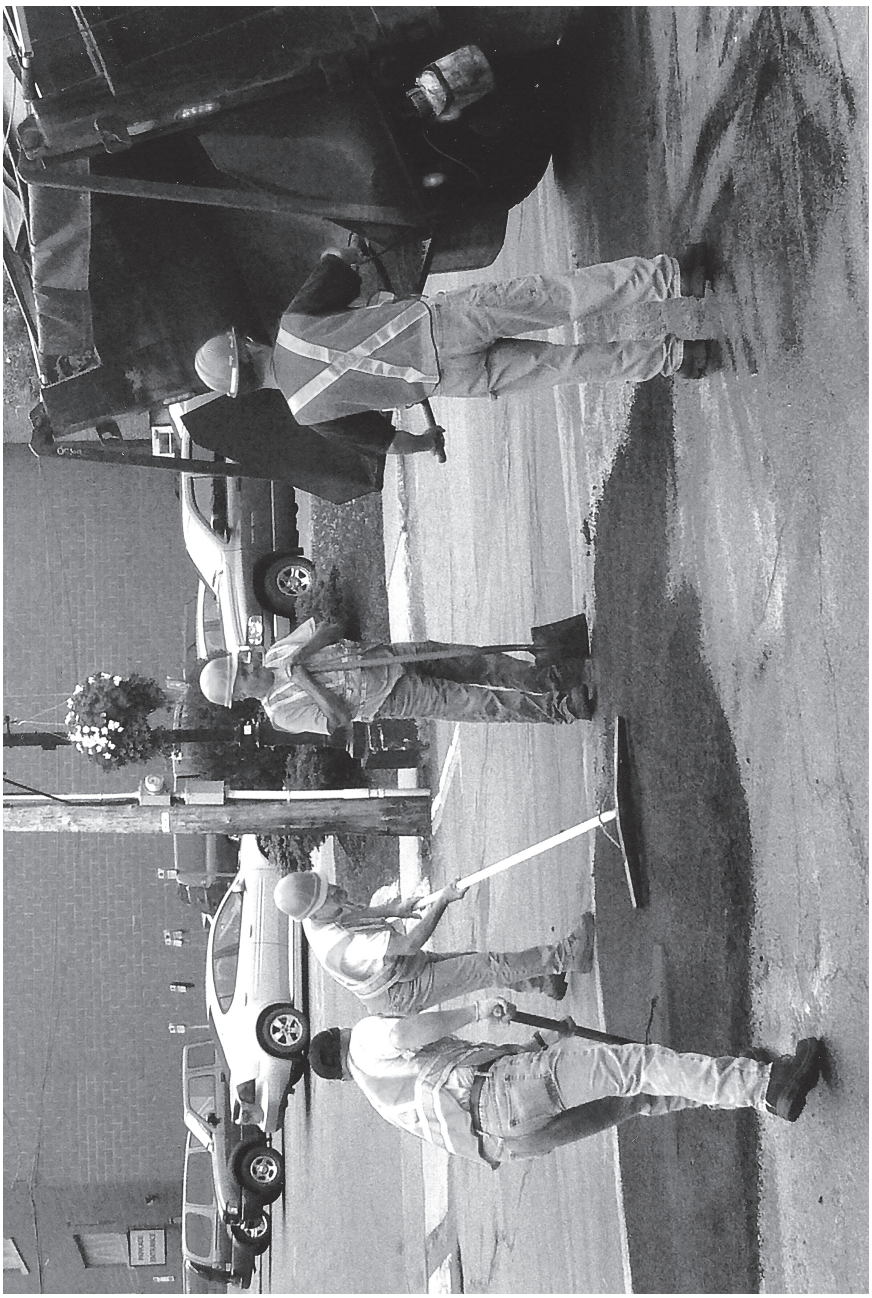
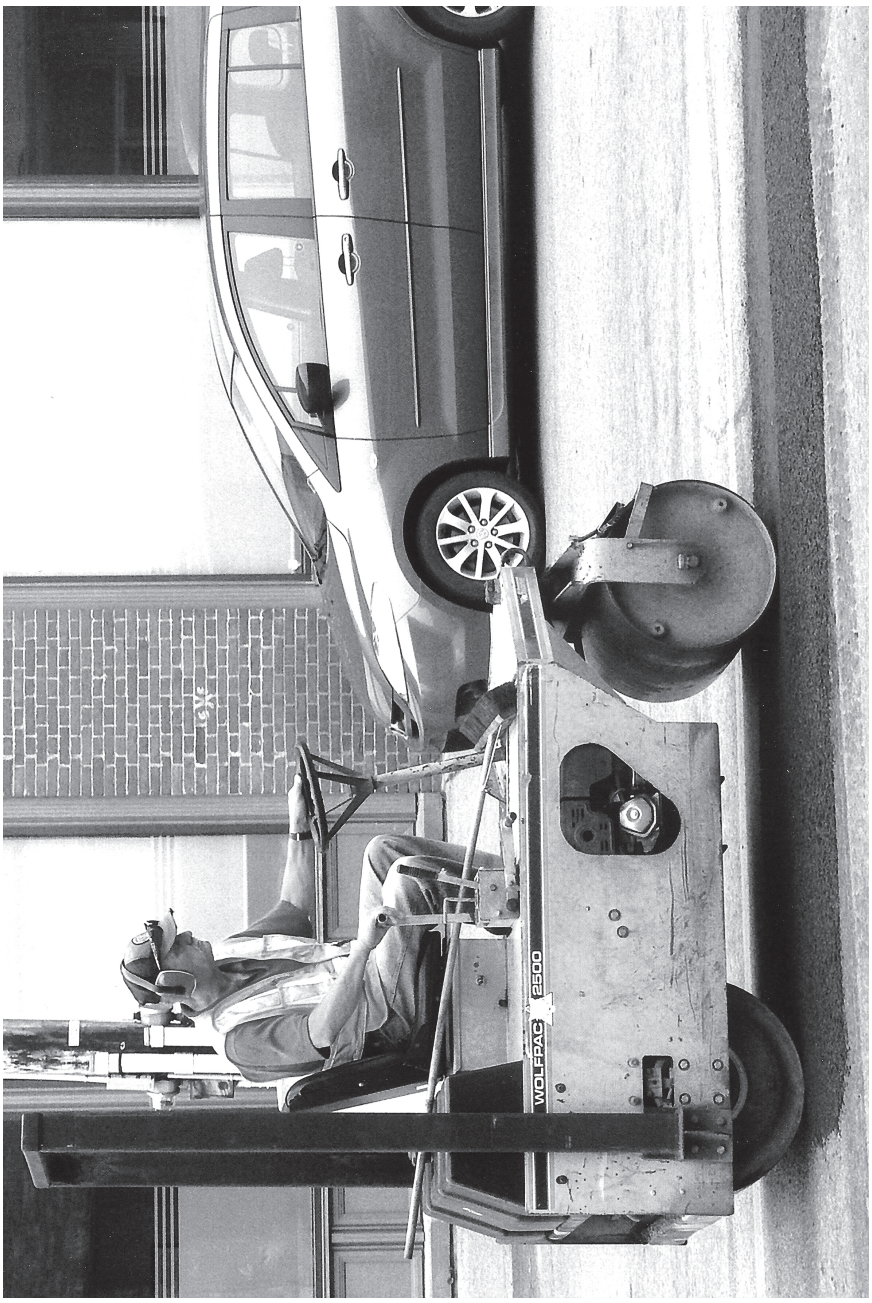


250.

251.



252.

253-254. Cutting foliage away from the edge of the highway.

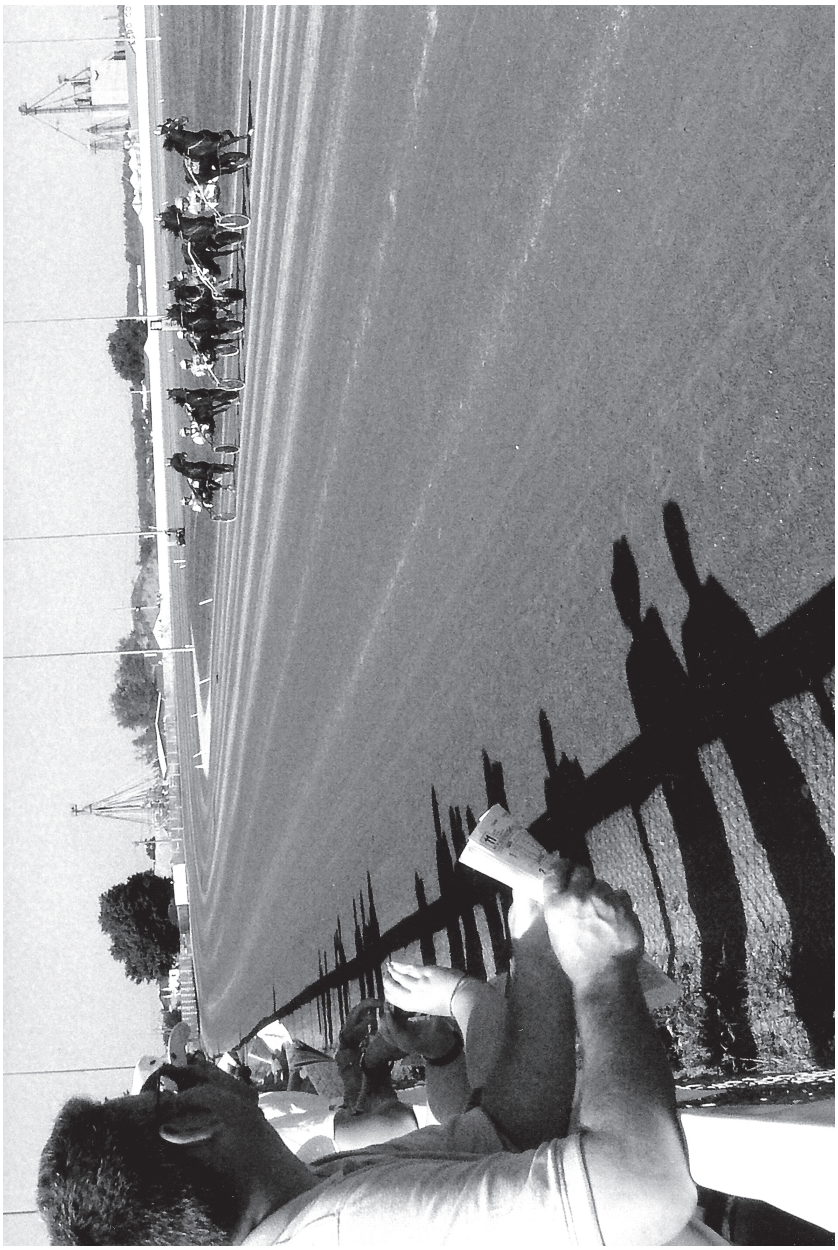
254.

8. Horse races

255-257. Placing bets at the Charlottetown Driving Park.

256.

257.



258-259. Watching the races.

259.

9. Miscellaneous

260. A plate of squares.